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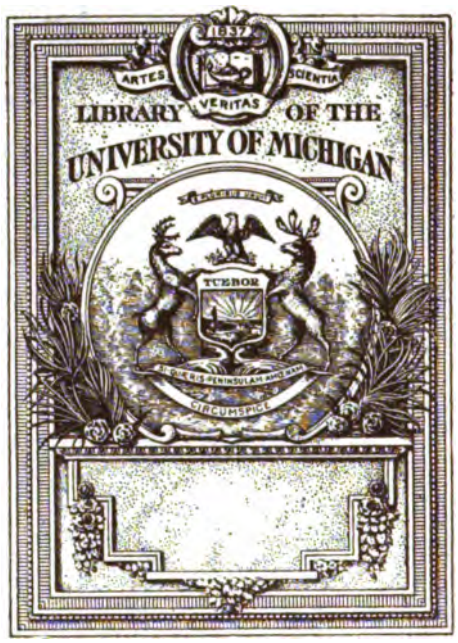
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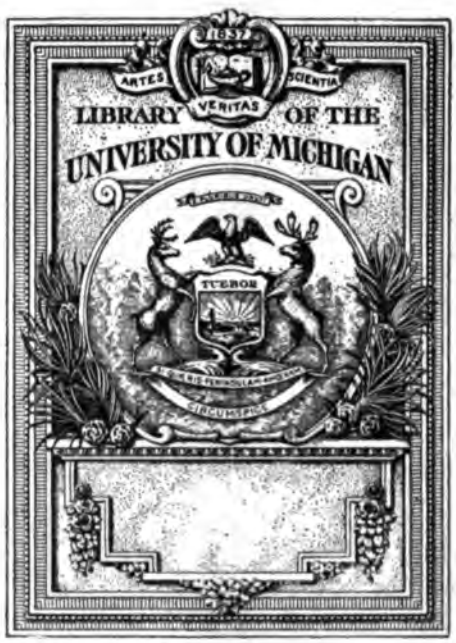
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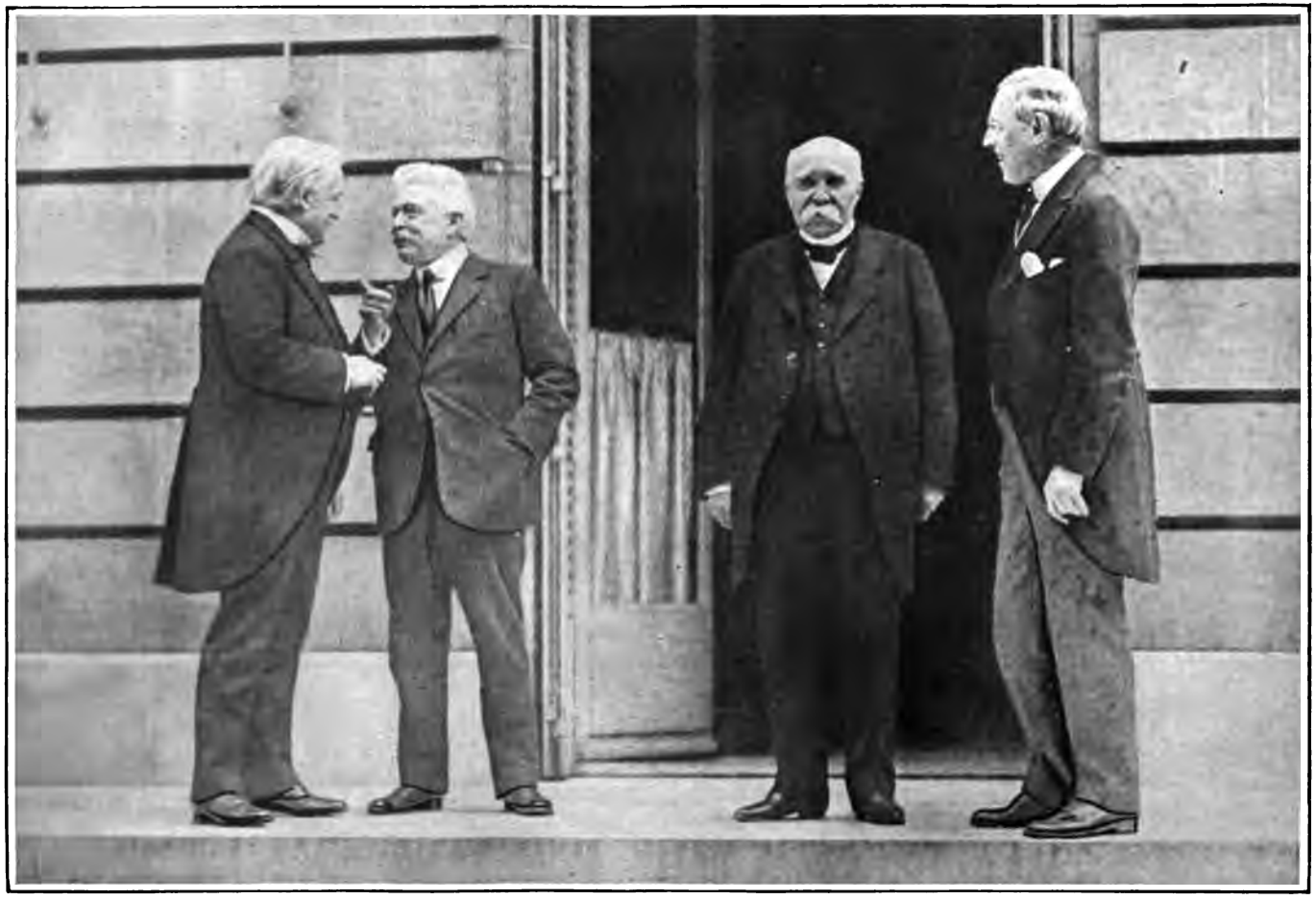
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THE COUNCIL OF FOUR, WHOSE DECISIONS WERE FINAL IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE

(In the early days of the conference there was a Council of Ten—the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, and the President and Secretary of State of the United States. Later this was reduced to five, and when Japan withdrew from participation in the settlements of Europe it became a Council of Four. In the final days Japan was again represented. In the picture, from left to right, are Premier Lloyd George, Premier Sonnino, Premier Clemenceau, and President Wilson)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Europe's Economic Wreckage

The month of June opened with the outlines of European peace slowly but steadily emerging out of the fogs of discord and strife. The chief mistake of the Peace Conference at Paris had been its failure to deal promptly with economic conditions. Militarism, as a colossal system centering in dynastic empires, was evidently doomed. A new political system, based upon the rights of free peoples, was growing out of inherent conditions, with the formal approval of the Peace Conference. A society of nations was in process of formation with a view to the averting of future war and the harmonizing of interests. However, while these valuable but difficult objects were under negotiation, Europe was suffering unspeakably from the paralysis of industry. The best achievements of the Peace Conference looking to the world's permanent order and safety were in danger of being overwhelmed and destroyed through the neglect and postponement of economic restoration. However well organized the Peace Conference was for the political and military matters it has had chiefly in view, it was not well organized or well led for the purposes of an immediate transition from the business of war to the business of saving Europe from anarchy and chaos, by the wholesome method of setting everybody at work in fields and factories, in commerce and in transportation.

Business Cooperation Necessary

This paralysis of industry has affected not merely Germany, Austria, and Hungary, but the people of the Allied countries themselves have been great sufferers. Hundreds of thousands of people have been drawing unemployment money from the British treasury. Belgium has been in needless distress through lack of machinery and raw materials, with idleness becoming chronic and a menace. Nowhere in Europe is the food situation approaching normal conditions. Americans would be surprised to know to what an extent the rationing of food is still carried on even in Great Britain, and how scarce fuel has been everywhere in Europe during the recent winter and spring. The most powerful and experienced business men of the whole world should have been organized in a separate economic conference at the very moment of the armistice last November, and should have been instructed to save Europe—and, perchance, the other continents—from Bolshevism by endeavoring to give everyone a chance to earn his living and to obtain at least the irreducible minimum of food, clothing, fuel, and shelter by virtue of work in some productive calling.

Servants of Foreign Trade

It is obvious that the conditions of economic life are beyond the control of most individuals. They are also, for Europe, beyond the control even of separate nations. Countries like England, Belgium, France, and Germany are dependent upon international trade. Very large elements of their population have for a generation past been maintained by virtue of imported food and exported manufactures. They are the dependant servants of foreign trade. Steamships, railroads, international markets, banking credits, distribution of such raw materials as cotton, wool, coal, iron, and copper—all these things belong to an indivisible fabric of the world's larger economic life. The very existence of millions of people has been contingent upon the resumption of these larger spheres of industry and trade. A congress of industrial leaders, financiers, practical economists, and labor experts might have been expected to lay aside the politics of prejudice, and to set the wheels of industry in motion. The subordinate economic committees of the main Peace Conference

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have doubtless included many able men, but they have had no real authority and have merely given advice to the great figures like Clemenceau, Wilson, and Lloyd George, who have been intent upon other things and who in any case are not competent to reëstablish the world in a practical business sense.

America in Sharp Contrast

Here in the United States we are relatively independent of other countries in our ability to maintain a comfortable economic existence. There has been shown of late an irrepressible impulse to buy and sell and speculate, on the higher price levels. Optimism has been prevalent, the soldiers have been coming back in swelling numbers, farmers have been encouraged by high prices and good weather, and all the well-known symptoms of feverish prosperity, under conditions of currency inflation, have been in evidence everywhere. It was in this eager and buoyant atmosphere of America that Mr. Frank Vanderlip found himself immersed—as an amazing contrast—when several weeks ago he returned from a sojourn of several months abroad, during which he had observed business conditions at first hand in a number of European countries. He was asked to speak publicly upon conditions and prospects as he had found them, and his views aroused wide discussion. They were disturbing to many who were booming oil stocks and talking of America's era of unprecedented prosperity.

Vanderlip's Striking Comments

But Mr. Vanderlip was not merely indulging in moods of gloom induced by Europe's discontent and suffering. He was helping America to see that we could not be permanently prosperous here with Europe starving and idle, and that in these present critical times the business problems are more fundamental than the military or political. We are glad to present Mr. Vanderlip's views to our readers elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW. For many years he has been one of the leaders of American thought in public affairs as well as one of its guiding minds in finance and business. As a boy in Illinois he had made his own way by hard work; later he became a product of our Western educational system; and in due time he was known as one of the rising young men in Chicago journalism with a special talent for finance and business. He was the right hand man of Secretary Lyman J. Gage in the Treasury Department at Washington, and after four or five years came to New York as an official in the largest of our American banks, of which he became the President about ten years ago. As a bank officer in Wall Street, he has always recognized the public aspects and functions of our great credit institutions, and has enjoyed the confidence of the country at large as well as the especial respect and esteem of the associated bankers. He has now withdrawn from the more private responsibilities of a bank president, and this will leave him wholly free to continue those public activities as a citizen and leader of opinion which he has never been too busy with his private affairs to disregard. Mr. George E. Roberts, whose own noteworthy career at Washington and in New York has been associated with that of Mr. Vanderlip, contributes for our readers an excellent article upon the work of his friend.

Our Strong Financial Leadership

The Federal Reserve System has been a tower of strength to American business through the war period. Its creation reflects immense credit upon the opening part of President Wilson's first term. It would be unjust, however, to ascribe a partisan origin to a new system of currency and banking the foundations for which had been so strongly laid by the Republicans under leadership of Senator Aldrich with the help of men in both Houses at Washington, of students of banking and finance, and of young experts like Mr. Henry P. Davison and Mr. Vanderlip. The great part played in the completion and adop-



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WAITING FOR THE WORD!
From the *Evening World* (New York)

tion of the system by Mr. McAdoo, then Secretary of the Treasury, and by Mr. Glass, then Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and now Mr. McAdoo's successor in the Cabinet, is a matter of current history. In whatever fields of public policy or statesmanship we may be untrained and deficient, it is but just to remark that we are now comparatively strong and well-trained in our financial and business leadership. Fantastic and fallacious views about money, banking and finance, which were once so prevalent in the United States, have no place in the leadership of either great party today.

Economic Talent now Foremost

Not only is our financial leadership both in Congress and the Government, and in practical business, based more securely upon scientific principles than ever before, but there is a high degree of confidence in the integrity and broad-mindedness of our foremost men in public and private finance. This is fortunate in view of the immensity of our practical problems. Thus Secretary Glass had the strongest kind of loyal coöperation from all the banks and business men of the country in floating the recent Victory Loan, and he was complimented by men of all parties upon the intelligence and wisdom of his methods. Mr. McAdoo had been similarly supported in his long series of brilliant fiscal operations. The war period has brought many men of the American banking fraternity into different forms of public service, and the consequence will be an enhanced ability on the part of the financial structure of this country to help in the solution of national and international problems. The experience of a banker like Henry P. Davison, who began studying currency and finance as a member of Senator Aldrich's Monetary Commission, and who has now won deserved distinction as head of the American Red Cross, is typical of the remarkable training for further usefulness that the war period has given to many of our bankers and business men.

Our Major Problems of Business

Since our problems of the near future are to pertain so largely to economics and business, it is reassuring that we have so many men of sound knowledge who are also men of broad social sympathies and relatively free from the ambition to pile up immense private fortunes. One of the most noticeable of the changes that the war period has brought about is the modification of the motives of business men



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MR. HENRY POMEROY DAVISON

(Who served through the war as head of the American Red Cross and is now the leading spirit in the projected international organization of Red Cross Societies. Mr. Davison, like Mr. Vanderlip, was a country boy, who has made his way to a foremost place in banking, finance, and public service through effort, ability, and character. His efficient labors have been recognized in all the Allied countries of Europe)

—their deepened sense of social responsibility and their recognition of the fact that "big business" is a public, social, and professional affair, existing only incidentally for the enrichment of business leaders. Thus swiftly, though hardly recognized as yet, there has faded away the tradition that American railroads exist for the sake of creating a few magnates of immense wealth. The railroad situation is perplexing and difficult but at least it is going to be dealt with from the standpoint of the public interest. It ought not to be necessary to remark that the real owners of railroad bonds and stocks are as deserving of protection from having their property confiscated as are the owners of farms or merchandise or of Liberty Bonds. Transportation, like all other commodities, costs a great deal more to produce under present conditions than five or ten years ago.

Railroads and Their Future

It would seem the simplest solution of the present difficulty of the railroads to fix rates bearing some relation to the cost of the service rendered. There is no reason in the nature of

things why the owner of railroad bonds or stocks should be impoverished for the benefit of cotton growers and wheat growers who are obtaining more than twice the former price for their products. American freight rates have been increased, but they are still by far the lowest in the world. We have reason to believe that there is a growing disposition to deal with the railroad question as intelligently and justly as we have dealt with the problems of currency and banking. Especial attention is invited to the article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Senator Cummins, on the essential factors in the present railroad problem. The article would be notable upon its merits, but it derives special importance from the fact that Mr. Cummins is chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and will be more influential than any other member of Congress in shaping legislation under which the railroads will be handed back to their owners.

Senator Cummins' Views

President Wilson has given the country to understand that his intention is that Government control shall cease at the end of the present calendar year. This leaves us six months for the maturing of a sound, intelligent, honest railroad policy. The spirit of fairness and justice that is disclosed in Senator Cummins' article will go far in itself to aid in the shaping and adoption of a plan for the future of the American transportation system. The public aspects now predominate, and the railroads must be considered in the light of their relation to the community as a whole; but the private money directly invested in railroads is just as fairly entitled to protection as is the money that the Government has borrowed for the war-time operation of the railroads and that is represented in the hands of investors by Liberty Bonds. Nor is there any more reason why unduly low rates should be charged by railroads than that unduly low wages should be paid to railroad employes. To put the railroads on a sound basis of finance for the present, and to provide a method for extending their facilities as the country's needs require, will be a great achievement.



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AN INFORMAL CAMERA SNAPSHOT OF SENATOR CUMMINS, WHO SHARES VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL'S HONORS AS PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

These Are Not Party Issues

We have learned, in face of war emergencies, to settle large questions without sectionalism or partisanship. Let us hope that there is enough of intelligence and character in the country to maintain this same spirit of national unity in the settlement of these great questions of domestic and foreign business policy. The sentiment of the country does not favor full Government ownership and operation of railroads. It favors private initiative in operation, with broad-minded Government control. The roads ought always to have been allowed to fix the general level of their rates, but they should have been held to strict account for their management, their efficiency, and the use to which every penny of their gross income might be applied.

Our Flag on the Ocean

Another of the vast business problems that Congress must consider is the American Merchant Marine. We were the greatest of ocean shippers in the Napoleonic period, but our ships and commerce were the victims of French decrees and British orders in council. Again we had risen to be the greatest of shipping nations when, during our Civil War, Confederate cruisers and British policy again drove us off the seas. We have now built a great merchant marine, impelled by the unselfish motive of saving England and France when they were threatened with starvation by the deadly war of the German submarines. Having acquired a large amount of ocean tonnage, it is almost wholly a question of Government policy whether we shall keep the American flag flying, or whether we shall sell our ships to European countries and have them used adversely to American trade and communication. It is not the spirit of America to take advantage of European countries and obtain an undue share of foreign com-



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A VIEW OF THE CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON, ON OCCASION OF THE CONVENING OF THE NEW SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS AT ITS OPENING SESSION ON MAY 19

(Perhaps no previous Congress, except in times of war emergency, has had before it so many problems of profound importance as the new Republican body, now in session and likely to remain at work continuously until the time of the Presidential nominations, a year hence)

merce; but there are many reasons—involving the peace and welfare of the world—why the United States should trade freely and directly under the American flag with South America, and also with Europe and Asia.

Marine Policy Needed

There lie many difficulties in the way of the establishment of our flag on the high seas. Many of the young men who have been trained for sea service in the war period will be available as officers of American merchant ships. If we cannot use Americans as common seamen in competition with the ships of other nations, we might accept the view that the sea has a population of its own, and employ crews of Chinamen, making our own American seamen petty officers. If British and Japanese ships, employing Asiatic crews, are permitted to trade upon our Western coasts, there is no reason why American ship-owners should not be authorized to employ similar crews. The question of immigration is in no manner involved in this problem of employing ocean labor. We need a definite public policy to guide our further building and management of ships. Such a marine policy is now under consideration, after much study, and we may hope for legislation in the near future.

The Shipping Board's Program

In the middle of June the Shipping Board, under Mr. Hurley's chairmanship, presented to Congress its matured plan for the future of what has been known as the "Emergency Fleet" and for the permanent lines of the American merchant marine policy. This report calls for private ownership and operation of ships, contemplates large shipping companies, assumes a good deal of Government supervision as to routes for the benefit of American trade, and contemplates a great ocean career for this country as well as the maintenance of our suddenly developed shipbuilding industry. The expenditure of $673,000,000 additional will have brought the total cost of our emergency fleet up to $3,400,000,000. This will have provided about 13,000,000 tons' deadweight of merchant shipping. Generally speaking, the ships yet to be built are to be of the larger and better types, and it will be the policy to allow small vessels under 6000 tons to be sold to foreigners. It is to be believed that upon the basis of this report Congress will be able to provide the country with a permanent peace-time policy that will place the American flag in every important port; will make direct trade with foreign countries possible; and speed travelers under the Stars and Stripes.

Congress Reducing Expenditures

By call of President Wilson, the new Republican Congress met in extra session on May 19. The organization of the Houses had been practically agreed upon in advance and was mentioned in these pages last month. Mr. Gillett makes an acceptable Speaker of the House, and Senator Cummins, who presides over the upper chamber in the absence of Vice-President Marshall, is a similarly appropriate choice. By reason of the importance of revenue and like problems, Mr. Fordney of Michigan, the new Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, will become a familiar figure to the average newspaper reader. Mr. Good of Iowa, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, will also stand out as a personage with whom the outside public is concerned. An immediate task was the reshaping of the appropriation bills which had come over from the last Congress. These were to provide for carrying on the Government during the fiscal year beginning July 1. The outlook in several directions has changed materially since the last Congress expired on the fourth of March. Secretary Daniels went frankly before the Naval Committees and withdrew his large building program. As revised, the naval appropriations for this coming year will save about $200,000,000 as compared with the bill that failed in the Senate three months ago. The Army bill will save more than $300,000,000, and there will be retrenchment in other directions. The sum estimated by Mr. Hines, the Government's Director-General of railroads, as necessary to finance and maintain the lines is cut by several hundred millions. It is obvious that we must support naval and military aviation and must also maintain all parts of the naval program generously. But we could afford to reduce the Army even a little more than Secretary Baker and Chairman Kahn have proposed. The habit of lavish public expenditure goes with the emergencies of war. Strict economy and severe retrenchment are hard to enforce in a period following the unavoidable extravagance of war methods. The new Congress must, however, cut down our expenditure in wasteful directions in order to have money for wise and productive uses.



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COLONEL RICHARD G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU

(The new Director, who for many years has been a valued member of the staff of the Review of Reviews Company, had always been especially interested in insurance for young men and wage-earners. During the war he served in Europe as one of the army officers in charge of soldiers' insurance under the new system, winning a citation for "exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous services." He is now at the head of the Government's largest bureau)

The Immense Bureau of "War Risk"

One of the immediate steps taken by the new Congress to support necessary obligations had to do with the War Risk Bureau. This great creation of the war had quickly grown to be the Government's largest bureau, and the world's incomparably greatest insurance agency. For the benefit of several million soldiers and sailors and their dependents there are outstanding policies of almost $40,000,000,000. Embarrassment was caused when Congress adjourned on March 4 by failure to provide the funds for a great number of allotments that were falling due. Secretary Glass found a way to advance the money and the new Congress acted promptly. A reorganization of this vast new public service has been brought about, under the Secretary's direction, with Col. Richard G. Cholmeley-Jones as the new Bureau Chief. Col. Cholmeley-Jones had been for many years a valued member of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS business staff, when he was commissioned as a captain in the Army and sent to France with the late Major Willard Straight to carry on the soldier's insurance and war risk work for the Army abroad. His service in Europe was as enthusiastic and wholehearted as it was efficient and unselfish. His

recent appointment as head of the Bureau was in the fullest sense a case of the office seeking the man.

This Agency Must Be Sustained

The work of the Bureau is of appalling magnitude, yet the project is intrinsically sound and its many problems of policy and administration can be worked out. Secretary Glass and Assistant Secretary Shouse, with the new Director of the Bureau, are wholly free from political bias in the carrying on of this service for the benefit of soldiers and their dependents, and we may well believe that the Committees of Congress will coöperate in the same spirit. That the Bureau is to be investigated by Congress has been well understood, and such an investigation should be both broad and thorough. But it should also be helpful and sympathetic, and friends of returned and discharged soldiers and sailors everywhere should encourage the men to keep up their insurance and consider carefully the desirable options and proposals that will be offered to them by the War Risk Bureau. This business should be well advertised in some fashion, to gain public confidence.

Heavy Taxes to Be Retained

It was confidently asserted that Congress would immediately repeal some of the so-called luxury taxes which are collected through dealers and merchants, but the more seriously the revenue problem was considered last month by the Committees, the less inclined were they to recommend the cutting off of any sources of income. Senator Penrose, the new Chairman of the Finance Committee, made what seemed to be a sound and statesmanlike observation when he expressed the view that before taxes were repealed or altered a scientific budget system ought to be adopted. Bills are now pending in both Houses for reforming the whole system of presenting estimates and making appropriations. The advocates of a consolidated executive budget are no longer regarded as faddists, and they are supported by bankers and business men of as much ability as those who helped to create the Federal Reserve System. The new plan has obtained prestige and standing in both Houses and its adoption is fairly probable. Now is the time to urge it.

A Budget System in Sight

Severe pruning should bring the total expenditure of the Federal Government in the early future down to a total sum perhaps between three and four billions of dollars, including interest on the public debt. A scheme of taxation should then be arranged and adopted to provide the money for such total of outlay. Taxes on business profits and personal incomes will continue to be heavy for years to come, but the prosperity of the country will suffer if too much is taken from sources which would otherwise supply the need for fresh capital in business. With the coming of prohibition, the large revenue from whiskey and beer will disappear. Tobacco can perhaps bear even heavier taxes than it now pays. There are other consumption taxes that may be available, while a very small tax upon purchases of all sorts would not be improper. Tea and coffee are among the articles that ought to yield large revenues. No hardship whatever would be involved.

The President on Business Problems

The President's message, as read to Congress on May 20, had been cabled from Paris. His previous messages had been presented by him in person to the two houses sitting together. The address was not as favorably received at



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HON. BOIES PENROSE, SENIOR SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE'S FINANCE COMMITTEE



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HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN

(Mr. Fordney, whose home is at Saginaw, has been a Republican Congressman from that district for the past twenty years, and is now Chairman of the great Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. In this capacity he takes the lead in dealing with tariff and revenue questions and becomes a prominent national figure. Mr. Fordney is not a lawyer, but a business man who began to work in the lumber forests fifty years ago, as a boy, and became one of the leaders in the great lumber industry of his region)

the moment as some of Mr. Wilson's previous deliverances; but if now re-read, after the lapse of a month or more, it will be found in many respects a most timely and pertinent paper. It is not very specific, but it is suggestive and helpful in practical directions. Thus, the allusions to the merchant marine as serviceable to the whole world are directly to the point. "I believe," says the President, "that our business men, our merchants, our manufacturers, and our capitalists, will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere." He suggests, "that there are many points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation, and make it easy for American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends, rather than as dreaded antagonists." The largest single part of the President's message was devoted to the problems of taxation, and its observations are, in the main, well in accord with the best prevailing views. It is evident that Mr. Wilson is prepared to meet a Republican Congress fully half way in revising and changing the tax laws.

Tariff Changes Urgent

As to the tariff, Mr. Wilson declares that "there is, fortunately, no occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties." He holds that foreign countries are in such a condition that our domestic manufactures have no reason to fear competition of foreign goods. He advises the retention of the policy adopted in the Tariff Act of 1913 "of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies." He does not stop here, however, but hastens to say that "nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention." He then makes a sweeping appeal for a new tariff schedule to protect our dye and chemical industries. This subject was admirably presented in the June number of REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Doctor Charles Baskerville. Furthermore, Mr. Wilson calls for tariff legislation to protect us against adverse treatment under the trade policies of other countries. His remarks on this subject may well be quoted as follows:

> The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations, in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws, as they now stand, provide no weapon of retaliation in case other governments should enact legislation unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries. Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation, we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility and that it may have to be met by counter legislation.

This is a question, as the President shows, upon which the existing United States Tariff Commission has made a satisfactory report. Mr. Wilson also says that the views he favors are those that have been suggested by previous administrations. Thus he attempts to lift the tariff question out of the field of party controversy. Undoubtedly the

Republican Congress will accept his views as to the chemical schedule and as regards tariff legislation intended to protect us against foreign discrimination. That the Republican Ways and Means Committee will be disposed in the near future to take up various schedules, with a view to changes here and there, is already quite evident, inasmuch as tariff hearings had already begun at Washington last month. There seems little call for radical tariff revision of a general kind.

Trade Rivalries, and Tariffs

We shall, of course, encounter the spirit of trade rivalry in the future, and must endeavor to keep that spirit within bounds in order that good relationships may be maintained with our friends abroad. Germany has been England's largest customer in the past, and some of the most recent undercurrents of negotiation at Paris were—perhaps falsely—attributed to the eagerness of certain interests to resume profitable trade relations with the Germans. Canada, on the other hand, is America's best and most natural commercial associate, and it is proper that this country should look toward an ever-increasing volume of business both ways across the Northern line. It is not a normal or sound policy which would set up sharp discriminations in Canada against the United States in favor of Great Britain in consequence of the political relationship between the great Canadian self-governing Democracy and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In all its financial and trade policies, Canada is as free and independent as Brazil or Argentina. It is obvious that if the intimate and desirable relationship of the English-speaking commonwealths is to be developed into a mere commercial combination, with predominance in naval and marine affairs, there will tend to grow up other less natural combinations in rivalry.



"SAM BULL"—THE HOPE OF THE WORLD
From *Opinion* (London)

[This typical English cartoon is very timely, as we are about to celebrate the Fourth of July with the assistance and good will of our British friends. It represents the combined strength and influence of Britain and America as the best guarantee of the world's peace and the world's prosperity. It is in the spirit of Mr. Frank Dilnot's article, contributed to this number of the REVIEW]

Freedom versus "Preference"

If the normal and desirable flow of trade throughout North America is prevented by arbitrary political policies, there will follow a development of competing policies through the sheer necessities of the case. "Preference" tariffs are a game that cannot be played by one group of countries without resulting in attempts, at least, in the nature of imitation. The English-speaking world should, as a whole, move in the direction of trade coöperation rather than of extreme rivalry. People of large brains, wide information and sound sympathy are now believing in the policy of trying to help everybody in the world to have sufficient food, suitable work, and hopeful opportunity. It was reported last month that as respects certain schedules, the new Canadian budget proposals at Ottawa give the same tariff rates to the United States as to Great Britain. These include such commodities as foodstuffs, clothing and farm machinery. Under existing conditions Great Britain could not in any case supply Canada with many of the articles necessary to import; and discriminating tariffs would merely increase prices for the Canadian consumers. The real problems will have to be faced a little later, and it is to be hoped that the United States may set the pace by opening our markets on the most liberal terms to Canadian producers.

Returning the "Wires"

"The railroads," declared the President in his message, "will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year. Regarding the wire services," he went on to say, "I could name the exact date for their return also, if I were in immediate contact with the

administrative questions which must govern the re-transfering of the telegraph and the telephone lines." He had stated that these lines would be returned as soon as it could be properly done. He pointed out the need of legislation which would "tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and coördinated system, which will afford those who use them as complete and certain means of communication with all parts of the country as has so long been afforded by the postal system of the Government, and at rates as uniform and intelligible. Expert advice is, of course, available in this very practical matter, and the public interest is manifest."



MR. NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT OF THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

"Operation" Resumed

The President went on to say that neither the telegraph nor the telephone service of the country could be said in any sense to be a national system. He suggested to Congress that it should study the whole question of electrical communication and unify and improve it under the central authority of the nation. Postmaster-General Burleson had, on the President's order, returned the ocean cables early in May. The return of the land wires was merely awaiting the desired legislation by Congress. Early in June there were serious local telephone strikes. On June 5 Mr. Burleson announced that, for purposes of operation, the wire lines were returned to the owning companies. The control of policy and of rates, and the general administration of the wire services remained with the Government. This left the companies to deal, in the immediate sense, with labor problems. The Western Union Telegraph Company has always held that its services were so necessary to the public that they ought never to be interrupted by a strike or a lockout, and that its employees were engaged in a business involving personal discretion of so high and delicate a nature that they ought never to be subject, in mass, to outside strike orders.

The Issues of the Strike

President Newcomb Carlton, of the Western Union, stated his position with much weight, and the country was watching very anxiously last month to see whether Mr. Carlton was right in saying that Western Union men would not go out on strike, or whether Mr. Konenkamp was justified in his absolute statement to the public that the Western Union men were going to obey his clarion call to tie up the lines and deprive the public of this necessary means of communication. Very few Western Union men went out at first. A somewhat larger number of employees of the Postal Telegraph System responded to the strike order. As we went to press the strike seemed to be unsuccessful, but it had not been called off. It is to be hoped that Congress will very promptly provide for the full resumption of wire control by the owning companies as recommended by President Wilson. The principal point at stake with Mr. Konenkamp seemed to be the extending of union organization into a field where heretofore it has had very slight hold.



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S. J. KONENKAMP, PRESIDENT OF THE TELEGRAPHERS' UNION

Suffrage Triumphant

The workers for woman suffrage achieved a great triumph in finally securing the adoption of their amendment to the Federal Constitution by the United States Senate on June 4th, the vote being 56 in favor and 25 against. The amendment as adopted is the famous text phrased and advocated in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony, and it reads as follows:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

To give this amendment practical effect, it must be ratified by the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, that is to say by thirty-six legislatures. If it is to go into effect in time for the presidential election of next year, many of the legislatures will have to be called into extra session to ratify it. Already woman suffrage had become an established fact in many States through local action. The amendment would make suffrage uniform and universal throughout the United States.

Ratification Assured

Everyone knew that the time for opposing suffrage in any practical sense had passed and that public opinion was fully committed to the reform. Thus, on June 10th, three legislatures had a chance to act and in Illinois there was a unanimous vote in the Upper House and only three opposing votes in the Lower. In the Wisconsin legislature one Senator and two Assemblymen voted in the negative. In the Michigan legislature favorable action was unanimous in both Houses. Governor Smith of New York, on June 10, summoned the legislature to meet the following Monday night in extra session, with the certainty that there would be no opposition to the amendment worth regarding. The Missouri legislature was to meet in special session to ratify the amendment on July 2. Meanwhile, the Kansas legislators had set a striking example, as suggested by Governor Henry J. Allen, by agreeing to meet for a single day's session, waiving salary and mileage, so that ratification would be without expense to the public treasury. Massachusetts, though not a suffrage State, was expected to ratify promptly, and many governors had agreed that if a sufficient number of State executives should be willing to call extra sessions, they would take action and thus enable the amendment to take effect almost at once.



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MRS. MEDILL MCCORMICK AND CHAIRMAN WILL HAYS

(Mrs. McCormick is chairman of the executive committee of an organization of Republican women. She is the daughter of a former Senator, the late Mark Hanna, and the wife of the junior Senator from Illinois, Medill McCormick. In the picture Mrs. McCormick is introducing Chairman Hays to an audience in Washington)

Women in Public Affairs

President Wilson had, in his message, strongly advocated the amendment, having abandoned his earlier preference for separate state action. He declared that the whole world was expecting the United States to proceed along this line. It happens however, that the Republican Senators were more responsive to the President's appeal than were those of Mr. Wilson's own party. Thirty-six Republican Senators voted aye and eight no. Twenty Democrats voted for and seventeen against. Meanwhile, the political committees have been fully alive to the significance of the enlarged electorate. Everywhere they have been adding women to county, State and other party boards. Chairman Will Hays, of the Republican National Committee, has been especially energetic in welcoming the women voters and seeking the coöperation of women of political influence and capacity. Everywhere there is evidence of an increased interest on the part of women in public affairs and a desire to meet new responsibilities in a way that shall promote the common welfare. Young women in schools, colleges and universities are showing great aptitude for the study of civics and economics, and the activity of women's clubs and societies begins to be shown in many useful measures of progress in the direction of the better care and training of children, public health, housing, labor conditions, and the general tone of social and public life.

The New Liquor Issue

One reason why the many excellent suggestions contained in the President's message received scanty attention as Congress opened lay in the fact that public interest was diverted by one major surprise and two or three minor ones. The major surprise was contained in a paragraph on war time prohibition, which it seems worth while to record here in full. It reads as follows:

> The demobilization of the military forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions. I therefore recommend that the act approved November 21, 1918, entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purpose of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,' and for other purposes" be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

Congress had conferred upon the President power to establish complete national prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the President had ordered that this prohibition go into effect on July 1. Meanwhile, permanent prohibition, under the Constitutional Amendment, is to take effect a little more than six months hence.

The Order Will Stand

It was supposed that President Wilson had full discretion under the law that permitted him to ordain the "dry" regime, to modify or withdraw the order as he thought best. Congress was not pleased with the President's advice to them that they must take their share of the criticism; and therefore Congress had not taken any action—and did not expect to do so—as these comments are closed for the press in the middle of June. Meanwhile, the brewers and certain other interests supporting their views, were clamoring to have Congress, or the courts, or both, declare that beer containing 2.75 per cent. of alcohol was not beer in the sense of the law, but was skim milk or something else; and a federal judge at New York, after argument by learned counsel, has granted a preliminary injunction restraining Government officials from interfering with its manufacture. Since, however, we have had almost countless court interpretations of "dry" laws in States and under local option, this new contention has seemed fantastic in its novelty.

When Is Beer Not Beer?

When the prohibition order was issued there was, probably, not a human being among the hundred millions of our people across whose mind there had ever flitted the notion that beer, in the meaning of the order (and in the meaning of the new Constitutional Amendment), was not beer if the amount of alcohol in it was less than 2.75 per cent. Prohibition is a drastic thing, and strong arguments can be made against it; but the 2.75 per cent. quibble is an insult to Congress, courts, presidents, and ordinary intelligence. Prohibition is going to be tried in this country, and the people now clamoring wildly against it have launched their movement much too late. The Prohibitionists, on their side, must abstain from fanatical inquisitions, housebreaking, the insulting search of the baggage of women travelers, and all such half-insane and contemptible violation of human rights. On the other hand, prohibition laws must be honestly enforced and loyally obeyed by everyone.

Peace Still in the Balance

The status of the foremost current problem, that of international peace, was not easy to discuss at the moment of our going to press. In Paris the controlling group of negotiators were revising the text of the Treaty for final submission to the Germans after having had the extended replies and criticisms of the German delegates. The main lines of the Treaty were not changed, but some modifications were accepted in the hope of securing an earlier acceptance by the Berlin authorities. To find fault with this Treaty requires no great acumen; it requires only a willingness and a disposition to find fault, and the lawyerlike or argumentative habit of dealing with a public issue. There has been from time to time constructive criticism that has been useful. But much of the criticism has seemed to us merely to merit the observation that almost any person might go even farther in finding fault if he thought it the right thing to do. The negotiators at Paris have had to deal with matters of almost infinite complexity. They have not been working in a vacuum, but out-of-doors in a world of terribly stormy weather.

The Practical Solution

The solutions could not be those of pure logic, nor of mathematical demonstration. We have at least several hundred, and probably some thousands, of men and women quite as ca-

pable from their knowledge of past and present historical conditions to pass judgment upon the work of the Paris Conference as are the very excellent and patriotic men who honorably represent our forty-eight States in the Senate. It is at least a matter to be carefully noted that inside the Senate the opposition to the work at Paris happens to be almost entirely on the Republican side. But when one discusses these questions with intelligent men out of politics, who have been studying the situation upon its merits, the division of sentiment is not upon Republican and Democratic lines any more than it is upon Methodist and Baptist lines. The League of Nations has no possible bearing upon American parties; and a partisan attitude of mind in the face of so great a matter of world importance is not to be commended, though we question no man's sincerity.



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PHILANDER C. KNOX WILLIAM E. BORAH

TWO SENATORIAL CRITICS OF THE TREATY

Some Reasons for Critical Attitude

It does not follow that Republican statesmen are not without provocation that tempts them to be critical. The American negotiators ought to have been in the highest sense the trusted representatives of the most intelligent American opinion. It has been asserted that far too much of American officialdom has been over in Paris, neglecting duties here at home; but this is not a wise view to take. It might better be said that not nearly enough of the leaders in American public life have been in Paris helping to shape momentous decisions. In our opinion, Mr. Knox, as a former Secretary of State and a present Senator, ought to have been in Paris for the past six months along with a good many other members of the Senate of both parties. It is true America is permitted to have only five delegates in the full sense—these being, besides President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, Colonel House, General Tasker H. Bliss, and Mr. Henry White. But as a matter of fact, many other Americans have been there working officially and having perhaps more part in shaping the Treaty than several of the formal delegates. These other Americans have been for the most part called "experts." They are such men as Messrs. Vance McCormick, Bernard Baruch, Thomas Lamont, and a group of well-qualified university professors of history and economics, headed by President Mezes, of the College of the City of New York—men of ability and knowledge, all of them—to the number of several hundred.

Americans at Paris

But most of these men, in the political sense, are not representative, and the country unfortunately does not know who they are, and does not indeed know that they are there. At least forty of them have been serving upon international commissions of the highest authority, and it is these commissions which have been working out different parts of the great peace settlement including the details of the League of Nations. In our judgment it has been a profound mistake that Republicans like Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Knox, Mr. Borah, and Hiram Johnson, have not been either members of the formal group of five delegates, or else advisory members of the American body, serving upon great commissions, helping to shape the League of Nations, to adjust economic problems, and to determine the proper lines of future action for this country. We have repeatedly declared our opinion that there ought to have been a really powerful conference upon the economic problems, which should have included several of our foremost Congressional authorities at Washington and our most eminent bankers and industrial leaders. It seems to us, therefore, that President Wilson's method of choosing and organizing the American personnel at Paris has been unfortunate from the political standpoint, as well as from that of the world's business reconstruction. It was desirable to have kept the Senate and the country in touch with Paris. It seemed high time to adopt a policy of enlightenment in foreign affairs.

A Better Job Than Appears

It does not follow however, that the peace Conference as a whole has done fatally bad work, or that its conclusions must be torn to pieces by the United States Senate in order to show Europe and the world that a coördinate branch of our Government does not like Wilson's methods. The censorship that still prevails in Paris has, so to speak, marooned the Peace Conference. Nobody in France could have learned from the Paris press very much about American sentiment; and, on the other hand, although we have had floods of cabled material from intelligent and truthful correspondents, their work has been made very difficult and it follows that the great decisions have been reached at Paris without the safeguard of a constantly instructed public opinion. Individuals like the Hon. Oscar Straus, Mr. Frank Vanderlip, and now our own correspondent Mr. Simonds, come back with deep knowledge, and, in our opinion, safe and sane opinions. But the one group of men that should have been kept in constant relationship with the course of affairs is the United States Senate, for the simple reason that this group must, by a two-thirds majority, accept and ratify the Peace Treaty before it can take effect. It is not in fact a treaty in the full sense, so far as we are concerned, but only a negotiated draft of a treaty, until the Senate sends it back to the President with the duly certified stamp of its approval.



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LLOYD GEORGE AND THE AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATION

(From left to right, are: President Wilson, Colonel E. M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss, Premier Lloyd George, and Hon. Henry White)

It Should Be Ratified

It is our belief that if the Germans will sign a Treaty which the Allies and President Wilson have also found it possible to sign, it would be best that the Senate should ratify it promptly in order to bring to an end the evils of a technical continuance of the war status. It would be idle to say that Senator Knox and many of his able colleagues are without strong logical grounds for holding that the League of Nations covenant and the Peace settlement with Germany should come forward as two distinct things. But it is true that many questions have yet to be dealt with that grow inevitably out of the war; and some international body can best handle these postponed problems. As the Treaty stands, the League of Nations is an integral part of it. Logically, Senator Knox holds, the League sections can be detached and the Treaty can be ratified without them. Practically, in view of world conditions, this would seem to make rather for confusion than for clearness.

The Document and the Senate

It has, in our opinion, been a most unfortunate thing that copies of the complete treaty had not been placed in the hands of every Senator at the time when the summary of the document was given to the newspapers. For the ordinary reader, the summary was sufficient; for the Senators the full document was requisite. Many copies were locked up in the custody of the State Department in Washington, and no Senator was allowed to see them. Yet every Senator is, under our Constitution, a high functionary in the conclusion of treaties; and, apart from mere theories, there is no Senator whose authority at this time, as respects the acceptance or rejection of the Peace Treaty, is not decidedly greater than that of any American connected with the negotiations in Paris except the President alone. That copies of the full Treaty should have been in the hands of hundreds of subordinate Americans at Paris and of some Americans in this country, while no Senator

had been officially permitted to see a copy, was not only an exasperating circumstance, but a public misfortune of a dangerous and far-reaching character.

Peace Is Imperative

Saying all this with frankness, we are ready, nevertheless, to go on to express the view that the Americans at Paris have rendered able and conscientious service; that President Wilson has done exceedingly well in view of tremendous difficulties; and that the Peace Treaty, if in the near future submitted to the Senate, ought to be ratified—League of Nations and all. While we sympathize with the Senate's feeling that it has not been properly helped to meet its responsibilities to the country, we are of opinion that the critical conditions of the world require the prompt making of peace, and also require such an association as this imperfect League of Nations is meant to initiate. We have no bricks to throw at Senator Knox or at Senator Borah, for whose patriotism and ability we have a high regard. We hope to see the Senate ratify the Treaty, and at the same time go on record with a careful memorandum interpreting various matters that relate to American policy. We are inclined to think that the country would support them in such a course, and would recognize in the early future their effort to sink all party feeling at a moment of world crisis.

Need for Sympathy and Union

The simple truth is that we are in some danger from a wave of anti-European reaction that was bound to follow the high tide of idealism which swept our vast armies overseas, to the victorious finish of the world's greatest war. Truth remains the same, but the fires of emotion will naturally tend to burn themselves out. Mr. Frank Simonds, who has returned after five months in France,—just in time to write the lucid description which appears in this number of the REVIEW,—makes us feel again how wrong it would be to lose our faith in the French people and our sympathy for them, after all that we and they have suffered in common. It is true to-day, just as it was true a year ago, that we must work for world-harmony, and that we must coöperate as closely as possible with Great Britain and France. If our Senators —all of them—could have been taken to Europe on Government ships, brought into close touch with the Peace Conference, and into informal but frank relations with leaders



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HON. HIRAM JOHNSON, PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

(Mr. Johnson is an opponent of the League of Nations as a part of the peace treaty. He was strongly endorsed last month by Senator Borah and others as a Presidential candidate for 1920)

in England, France and Italy, they would have lost nothing of their Americanism, but would have been better able to help solve the great problems for which they are responsible. They would have continued to uphold American rights and interests; but they would also have returned with a deeper regard for Great Britain and a warmer feeling toward France.

Ireland in Our Senate

If, indeed, the Senators could all have spent at least three months in Europe since last November (traveling, of course, in small groups), it is not likely that they would, on the sixth day of June have passed a resolution relating to the Government of Ireland, with only one opposing vote. Many of them, doubtless, would have gone to Dublin, and would have talked freely in London on the Irish question. But they would probably have thought it unfitting to pass a resolution bearing upon the relations between the two parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, just as it would seem unfitting that the House of Commons or the



(C) Paul Thompson, New York

AMERICANS WHOSE REPORT ON IRISH CONDITIONS HAS OFFENDED THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

(Several months ago Mr. Michael O'Ryan of Philadelphia, Mr. Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City, and ex-Governor Dunne of Illinois went to Ireland as representing the "Friends of Irish Freedom." Their report last month was criticised and resented in London. They were urged in effect to leave through President Wilson a Searchlight at Paris for the "Irish Extremists")

House of Lords should pass a formal resolution severely to criticize the attitude of this country in its relation to the proposed independence of the Philippines or to the demand of certain people in Cuba for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment which virtually ties Cuba to the United States.

Home Rule in a Jungle

Senator Lodge intimated that it was as suitable for us to express views on the Irish question as for the British to have opinions on the Monroe Doctrine. But we are not aware that the British Parliament has passed a resolution implying hostility to American views about the political freedom of the Western Hemisphere. The Irish question is not understood in the United States Senate, but no American politician wants to offend our great body of active-minded citizens of Irish descent. In fact, nobody understands the Irish question, unless it be Sir Horace Plunkett. The Sinn Fein revolution was an outrage, but, from the American standpoint, the revolution that Carson was leading in the North of Ireland against the Home Rule Act of Parliament in 1914 was something not less unpraiseworthy. If Ulster were only a separate island like the Isle of Man, the so-called Irish question could be settled within twenty-four hours. All Americans believe in Home Rule for Ireland, and few Americans know that what they think they understand by "home rule for Ireland" is not even one phase of the present issue.

Anarchists at Work

On the night of the third of June, a bomb was exploded at the home of the new Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, in Washington; and like attempts were made to destroy the homes and families of a number of prominent men elsewhere in the country. This had followed about a month after the sending of numerous bombs through the mails to men who were regarded with enmity by anarchists. A thorough effort under the direction of Mr. William J. Flynn has been organized to "round up" criminal anarchists and protect American society. The miscreants are chiefly foreigners who have been admitted to this country under our lax immigration laws. Our country has no sympathy with anarchists; few Americans are lenient towards doctrines like those of the Bolsheviki. There is no shadow of excuse for terrorist crimes in America. Fortunately the plots have thus far failed.



THE RESIDENCE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AFTER THE EXPLOSION OF AN ANARCHIST BOMB



AUSTRIA UNDER THE PEACE TREATY

(The treaty limits the new Austrian republic to the solid black area. The diagonal shading represents territory formerly belonging to Austria, which now becomes parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the north and Italy and Jugoslavia in the southwest. The perpendicular lines indicate Hungarian territory, whose boundaries are yet to be fixed. The horizontal lines indicate territory formerly belonging to Austria and Hungary jointly, now part of Jugoslavia)

Russia's Civil War

A great discussion was going on everywhere last month about affairs in Russia, with wildly conflicting news statements. Some reports made it appear that Lenine and Trotzky were gaining constantly with irresistible armies; other reports declared it likely that Admiral Kolchak would enter the city of Moscow by the first of August, and overthrow the Bolshevist régime in the near future. The Allies last month decided definitely to recognize Kolchak's so-called "Omsk Government," and to give it support. The statement made by the Admiral could hardly have been improved in its clear recital of aims and methods. He promises a freely elected Constituent Assembly, and a reasonable treatment—in conjunction with the League of Nations—of the new countries which have been created out of parts of the former Russian Empire. He does not clearly state that he is prepared to recognize the full independence of Finland, but undoubtedly this can be arranged through the Allies or the League. Admiral Kolchak declares that the Lenine-Trotzky Government has been munitioned and financed by Germany.

Eastern Europe

The peace terms of the Allies had been presented to the Austrian delegation, but negotiations were likely to continue for some time. It was reported that Bela Kun, the Communist chief of the existing Hungarian Government, would send a group of delegates to enter upon the discussion of peace terms on behalf of the greatly shrunken Hungarian realms. Turkish questions of puzzling intricacy remained to be settled, with wide divergence of views as to the proper solution. Bulgaria, and the Balkan problems, have also yet to be straightened out. The League of Nations or some other body will have continuous work to do for a long time to come.

To Pay Off Our War Debt

Senator Smoot, who is looked on as our Congressional expert in matters of Government finance, has given for publication some of his views of the problem before us of paying off the



SENATOR REED SMOOT OF UTAH

(Though a strong Republican partisan, Senator Smoot has earned a high place in the Upper House by reason of his great ability and unflagging industry. He has held his seat for the past sixteen years. He has been one of the most valuable members of several of the Senate's leading committees, and is the new Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands)

war debt. Assuming that the final aggregate debt of the United States is $30,000,000,000, the Senator feels that our choice must lie somewhere between a sinking fund of 2½ per cent., producing $750,000,000 annually, and retiring the debt in a little less than twenty-four years—and a sinking fund of 1 per cent., raising $300,000,000 a year, which would extinguish the debt in forty-four years. He has found opinions that the higher sinking fund rate is too high to be borne without serious interference with business, and other opinions that the 1 per cent. rate is too low. He seems himself inclined toward a sinking fund of 1½ per cent., raising $450,000,000 annually and retiring the debt in thirty-two years.

The Allies' Debt To Us

Senator Smoot's calculations apparently assume that we shall not collect from our Allies in the great war the sums they borrowed from us. These sums now aggregate no less than $9,500,000,000, and form, therefore, nearly a third part of our total war debt. If we are to be paid for these advances to our Allies, most of which went to England and France, our present national debt could be extinguished within a reasonable time by a very much smaller annual sinking fund charge than any of those suggested by Senator Smoot. Public opinion in the United States has seemed to assume that these billions borrowed from us by Great Britain, France, and Italy would be returned, though suggestions have now and then been made that we cancel the debt. This, of course, reflects generous impulses; but it shows no mature study of the problem. In due time, doubtless, these obligations will be lifted; so far as the United States Treasury is concerned, by sale to private investors, whether here or abroad. Existing domestic government debts in England and France, as in the United States, are easy to deal with, because they merely require equalization among citizens, through processes of taxation. These foreign governments can then float new loans, with the proceeds of which they can cancel their indebtedness in other countries. All generous Americans who believe that the French and British peoples should not have to pay for their war supplies purchased in the United States, will have the privilege of subscribing to these bonds and presenting them as free gifts to the European governments. Doubtless many Americans will be glad to pursue this course. It would not seem possible for members of Congress to give away what is not their own property. But it is wholly permissible for citizens, as individuals, at all times to show the reality of their sympathies by giving of their substance. On the question of these obligations, President Wilson, in his recent message to Congress, said that our public indebtedness is not as great as it seems, because "a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our tax-payers."

The World's War Inflation

In the course of his interview, Senator Smoot gave some interesting figures, the result of his investigations of the general world inflation resulting from the war upheaval. These figures are, of course, exceedingly "round." He places the money worth of the world's possessions just before the war at $780,000,000,000. As compared with this, Senator

Smoot figures out present inflation to the amount of $240,000,000,000. Not only is the world immersed in great debts; but public debts promise to increase, rather than decrease, in the coming years. He believes that the European nations must look the facts squarely in the face, recognize that they cannot carry so great a burden, and repudiate their domestic debts, or else that they must impose such heavy taxes on wealth as nearly to reach the point of confiscation. The levy on wealth is already under discussion in several countries.

The Record Wheat Crop Assured

A great event of this troubled period in which we are living is the unprecedentedly magnificent crop of wheat in the United States, now practically assured. The Government's June estimates pointed to a total wheat harvest in the United States for 1919 of 1,236,000,000 bushels. It is true that calamities may yet come to the Spring wheat crop, but the large factor in the total is the Winter wheat, furnishing 900,000,000 bushels of the estimated total, and this being within a very few weeks of the harvest, can be counted as an accomplished fact. This achievement of our wheat farmers can be better appreciated when one looks back and finds that the largest wheat crop grown in any year before the war was 737,000,000 bushels; and that the present year's yield will exceed by no less than 210,000,000 bushels even the record-breaking crop of 1915. Our total for the year amounts to about one-third of all the wheat grown in the world. The acreage this year exceeds by 43% the largest ever planted in the pre-war period, showing the tremendous effort toward increasing the size of the crop exerted by the Government's guaranteed price. Then the larger acreage was aided by very unusually favorable conditions of moisture to produce the splendid final result.

What This Means to Europe

It is obvious that a single crop worth nearly $2,800,000,000 must mean a great deal to American farmers and through their prosperity and increased buying power, to trade in general in this country, and there is no doubt that this consideration has been one of those that accounted for the great upward swing in security prices in the United States, which extended for nearly a month without the slightest interruption up to June 10. But while this extraordinary piece of good fortune means that the United States will be richer, it means also that tens of thousands of Europeans will be saved from starvation. Europe has habitually counted on exportations from Russia and the Balkans of nearly 240,000,000 bushels of wheat each year. This surplus is, of course, wiped out. Also, other European countries have so suffered in man-power and from war devastation that their production of wheat will be this year shortened by an amount perhaps as large as the former surplus from Russia and the Balkans. Just in this desperate situation, kindly Nature steps in to give the United States such a wheat crop as will enable it to export more than 600,000,000 bushels to Europe, instead of the 200,000,000 bushels which was considered a handsome export surplus before the war. In other words, the new export capacity of the United States may just balance Europe's new shortage.

Mr. Hoover Optimistic

The Governments of all the important wheat-raising countries, with the exception of the Argentine, have guaranteed the price of wheat to farmers, and all the European countries have subsidized the bread supply. The American members of the Supreme Economic Council oppose continuing, after this year, the centralized control of food distribution in Europe, on the ground that prices for other commodities having no guar-



ISN'T HE A BOUNCING BOY?
From the *Republic* (St. Louis)

antee, there should be, as soon as possible, an abatement of the artificial food prices. Our own guaranteed price of $2.26 per bushel for wheat applies only to the harvests of 1919. The last ship cargo of food leaving America under the American Food Control organization sailed towards the end of June, and the opinion is general that trading in food products should from now on be handled through the regular channels. Mr. Hoover believes there is a sufficient surplus from the coming harvests to supply Europe. The Economic Council's survey of the situation abroad shows a great shortage in food animals, but it believes that if the supply of feeding-stuffs during the next year permits normal rations for even the reduced herds, the human needs for meat and fats will be satisfied. Allied Europe lost more than 18,000,000 cattle out of the 98,000,000 she possessed before the war; she had 69,000,000 swine before the war, and now only 39,000,000, while the flocks of sheep decreased about 8 per cent.

The "Spruce-Up" Campaign

To make work for our returning soldiers and sailors, a "spruce-up" campaign is being conducted under the auspices of the War Department; and Major E. C. Church, of the General Staff, is in charge of the movement in the eastern States. The idea is, after everything possible has been done to bring the soldier and the job together, to create additional jobs by putting our houses in order after the confusion and deterioration of the war period. Thus, in the strain of war years, millions of people did not make repairs and keep their property up as they would have done in normal times, when material, labor and money were not needed by the nation for war purposes. Now what the nation needs is to get its returning young men into useful employment as quickly as possible, and if all those of our 20,000,000 householders who need repairs or renovation of their property start right in to "spruce-up," it is obvious that the un-employment evil will receive a great jolt. Property owners are urged, therefore, to take up with alacrity the new building, or painting or tinwork or cement or shingling, the new awnings or screens or interior betterments that they have been putting off on account of war times. It always means money and comfort saved to be forehanded in such matters, and now there is the fine additional incentive of helping our soldiers to get back to useful self-support. As the public comes to understand better that there is no practical use or gain in waiting for lower prices that probably are years distant, this movement should grow rapidly.

Newfoundland to Ireland by Air

Americans share with Englishmen the honor of making the pioneer air voyages over the Atlantic from Newfoundland to European soil. The successful flight of Lieutenant-Commander Read and his crew of five in our naval seaplane NC-4 to the Azores and thence to Portugal and Plymouth, England, was followed within a month by the nonstop, record-breaking trip of Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown in the British Vickers-Vimy land plane from St. John's, N. F., to Clifden, sixty miles from Galway, on the Irish coast. The wing spread of the Vickers-Vimy machine is only half that of the NC-4 and its two Rolls-Royce motors together have 700 horsepower as against the 1600 combined horsepower of the four motors in each of the NC planes. The British machine is light in proportion and it carried only its pilot and its navigator. It made the entire distance of 1900 miles in sixteen hours and twelve minutes—an average speed of 119 miles an hour. There was no previous record for either land or sea flight approaching this. Most of the flying was done in dense fog, which made sun moon, and stars invisible. All the more wonderful, then, was the achievement of the navigator, Lieutenant Brown (an American, by the way), who guided the airplane to a point on Galway Bay, where he had said, on leaving Newfoundland, that he intended to land. The wireless transmitter had been blown off the machine shortly after the departure from St. John's.

Daring British Fliers

Hawker and Grieve, in a Sopwith plane, had attempted the same thing on May 18, had covered about half the journey, and then had been forced to come down in mid-ocean, where most fortunately they were rescued by the crew of a Danish freighter. For sheer daring and scorn of personal safety, their venture, though unsuccessful, was quite as noteworthy as that of Alcock and Brown, but neither feat has fully solved the problem of the transatlantic air passage. Will the dirigible be preferred to the heavier-than-air machine for this hazardous game with the elements? There are those who believe that



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THE VICKERS-VIMY AIRPLANE WITH WHICH CAPTAIN ALCOCK AND LIEUTENANT BROWN CROSSED THE ATLANTIC ON JUNE 14-15, FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO IRELAND

a demonstration of the dirigible's qualities for transoceanic flight will soon be made.

The Azores Flight

It has been shown that a land machine can cross the ocean, but in history the achievement of our Navy in sending the NC-4 from New York to Plymouth, England, by way of Newfoundland and the Azores will have its due place as a chapter in long-distance aircraft pioneering. The plans were laid during the war and for military objects. The possibility of sending planes to Europe under their own power in great numbers had been fully discussed (see the article by Ernest P. Goodrich in this REVIEW for April, 1918) and the Navy Department set about a test of the scheme. The flight in May was the outcome of many months of planning. It was never intended as a feat of daring and was never to be regarded as in competition with other attempts at transatlantic flight. Although the men engaged in it were acting under orders, they showed the same degree of courage and personal initiative that we have come to associate with our naval officers in whatever service they may be employed. The seaplane itself is wholly an American product and it was fitting that Americans should be the first to cross the Atlantic with it, just as a century ago Americans guided the first ocean steamship, the *Savannah,* also an American invention, eastward to the coast of Europe.



ROUTES FOLLOWED RESPECTIVELY BY THE AMERICAN NAVAL SEAPLANES AND BY CAPTAIN ALCOCK AND LIEUTENANT BROWN



IVY DAY EXERCISES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

ty celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at the commencement season last month. In the higher of the West, there are often as many women students as men—a convincing argument against e. The influence of women in local politics has long been a factor for good)

CORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 16 to June 15, 1919)

ACE CONFERENCE

ustrian peace delegation pre- to the Allied representatives, uburb of Paris.

uncil of Four extends for one n which the German delega- servations on the treaty.

lied Governments reply to a ition on economic conditions reply argues that Germany the war, and under the new up a position of stability and

rman delegation submits writ- the peace treaty presented to reply characterizes the treaty ence," a thing impossible to ns neither agreement nor re- ffers a series of counter-pro-

peace delegates are handed f peace, with the request for ons in writing within fifteen arl Renner, head of the dele- a peace of right and justice, ie new republic of Austria is tunate traditions of the Haps-

an extraordinary session of ial Assembly, President Seitz eace terms presented by the of hate which if carried out ion.

ouncil of Four, having com- s to Admiral Kolchak (head of the All-Russian government at Omsk) and received a favorable reply, announces its willingness to assist with munitions, supplies, and food.

June 14.—The Council of Five finishes a revision of the peace treaty, the new terms being more lenient with Germany.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 19.—The Sixty-sixth Congress meets in special session, with the Republicans in control in both branches. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Iowa) is chosen president pro tem.; in the House, Mr. Gillett (Rep., Mass.) is chosen Speaker.

May 20.—In both branches, a message is read from the President, received by cable from Paris; he recommends reconsideration of taxes, tariff protection for chemical and dye industries, passage of the woman-suffrage proposal, repeal of wartime prohibition against manufacture of wine and beers, and passage of labor legislation.

May 21.—The House passes the woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by vote of 304 to 89; in January, 1918, the vote had been 274 to 136.

May 21.—The House passes a deficiency appropriation bill carrying $45,000,000 to pay overdue obligations to dependents of soldiers and sailors.

May 23.—The Senate debates the President's right to withhold the text of the treaty of peace; the appropriation bill for the War Risk Insurance Bureau is passed without debate.

May 24.—In the House, Mr. Fordney announces the decision of the Ways and Means Committee to hold hearings on tariff revision.

May 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) declares that in the League of Nations as proposed, with equal votes for member nations, the white race will have only 15 votes out of 32.

May 28.—In the Senate, the Republican committee assignments agreed upon in caucus, including all the chairmanships, are ratified by a party vote, 49 to 42, rumored opposition by Progressives failing to materialize.

June 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.) condemns the covenant of the League of Nations as involving the United States in sordid quarrels and diplomatic disputes of Europe and Asia.

June 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) charge that the text of the peace treaty with Germany is in the hands of New York financiers and purchasable on the streets of London, but withheld from members of the Senate. . . . The Committee on Interstate Commerce unanimously orders a favorable report on the bill of Mr. Kellogg (Rep., Minn.) for immediate return of telegraph and telephone systems to their owners.

June 4.—The Senate adopts a woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by vote of 56 to 25, two more than the necessary two-thirds; the amendment having passed the House, it goes immediately to the State legislatures for ratification.

June 6.—The Senate votes to investigate the Lodge-Borah charges that copies of the peace treaty (not yet officially published) are in the hands of individuals and interests.

The House Committee on Military Affairs completes the annual Army appropriation bill, carrying $800,000,000 (compared with $1,117,000,000 in the bill sent to the Senate at the last session).

June 9.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) produces a copy of the treaty of peace with Germany, brought by a newspaper man from Paris, and after long debate succeeds in printing it in the *Record*.

In the House, the Appropriations Committee reports a bill voting $750,000,000 for the needs of the Railroad Administration, declining to grant the Director General's request for $1,200,000,000.

June 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) offers a resolution serving notice upon the Peace Conference that the Senate desires the separation of the question of a League of Nations from the treaty of peace.

The House passes the Railroad appropriation bill.



© Keystone Photo News

DR. KARL RENNER
(Chancellor and head of the Austrian peace delegation)



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SERGEANT YORK, THE WAR'S GREATEST HERO

(Alvin C. York was a Tennessee mountaineer, an elder in his church, gathered in by the draft. While in action in the Argonne last October he used his rifle and pistol so effectively that 25 Germans were killed and 132 others surrendered to him in the belief that they were opposed by overwhelming numbers. The facts have been duly investigated and accepted by General Pershing and Marshal Foch. The Tennessee legislature, on York's return home last month, made him an honorary Colonel)

June 11.—The Senate committee investigating the source of a copy of the peace treaty is informed by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, that it was he who had shown it to Mr. Lodge after obtaining it through two New York financiers who had been serving with the American peace delegation in important capacities.

The House decides to appropriate money for an army of 300,000 men; the War Department had wanted 500,000 and the Committee on Military Affairs had recommended 400,000.

June 12.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee favorably reports the Knox resolution. . . . The Railroad appropriation bill is passed, and also a measure restoring rate-making power to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In the House the Naval appropriation bill is reported, carrying $601,500,000—$120,000,000 less than the bill sent to the Senate at the last session.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 17.—The War Department estimates that America's participation in the war cost $21,294,000,000.

May 19.—The Secretary of the Treasury appoints R. G. Cholmeley-Jones as head of the War Risk Insurance Bureau **(see page 8).**

May 21.—The chairman of the Republican National Committee announces a new plan for campaign contributions—a popular appeal with subscriptions limited to $1000.

ederal judge grants a preliminary
aining Government authorities
with the manufacture of beer
ore than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

Supreme Court of the State of
ds that the legislature's ratifica-
bition amendment is subject to a
of the people.

partment announces that it has
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scriptions to the Victory Liberty
ly announced, totaled $8,245,-
approximately twelve million

s announced that during May,
returning from overseas were
nited States.

United States Supreme Court de-
government supreme over States
ix rates for railroad, telegraph,
rvice within a State as well as

first contingent of American
in Russia sails from Archangel,
rest.

chairman of the Shipping Board
the Government intends to turn
establishment of regular serv-
United States and Latin Ameri-

Postmaster General reports to the
elephone systems (out of control of
ds subject to Congressional ac-
n of rates and other financial

Government's monthly crop report
indicates a record crop of winter
0 bushels, spring wheat prospects
ch last year's record

ois becomes the first State to
ed woman suffrage amendment
onstitution, the legislatures of
Michigan also ratify

Shipping Board recommends to
ownership and operation as a
cy for commercial shipping," the
rents from building, owning,
rchant ships

OLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

rman war losses are estimated in
been 7,000,000 dead, 4,257,000
to,000 prisoners.

comes known that the Mexican
joined the cause of the revo-
Gen. Felipe Angeles

hine Republic is proclaimed in
oughout the Rhine provinces of

President Jose Montero becomes
aguay upon the death of Presi-

Canadian Minister of Finance in-
of Commons that the year's ex-
each $620,000,000, while revenues
$280,000,000.

Obregon announces his candidacy
President of Mexico.

June 1.—The self-proclaimed heads of the Rhineland Republic are ejected from their offices by German Government troops, and the separatist movement seems to be at an end.

June 14.—Popular agitation in China, directed against pro-Japanese officials, causes both the Premier and the President to offer their resignations.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 15.—It becomes known that Greek troops have made a forcible landing at Smyrna, Turkey with British, French, Italian, and American warships in attendance), in accordance with an administrative mandate of the Peace Conference.

May 18.—British warships coöperating with an Esthonian army meet hostile Bolshevist destroyers and cruisers in the Gulf of Finland; one Bolshevist destroyer is reported sunk and another stranded.

Food Administrator Hoover declares that during April 541,543 metric tons of foodstuffs, valued at $147,500,000, were distributed in famine stricken regions of Europe.

May 28.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer states that the net indebtedness of the British Government to the United States is slightly in excess of $4,000,000,000.

June 3.—The German Armistice Commission protests against support by the French occupation authorities of the proclamation of the Rhenish republic

June 8.—Nicaragua asks the United States for aid in protecting the frontier from invasion by a Costa Rican army; defeated Costa Rican revolutionists had crossed the Nicaraguan border and been disarmed, and pursuing Government troops are massed along the frontier.

June 8.—The new American Minister to Denmark, Norman Hapgood, arrives at his post.

June 15.—American troops (3600 cavalry and infantry) cross the border into Mexico to protect El Paso, Texas, during fighting between Villa forces and Carranza government troops.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 10.—Winnipeg, the largest city in western Canada, comes under practical control of a committee conducting a general strike in sympathy with demands of workers in the building and metal trades.

Three United States Navy seaplanes start from Trepassy, Newfoundland, in an attempt to fly to the Azores Islands and thence to Portugal.

May 17.—The seaplane NC-4 reaches the Azores, after a flight of 15 hours and 18 minutes from Newfoundland (creating a new record of 1200 nautical miles in a single flight); fog near the islands causes the two other planes to lose their course, one being abandoned and the other lost for two days.

May 18.—In an attempt to cross the Atlantic in an airplane without stop, two British aviators (Harry G. Hawker and Lieut.-Com. Mackenzie Grieve) are forced by engine trouble to descend 1050 miles from Newfoundland and 850 miles from Ireland, after flying twelve hours; the aviators seek and find a passing vessel.

Eruption of the volcano of Kalut, in Java, causes the death of many thousand persons.



WOUNDED CZECHOSLOVAK OFFICERS WHO CROSSED THE UNITED STATES ON THEIR WAY HOME

(To get from Russia to nearby Czechoslovakia these officers, with eighty of their men, have traveled almost around the world. All of them were wounded in action. They fought first with the Austrians, by compulsion; later they fought for independence. The young woman is Miss Eugenia Patterson, of New York, who has worked among the Czechs in Russian hospitals. At each end is an American who enlisted in the Czechoslovak army)

May 20.—In Winnipeg, the firemen and postal workers join in the strike; telephone and street-car service and newspaper offices have ceased to function, and the Strike Committee establishes a press censorship.

May 24.—A French aviator, Lieutenant Roget, flies from Paris to Rabat, Morocco, 1116 miles, but wrecks his plane when landing.

May 27.—The seaplane NC-4 arrives at Lisbon, Portugal, flying 800 miles from the Azores in 9 hours and 44 minutes and completing the first transatlantic flight; from Newfoundland to Portugal the actual flying time is 26 hours and 47 minutes.

May 30.—Labor leaders in Toronto, the largest city in Canada, order a general strike to enforce their demands for an eight-hour day and recognition of "collective bargaining"; the movement fails to win wide support.

The general strike at Winnipeg, after three weeks, is declared broken so far as Government employees are concerned.

May 31.—The seaplane NC-4 arrives at Plymouth, England, the scheduled end of the transatlantic flight, having traveled from Lisbon, Portugal, with an overnight stop at Ferrol, Spain. . . . The complete flight, beginning at New York on May 8, covered 3925 nautical miles, with seven intermediate stops in Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Azores (2), Portugal, and Spain.

June 2.—Bombs are exploded simultaneously at residences of ten men in eight Eastern cities who had earned the enmity of anarchistic elements; not one of the intended victims is injured, but in New York a passerby is killed and in Washington (at the home of Attorney-General Palmer) the bomb-planter is blown to pieces.

Strikers in Winnipeg seize control of the session of the Manitoba legislature and demand that the Premier resign.

A Paris newspaper estimates that there are half a million persons on strike in France, mostly in the metal trades.

June 3.—It is officially stated that during the five-months' epidemic in Paris (October-February) 196,500 persons died of influenza or diseases resulting therefrom.

June 5.—In Winnipeg, four thousand veterans of the war pass resolutions demanding the punishment of those responsible for the strike and for the attempted overthrow of constitutional government, and pledge themselves to maintain law and order.

A powder explosion in a coal mine at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., causes the death of ninety men.

June 6.—The second Pan American Commercial Congress is opened at Washington, with 750 delegates from the United States and Latin America.

June 7.—Adjutant Casale, a French aviator, establishes a new record for height, ascending to 31,152 feet.

June 9.—The American Federation of Labor begins a two-weeks' reconstruction convention at Atlantic City.

Fire destroys the palace of the Yildiz Kiosk, at Constantinople, the residence of the Sultan of Turkey.

June 11.—A nation-wide strike of telegraph operators, called to enforce demands for recogtion of the union and for wage increases, fails to interfere seriously with service.

June 12.—Newspapers in Buenos Aires, Argentina, appear for the first time in thirteen days, having suspended publication rather than accept union printers' refusal to handle an advertisement of a boycotted department store.

June 14.—The Shipping Board announces that France has ordered 500,000 tons of merchant ships, to be constructed in American yards.

June 14-15.—The first transatlantic crossing by airplane without stop is made by British flier, Capt. John Alcock, and his American navigator,







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ROBERT BACON DAVID H. GREER JOHN C. SPOONER

(Robert Bacon died on May 29. His early career had been that of banker, but in 1905 he became Assistant Secretary of State, afterwards full Secretary, and in 1909 he was appointed Ambassador to France. He was a firm believer in military preparedness, taking the Plattsburg course and serving as Colonel on the staff of General Pershing. The Rt. Rev. David Hummel Greer had won distinction as a New York pastor, developing a great institutional church. He was chosen Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York in 1908, serving until his death on May 19. John Coit Spooner, a Wisconsin veteran of the Civil War, was for sixteen years a member of the United States Senate, attaining distinction as parliamentary debater and constitutional lawyer. He retired in 1907 to practice law in New York City, where he died on June 11)

Lieut. Arthur W. Brown, in a Vickers-Vimy machine; the 1900 miles from Newfoundland to Ireland are covered in 16 hours and 12 minutes.

June 14.—Serious Anarchist and Bolshevist disorders break out in Zurich, Switzerland.

OBITUARY

May 16.—Charles E. Rice, former President Judge of the Pennsylvania Supreme court, 72. . . . Will J. Davis, the Chicago theatrical manager, 75. . . . Granger Farwell, financier and former president of the Chicago Stock Exchange, 62.

May 17.—José Santos Zelaya, president of Nicaragua from 1893 to 1909, 65.

May 19.—Rt. Rev. David Hummell Greer, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York since 1908, 75. . . . Edward Payson Call, long prominent as a newspaper publisher in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 63. . . . Edward Holbrook, of Connecticut, a leading figure in the silver manufacturing industry, 69.

May 20.—Carl Chester Van Dyke, Representative in Congress from Minnesota and Commander-in-chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, 38.

May 22.—Joseph Rosenbaum, a prominent Chicago grain dealer, 81.

May 27.—George Hodges, D.D., dean of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass,. and author of essays on religion, 62. . . . George Cobly Chase, president of Bates College (Maine), 75.

May 28.—Asa Bird Gardiner, prominent New York lawyer and Civil War veteran, 79.

May 29.—Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State and ex-Ambassador to France, 58. . . . Robert Burwell Fulton, formerly chancellor of the University of Mississippi, 70. . . . James Fowler Wenman, first president of the Board of New York Cotton Brokers, and one of the organizers of the present Exchange, 95.

June 5.—Manuel Franco, President of Paraguay.

June 6.—Frederic W. Thompson, creator of Luna Park, the Hippodrome, and other amusement places, 47.

June 8.—Gordias H. P. Gould, a prominent paper manufacturer of New York and Quebec, 70.

June 9.—Brig.-Gen. John George David Knight, U. S. A., retired, 73.

June 11.—John C. Spooner, formerly and for sixteen years United States Senator from Wisconsin, a noted parliamentary debater and constitutional lawyer, 76.

June 12.—James A. Tawney, former Representative in Congress from Minnesota, with distinguished service as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, 64. . . . Dr. Edward Lindeman, of New York, an authority on blood transfusion.

June 14.—Ernest Lister, Governor of Washington, 49.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOON



"THE DOCTOR WILL SEE YOU NOW."—From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



ALMOST THERE
From the *World* (New York)



A SERVICE STRIPE FOR W. W
(Why not? Been there long enough.)
From the *Republican* (Laramie, Wyo.)



"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—"
From the *Republic* (St. Louis)



CONGRESS: "DON'T WORRY, MADAME, I'M AN EXPERT!"
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

THE meeting of a new Congress has given the cartoonists of the country some fresh topics for pencil treatment. The Senate is devoting so much of its time to the League of Nations and the peace treaty that purely domestic policies get comparatively little attention, but the nation is interested in governmental extravagance and waste, in the handling of public utilities, in woman suffrage, and in a dozen other subjects, as the cartoons reproduced on the first three pages of our department clearly indicate.

On the page facing this, two of the papers edited and published by members of the A. E. F. in Europe are represented. Both



A WILD RIDE
(And Uncle Sam started yelling for help quite a distance back)
From the *Beacon* (Wichita, Kan.)



THIS MAKES IT UNANIMOUS!
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



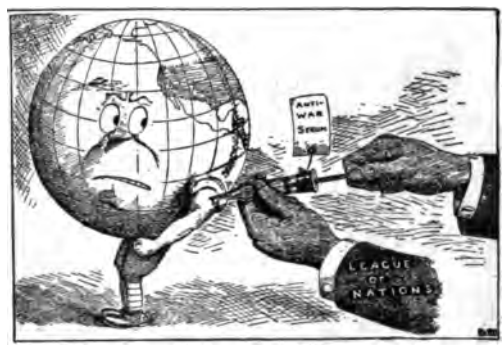
CONGRATULATIONS!
From the *World* (New York)



"THERE ISN'T ROOM IN THIS COUNTRY FOR BOTH OF US."
From the *World* (New York)

the *Stars and Stripes* and the *Watch on the Rhine* have published many excellent cartoons from time to time.

Uncle Sam figures in two drawings reproduced at the top of the page from the New York *World*. These are in Mr. Kirby's best vein; the one voices America's hearty acclaim of England's successful crossing of the Atlantic by airplane and the other expresses the nation's scorn of imported anarchism.



WE HOPE IT'LL TAKE!
From the *Watch on the Rhine* (Andernach)



OH BOY!
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



THE OFFICE BOY RETURNS
From the *Stars and Stripes* (A. E. F.)



THE PEACE WAR

NAPOLEON: "Congratulations! You have won more with the pen than I could with the sword."

From *Hvepsen* (Christiania, Norway)



IN 1871—WILSON WAS THEN ONLY FOURTEEN YEARS OLD

From *L'Avenir* (Paris)



AT THE WORLD TABLE

MOTHER LLOYD GEORGE (to John Bull and Uncle France): Don't take such big gulps, you big ones. You are teaching the little ones to do the same."

From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



HELP!

EUROPA (dismayed): "My dear friend, what on earth is this?"

PRESIDENT WILSON: "It is my promised gift to you, madam, to guard and protect you."

EUROPA: "Oh, is *this* your 'watch-dog?'"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



THE MANNIKINS

"This is the favorite spring fashion this year, madam."

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[Peace is speaking to Dame World, who wishes to put aside her military clothes. Social Democracy and Bolshevism have not appealed to the customer, and American Democracy is offered.]



CLASSICAL CLAIMS

THE CZECHS: "Herr President, Shakespeare speaks in his 'Winter's Tale' of the coast of Bohemia. This coast Bohemia claims."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



THE NEW HAMLET

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right!"

From the *Daily Express* (London)



1918: "Wilson, saviour of humanity"



1919: "Wilson comes down with a wallop!"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

The rôle of umpire in the controveries of Europe has naturally subjected President Wilson to criticism at times, and the foreign cartoonist has not been slow to exercise his art at the President's expense. In the collection here reproduced some of the more bitter and unsympathetic cartoons have been omitted.



A PRESENT FOR MR. WILSON

("America has not so far accepted any mandates under the League of Nations' system."—News item)

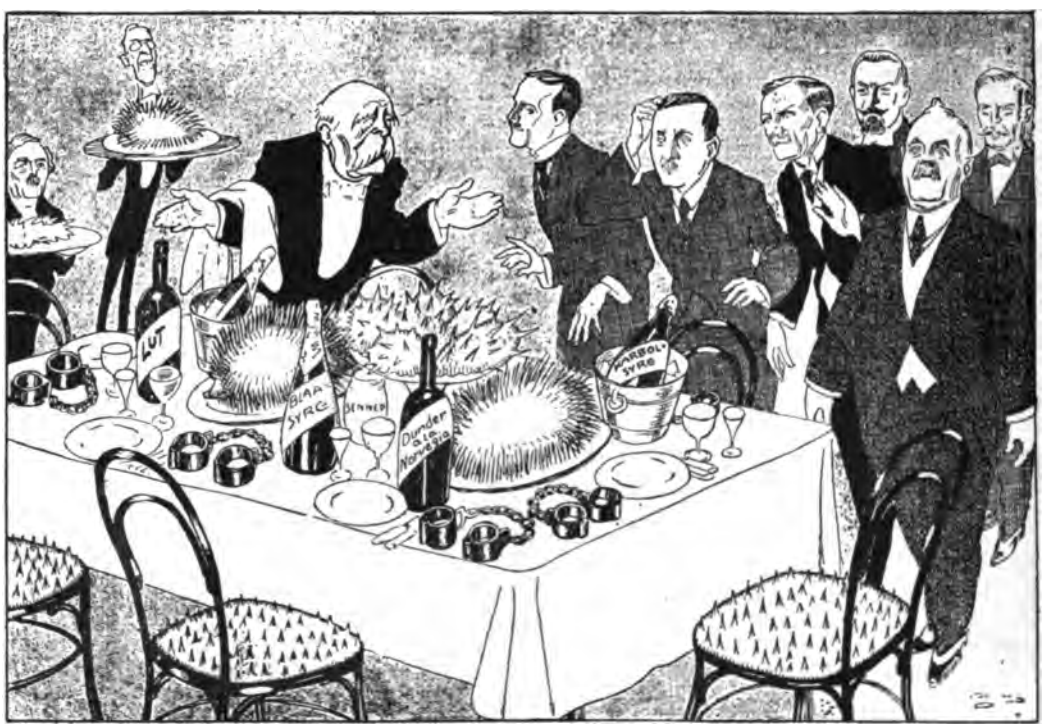
CLEMENCEAU: "Dear Woodrow, we cannot allow you to deprive yourself of the pleasure of uplifting some of these savage races. In recogition of your great efforts on behalf of your own inestimable principles, we have pleasure in handing you this little gift." —From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



AT THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG STORE

GERMANY: "Will this medicine bring about a complete recovery?"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE PEACE MEAL

CLEMENCEAU (to German delegates): "Take your seats, gentlemen!"

[The bottles are labeled "Lye," "Cyannic Acid," "Mustard," "Norwegian Thunder," and "Carbolic Acid"]

From *Hvepsen* (Christiania, Norway)

MY FIVE MONTHS IN FRANCE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. Familiar Questions

THERE has been so little actual change in the larger aspect of the situation in Paris in the last month that I have thought it might perhaps interest my readers to turn for once from the business of the conference itself to a brief statement of the conditions in France, as I saw them in more than five months of a visit divided between Paris and the regions which at this time last year were still described as "The Front."

The returning traveler finds himself questioned from the moment he reaches the dock in New York about a wide variety of subjects which after all may be summed up in the single query: How is France recovering from the terrible strain of more than four years of destructive warfare on her own soil? What of the people? What of industrial life? What of reconstruction? And always, What of revolution?

It is not possible to answer exactly any of these various questions because the time is still too short. When I first reached France in January the familiar American comment in Paris was that the French people were suffering from "shell shock," and this easy generalization served to cover a world of apprehension of actual French conditions.

The truth was and is that France is suffering not from shell shock but from the most terrible wound conceivable. A million and a half of her best manhood perished in battle or of wounds. Three millions of her civil population were scattered over Europe —refugees in France, prisoners in the occupied district, at last wanderers before the advancing armies. In and out of the army tuberculosis made sad havoc, while thousands of square miles and hundreds of cities, towns and villages were totally or partially destroyed.

It is essential to recognize at the outset, then, that when one speaks of reconstruction in France one is considering the question of years, not of weeks or months. When one speaks of the resumption of industry it is mainly in the future, not the present tense. You may travel still over hundreds of square miles of territory and through the ruins of cities once considerable and see only a rare and solitary human being. Factories which were destroyed have not been rebuilt. Machinery which was ruined has not been replaced. Industrial Northern France is and must still for a very long time remain paralyzed.

II. The Peasant Returns

There is only one element in the population which has already begun to return to the old home, and that is the peasant. Just before I left France I traveled for a thousand miles in an automobile through the Meuse-Argonne and St. Mihiel regions in which our armies fought last autumn. Wandering through destroyed towns, wasted fields, along the Oise and Meuse Valleys, with the first warm touch of spring there was a distinct sense of the beginning of a human influx—small but steady.

I know of no more moving spectacle than the sight of these little people coming home—and such homes! Occasionally a house intact, frequently only a room. A wall with a wooden shanty against it, or a portion of a house reconstructed in bagging and oil paper. Even the German dugouts were serving as places of habitation. But almost every little hamlet not actually obliterated had its inhabitants.

And about the hamlets fields were being ploughed—only stray fields, a minor percentage of the total acreage—enough for the necessary food—no more, but a brave, veritable beginning. The people who had thus come back had walked for many, many weary miles, carrying food on their backs or pushing it in a cart, as explorers go into a wilderness. For food, for tools, for everything they had to depend upon themselves. Railways, mails, delivery wagons—these things were non-existent or nearly non-existent. The Germans had wrecked the houses, abolished the roads, trenches and barbed-wire entanglements, climbed the hills and shell holes had blocked the streams, and

transformed the valleys into well-nigh impassable swamps.

I wish it lay in my power to describe the wilderness to which these people returned—not a clean wilderness, but a chaos of destruction, the fields covered with graves, the village streets filled with wreckage, all furnishings gone to German dugouts and thence to Germany or to the fire. Decay of all sorts, filth indescribable, and horrible things everywhere—a country beautiful and fertile turned into something worse than a desert—something unutterably foul and fearful. This was the home to which the French peasant was returning.

Yet by every road, in small groups, men, women and children, carrying their provisions, their scanty food, their few fowls, and driving an occasional cow, were coming home. They walked twenty, thirty miles a day—they came without previous knowledge of what they were to find, but they walked courageously, intrepidly forward through ruined villages they did not know, to their own village, perceiving in advance what was in store for them, but losing neither heart nor strength.

III. The Love of France

I wish more of my American friends who talked of French "shell shock" could have seen these infinitely tragic yet memorably splendid caravans of returning French men and women in Artois, Flanders, Picardy, Champagne and Lorraine, as I have seen them. Once on the spot, too, no destruction appalled them. Without delay they settled to the task. If a room was left, they occupied it. If a shanty could be built, they built it. If only a dugout was available they occupied it, and soon along the hillsides ploughed fields appeared, shell-holes disappeared. A little order began to emerge—and always amidst a desolation beyond exaggeration these men and women, these children, with their faces already marked by suffering, smiled and toiled from sunrise to sunset.



A BARE WALL OFTEN FURNISHES SHELTER WHILE THE FRENCH PEASANT STARTS TO BUILD A NEW HOME AND TILL THE FIELDS

And after all, this is the stock that won Verdun, saved the world in four years of war. France, peasant France, the thing that is greatest in this great nation, is fighting another Verdun, like in all but military circumstances to the supreme struggle along the Meuse three years ago. It is fighting it with the same spirit and it will win the same terrible but eternal victory.

But if it is magnificent it is also pitiful. In Paris, statesmen debate the terms of peace, the economic and financial reparations, the frontiers of Poland and the title to Syria. But while these debates go on, hundreds and thousands of human beings are struggling out in the regions Paris vaguely calls the devastated districts. No German indemnity comes to them, rarely government assistance arrives. All is to be made again—not out of new earth but out of the wreckage of battlefields. Cattle, agricultural implements, the most elementary tools of the farmer, are lacking. The taint of the battlefield is frequently in the air. Live, unexploded shells, bombs, hand-grenades lie about the fields that they must cultivate. There is visible death marked by the unnumbered crosses and hidden death in the remaining munitions, and in the face of this the survivors, frequently the old whose sons lie in the graves of the recent "front," are beginning again.

I have come back to an America, booming with prosperity, intent upon business, and I confess that the contrast of France—of the French fields and provinces—is in my mind. Is it too much to hope that America will not quite forget the French, not of Paris, but of the provinces, who are fighting one more battle—the hardest of all—far out yonder in old battlefields amidst the wreckage, human and material, which is all that survives of what was once a pleasant land of fertile farms and smiling fields?

Yet having seen all this, one can believe in France—in the future of France. A race that can breed men and women brave enough to undertake this new struggle after the last



FRENCH PEASANTS RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES AFTER FOUR YEARS' OF ABSENCE
(In France the peasant owns his land; and he is certain to go back to it, even though in the ruined districts he expects to find only desolation)

terrible war will not die, surrender, vanish. Wounded—yes, terribly wounded (the shell-shock figure is an insult), but game—capable of this new Verdun. To see what is happening in the remoter provinces is to feel how shallow, after all, are the judgments which hold France doomed, judgments to be placed beside those other indictments of Frenchmen as unstable and mercurial on the very eve of the Marne and of Verdun.

From many visits to the ruined district I brought away the clear impression that France would recover from her wounds, grave as they were, long as the period of convalescence must be. Since half of all the population are peasants in the fields, and the peasants are returning to their own land—for each peasant owns his land—I believe it is possible to dismiss the apprehension that France has been mortally injured. On the contrary, France, the true France—the France of the peasants—is recovering.

IV. Industrial France

On the other hand, industrial France is not recovering. The factories of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing are silent. Little machinery has come to replace that wrecked or taken away by the Germans. Lens and the surrounding coal regions are heaps of bricks and shattered timbers. The coal mines are flooded still.

Railroad transportation is only beginning to be restored. When the German left Northern France, he blew up every bridge, wrecked every embankment, burned every railroad station. Railway lines had been shelled and bombed out of existence. New railways had to be constructed over a desert—and this necessary work has been done on the whole swiftly. Between Paris and Alsace-Lorraine railway communication is again normal. Trains that took twenty hours to go from Paris to Metz or Strasburg, go in seven or eight now. It is possible to travel from Paris to Lille and Brussels with relative speed and actual comfort; but one travels across a desert, and on every hillside trench lines and shell-holes remain, while railway stations are still lacking.

A part of this gigantic task has been accomplished by German prisoners. All through the devastated district thousands of German prisoners, nearly half a million in all, are filling up trenches, winding up barbed wires, clearing out wreckage, removing live shells and levelling old shell-holes. In all this region they are reconstructing roads. Without this labor nothing could have been done, but of itself it is insufficient and thousands of Chinese, Annamites, Africans are also engaged in this, the most gigantic of all cleaning-up operations.

For these German prisoners I have heard much sympathy expressed. Certainly theirs is not a pleasing job; yet without exception they appeared well fed, well clothed—a striking contrast to Allied prisoners—nor did they seem to work hard. As for their guards, they slept along the roadside, while the prisoners came and went, rode on horseback, drew wagons—at all events, they did not think of escaping. Moreover, if for the individual the punishment was severe, for the race it was just. It was fair that some part, only a small part, of the devastation should



GLEANERS PROVIDE A FITTING TYPE FOR THE TASK OF RESTORING FRENCH AGRICULTURE

be undone by those who collectively had wrought it.

But it was of industrial France I had set out to speak just now, and industrial France is, I fear, flat—not hopeless, but as yet incapable of starting itself. So much is lacking machines, raw materials, factories and labor itself for French casualty lists have sadly changed the man power of France for peace as well as for war.

If one can be optimistic about agricultural France, the same is not true of industrial France. In this field France is not beginning, or is starting only with extreme slowness. And here is the obvious peril. The war has made France a poor country. It lacks the capital, the money, to buy raw materials. With a depreciated currency, to buy them in foreign countries, to buy the machinery, to buy all that is essential to begin industrial life, is to risk financial chaos. Only the German indemnities can restore the stability of French currency, if America will not lend, and against the coming of the indemnity the government stolidly refuses to permit foreign purchases. So the paralysis continues on the industrial side. Here Germany has won, at least temporarily. She has put one nation out of the race—while her own factories are intact.

I do not think one can exaggerate the gravity of the French industrial situation. Without credit, without loans, without aid, French industry cannot start life. A depreciated currency makes the situation difficult within and dangerous without the frontiers. In Paris there is activity and a superficial appearance of activity and prosperity, but between Paris and Belgium, between the Channel and the Oise—in all the once busy land of manufacture—there is a silence, which can only mean economic paralysis. Even in the shell-torn hillsides you can plough and plant—save in a few regions like the Somme and the Chemin-des-Dames; but amidst the ruins of Lens, in the machine-less factories of Lille, within flooded mines of the coal regions, you cannot work.

If France were like England or Germany—mainly an industrial country—her future would be grim indeed. Fortunately this is not the case. But in so far as she is industrial, her suffering will be great and her recovery slow. And it is out of this situation that the French demand for indemnities, for the Sarre coal basin, for German reparation, has grown. If these demands seem excessive, it is because those who find them so have not seen the other side. France wills to live—is making a gallant fight to live after the war, as during the struggle—but if Germany does not pay, life at least seems impossible.

V. THE DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE

There is another question frequently asked of me since I returned—"What of the American Army?" I did not see the army, since in a fighting sense it had ceased to exist before I reached France. What I did see were thousands and thousands of Americans in uniform and under arms all over France. And I confess that as an American I saw these thousands with wonder and with pride.

I recall the first real experience when in the first days of February I went from Paris to Metz, and as the train crept over the long weary miles I saw along the road and in every village literally thousands of American soldiers. They were, in a sense, lonely figures. The land was under snow—it was bitterly cold. There was a far-away look in every pair of eyes, together with a certain degree of puzzlement—for in a sense the whole A. E. F., once the fighting stopped, wondered and continued to wonder why it staid in Europe.

Since he did not understand the language or the civilization about him, and it was different from his own, the American soldier affected and plainly felt a certain sense of superiority. Physically he was, on the average, the finest man in Europe. So much of the best of France and Britain was buried on the tragic battlefields, and this he felt. There was race pride. You felt it, too, see-



THE AMERICAN DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE—HIS JOB IS FINISHED AND HE LONGS FOR HOME

ing these Americans in the lonesome places of the world, remote hamlets all the way from Bar-le-Duc to Baden—a sudden revelation that we Americans are not only a nation but a race and you and the man who guarded a water tank or cranked a Ford car under the shadow of the Vosges were at once alike and together different from all else about.

But there was something big and free and simple about the American soldier. He was like a child in much—though not in fighting. He took his Europe unabashed and unblinking—he saluted his officers with extra fervor, not because they were officers, but because they were American officers. But amidst all that was strange, uncomfortable, incomprehensible, he preserved his poise, his chuckle, his indescribable slang and his never-failing good humor.

It was the pick of our youth, this A. E. F. In groups it was frequently awkward, occasionally grotesque — but always strong, wholesome. Our army was not drunken nor was it unclean. I think of the boys in the Tuileries Gardens and on the ship—some of them Marines, with all the glory that the designation carries, as they talked with my six-year-old son—gathering at his port-hole each morning to discuss with him solemnly such great problems as he presented. Often they seemed in a way of the same age—his older brothers, kind and careful brothers.

And this sense of wholesome freshness, of clean youth, was about almost all of them. They saw Europe unabashed and unafraid—they clamored for America incessantly. They were frequently absorbed in America in the midst of Paris. I saw five hundred of them following a scrub baseball game in the Bois de Boulogne, totally ignorant of the fact that Marshal Foch was passing by—their eyes were all for the national game before them.

Self-sufficient they were—their humor as surprising as joyous. They spoke a score of dialects—Southern, Northern, Eastern and Western. In the United States one would have commented on the differences, but in France it was the amazing resemblances that was impressive. One said again and again, "We are a race after all."

VI. Only Praise

And for these American soldiers I heard only praise—such criticism as there was, and it was not considerable, was for officers. Some of these, newly come to rank by accident, as is necessary in the making of such an army as ours, were inferior to their task, but not the soldier. British, French, Americans, all who had reason to know, told me the same story. These boys—and they are boys—walked through all the hell of our Meuse-Argonne battle—for most of them their first battle—commanded by junior officers equally new, lacking in much, alike in training and material, facing the best of German troops, fortified beyond description. They went where no men then surviving in European armies would go, for four years had had their effect. And by the sheer weight of their numbers, their courage, their blind optimistic faith in the ultimate certainty that nothing could withstand the United States of America represented by themselves, they passed the Meuse from Sedan to Verdun—fought until the very last second before the armistice, and

then with one voice demanded to be set down in the United States without delay.

The Doughboy in Europe was something different from all else—he was himself. He only saw America. He was Kansas, Texas, Maine or Indiana—unmistakable. But no European could distinguish. He was so much more American than provincial. He had the levity of youth, the serenity of newly-acquired physical power. He was without malice, rarely if ever drunk, boisterous but not unruly. He had his own conversions, his own grievances. He was inclined to raise injuries which he sometimes invented and frequently magnified—but there was a splendor about him that made every last American in Europe almost unreasonably proud. He talked only America, he thought only America. His home town became a new Athens. With one thought in his mind—revenge it must be called at French obstinacy—but he was capable of anything, from running a locomotive to building a bridge. His vitality was not to be concealed. Yet he saw himself not inaccurately—he laughed at himself and his comrades. He was not a hero. When he talked of his achievements it was with the joy of an artist in creation, not of a contented, self-satisfied hero; and it was the story, not the glory, that counted with him.

I would I could give some really accurate portrait of the American Doughboy in Europe, but it is beyond my power. Certainly the nation was never more wonderfully represented abroad than our own. A lonely figure, too, despite his unfailing humor, his calm and his horseplay, the American soldier was. He was a stranger in a very strange land, and there is something infinitely pathetic in the long graves straggling about the battered villages all the way from Argonne to the Meuse. A little perplexed as to the reasons for his exile, seized with an intense longing at all times to be home—once the job was done and done right—but in some strange way acutely conscious that he represented America in Europe and therefore had certain obligations conferred upon him, the first of which was to demonstrate the indubitable superiority of America to Europe in all that really counted.

And when the last of him has gone from Europe, save for the thousands who sleep in graves French peasants are already tenderly caring for, I am sure the legend of the American Doughboy will survive and flourish in the land in which whenever it raised—as it usually did—he chuckled over "Sunny France." If he was ever understood fully, he was appreciated. He made friends. He broke hearts and sometimes heads afterwards when his victories were recounted. His generosity was boundless, his youth in an old country—whose youth had largely been sacrificed before he came—was magnificent. He was never conquered, benevolently assimilated, culturally captured—he clamored for gum and consumed candy by the ton, but he did every job that was asked of him. He did more than anyone could or did expect of him. He frequently performed miracles because his superiors could not perform the most rudimentary tasks—being new to the game. He would have gone to Berlin if he had not been stopped by the Armistice. But in the shadow of Rheims Cathedral he continued to talk about the "Goddess of Liberty."

Moreover, and this is final, neither the German, nor any other race which saw him in action will ever invite him to come to Europe again as the Kaiser and his advisers did two brief years ago. The next time a President of the United States happens to say "too proud to fight" Europe will recognize that he is indulging in a figure of speech, not a statement of fact. But the American soldier did more than teach Europe the greatness of America—he fought. Every American who saw him in Europe learned something new and unforgettable about his own country. The Doughboy's faith in his country was as simple, complete, unqualified as that of a child, but for that faith and in that faith he walked and lived and died, as only strong men can. And of this, the greatest of all his revelations, he was at all times unconscious.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

A Letter to the Editor, from Mr. Vanderlip

Dear Dr. Shaw:

I am glad to have you publish in the Review of Reviews *the address which I recently made before the Economic Club, with which are here incorporated for your purposes some extracts from other of my more recent speeches.*[1] *I am profoundly convinced of the importance of America seeing the European situation in its true light.*

I have been called an alarmist because of some of the things that I have said in regard to Europe. Some people have, in this connection, called me a pessimist. I feel that I am neither. I have a deep conviction that the European situation is in every respect as serious as I have in any way indicated. Instead of being a pessimist, I have perhaps been a realist. At least I have tried to see conditions as they actually exist.

While the European situation presents features of the deepest gravity, and while there are possible consequences that may develop from present conditions that would mean a great catastrophe, I am, in the face of all that, filled with optimism in regard to our own future—an optimism indeed that runs beyond anything I have ever felt in my life—if we do our part in helping Europe to get on its feet again. If Europe once starts back toward normal life, the position that America will occupy will, I believe, transcend anything that any nation ever occupied before. But we must not forget our intimate relation to Europe. We must not believe that we can smugly live on in prosperity if European civilization suffers a still greater blow than anything the war brought to it.

Faithfully yours,
F. A. Vanderlip.

I WENT to Europe on the *Lapland*, sailing at the end of January. That ship was loaded with American manufacturers and representatives of American manufacturers, who were going over to sell goods, who felt that the war had probably so helped European industry that they were going to have to face sharper conditions of competition than they had ever known. These men had no more conception of the Europe they were going to than I had.

You believe I may have something to tell about the most remarkable situation the world has ever seen. I believe I have, and I am going to tell you straight. I am going to tell you some of the things that I have seen, some of the conclusions that I have reached, and I think you will be shocked. I was shocked when I learned, as I did within twenty-four hours after I got on the other side, that most of my preconceived notions of what had happened to Europe should be thrown into the waste-basket and that I should have to start over again to find out what had happened to Europe.

Now it is fair for you to know something of what I have done in Europe, where I have been, whom I have seen, before I begin to give you some of my conclusions.

I was in Europe from the first of February to the ninth of May. I spent some time

[1] ...bservations printed herewith will ...ed form in a volume about to be ...illan Company, under the title ...rope."

in England, first; then I went to France, to Switzerland, to Italy, to Spain, back to Paris again; then to Belgium and Holland, and back to London. It is a fair statement to say that I saw the leading men in those countries. I met every finance minister; I met many of the Prime Ministers. I met the leading financiers and bankers, great employers of labor, labor leaders. And what I have to tell you is not just an opinion of my own snatched out of the blue sky. It is a reflection, perhaps a composite, of the opinions of the first minds in Europe. If it were not, I would not dare stand before you and tell you some of the things that I am going to tell you.

I believe it would be possible, too, for one to take exactly the trip that I took, to see the cities that I saw, and still return to this country with different conclusions than I have about Europe. But I believe I have been fortunate in seeing men, as well as things, and I think I have a true mental picture of Europe.

America's Interest

I want to say right at the beginning that however black a background I paint—and it will be dark—I would not paint it, I would not tell the story, except that I believe America must know it, must comprehend it, that we must get it into our hearts and minds, because we must act. And if we do act, we can save Europe from a catastrophe, a catastrophe that will involve us. That is why I feel moved to tell such an assemblage as this something of the conditions that I saw over there, something of some of the consequences that may flow from those conditions. I believe that it is possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the Great War. I believe we can probably save the situation from anything occurring as fearful as that. If I did not believe it, I should hesitate to say what I shall about conditions.

Europe's Paralyzed Industry

If I were to try to put in two words what I sum up as the most essential thing to grasp about the situation in Europe, the two words would be "paralyzed industry." There is idleness, there is a lack of production throughout Europe and, indeed, in England, that you can hardly comprehend. There is a difficulty about a resumption of work on ordinary peace affairs that, I think, nobody could be made to comprehend who did not see it on the ground.

Now, of course, there is a great scar across Europe where there has been devastation. I hardly need to speak of that. You have been told that story. I have seen it from the German border to Zeebrugge, and no words can make you comprehend the awfulness of that scar. The complete destruction, the insane destruction, the destruction that went far beyond military necessities, destruction that despoiled factories for the purpose of destroying commercial competition — there was a great deal of that. But after all that is only a scar across Northern France and Belgium, destroying a considerable part of the industry of those two countries, it is true, but it is not that devastated district that I speak of. It is the idleness throughout all countries where there has been nothing of the hand of war laid upon industry, only the hurt of this after-war situation that has in it promise of being a more terrible hurt than the war itself. Now, why should a factory unharmed by the war, in the midst of a continent wanting everything insistently, be idle? Why should there be a million people in England receiving an unemployment dole? Why should there be in little Belgium 800,000 people receiving a weekly unemployment wage?

How Can Raw Materials Be Paid For?

Let me try to give you some picture of the difficulties that a manufacturer is under in Europe to-day in an attempt to start up his factory. In the first place, his labor has been dissipated and he faces a very difficult labor situation, although he is surrounded by idleness. The war has had a bad effect upon the morale of people. That is particularly noticeable in Belgium, where for four and one-half years there has been partial idleness of people supported from the public purse, which has had a serious effect upon the character, for the moment at least, of those people. But our manufacturer must have raw material. Probably it must come from out of the country. He must have exchange with which to pay for it. He must have credit, very likely. Now I have come to see these nations from a new point of view, from a point of view of what they must have from outside to sustain life and go on in a more normal course. And what do they have with which to pay for it?

Let me picture a pair of balances, into one scale-pan of which you will put all the things

that a nation must have—in Italy, coal and cotton; in France, cotton and wool and most of the metals. Let us put in the other pan everything that a nation has to export. Well, obviously at the moment, these nations wanting everything—industry disorganized, and nothing to send out—our scales are out of balance. What can be done? We cannot take anything out of the pan containing the nations' necessities, because presumably we have reduced these imports as low as they can go and have the nations live. Put more in the other pan, representing the nations' exports? But you cannot put more in if your industries are paralyzed. What other way is there to balance this? And it must be balanced, else the things cannot be had that are essential to the nations' life. Well, normally we would put gold in there, but, of course, now there is no gold that these countries can spare. What else can we put in? Credit—that is the one thing. There are just three things that will go into this balance to balance these necessary things that the nation must have—goods, gold, credit. So right on the threshold a manufacturer needs a foreign credit. He must have foreign credit if his raw material is to come from abroad. Now, what are some of the other things that are difficult? He is facing a wage situation in which the wages of prewar days have been doubled or tripled. He is in a currency situation that is chaotic. Some of these nations have a variety of currency at the present time that is almost laughable, except that it is horribly serious.

Poland's Currency Troubles

Take the situation of Poland, for example, and Poland was a great manufacturing district about Warsaw. When the present Government was formed, this country, made out of a piece of Russia, a piece of Germany, and a piece of Austria, had first a currency of the old Czar rubles, of the Kerensky rubles, of the Bolshevik rubles, and counterfeits of the Czar rubles and the Kerensky rubles. There there were German marks, and an issue of marks that Germany forced the Warsaw district to make, and then, worth least of all, perhaps, were the Austrian crowns with three-eighths of one per cent. of gold back of them. That Government had to consolidate in some way this terrific mass of currency, and the difficulties that this has thrown upon getting things started would in themselves be almost enough to bring about the paralysis that is found there.

Money Difficulties in England, France, and Belgium

The currency in other countries, while not quite so intricate, is almost equally involved. In France there were a little less than 6,000,000,000 bank notes which formed the nation's currency prior to the war. To-day there are 36,000,000,000 francs of notes of the Bank of France. Now 36,000,000,000 francs of paper money is a sum so vast that you can hardly grasp it. Its effect has been greatly to enhance prices. England itself has an enormous issue of what is practically fiat money—about a billion and a half dollars, I believe it is. These currency notes are secured by a comparatively small amount of gold—about 28,000,000 pounds sterling. In Belgium the Germans forced a bank to make a great issue of notes. It flooded the country with marks, and when the Belgian Government came back they had to take those marks up. They had to issue their own notes, or, in part, bonds against the marks. About 6,000,000,000 marks were so taken up. When France got Alsace-Lorraine she also got about 4,000,000,000 marks along with it, and had to redeem them. It cost France a billion dollars in her bank-note currency which she put out at 1.25 for the mark in a franc. So the currency situation makes a great difficulty.

Thousands Literally Starving

Then there is another paralysis that affects every manufacturer, that affects the whole life of Europe more than you can imagine—the paralysis of domestic railway transportation. In some parts of Europe that has become extremely serious. Mr. Hoover told me that the breakdown in transportation in Central Europe, in the countries east of Germany, was so serious that there was bound to be starvation of hundreds of thousands of people simply because the food could not be moved. If ports were full of food there would still be many, many, many thousands of people starving. Starving people! Do you know they really starve to death by hundreds of thousands? It is a long way off. We don't get it. We don't understand it. It is a sort of oratorical expression—that people are starving. But it's true, only too literally and terribly true!

In Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in much of the Balkan country, the starvation has been appalling, and will continue to be appalling, and people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have

faced this spring, and I say that on the highest possible authority. Why is that? Because Russia has ceased to be a producer for export, because Rumania, who had sent a hundred million bushels of grain into Europe had been swept clean of her work cattle—was without seed, and could plant only a part of her fields, and her Premier told me that this year she would not raise anything whatever for export. All they hoped for was to raise what would feed their own people. This sweeping away of work cattle, of work horses is very serious. Think! Why, I have seen in Belgium men hitched to a drag starting off across long fields, two men pulling an ordinary drag that a horse would draw. I have seen rows of men and women spading their great fields because they did not have the animals to do the plowing. Mr. Paderewski told me that in Poland, because of lack of work animals, because of lack of seed, not over one-third of the acreage could be planted this year. So you have that combination of lack of production and of a paralysis of transportation and even though there were a sufficient amount of food at the ports it could not be moved to the people.

The Lack of a Market That Can Pay

I was telling you something of the difficulties of the manufacturer. This difficulty of transportation is an extremely real one. It affects the manufacturer in getting his raw material, the lack of which prevents him from sending his finished products. But what about the market for his finished products? There is the rub. The markets of Europe are ravenous for things, and they have nothing with which to pay. The manufacturer starting with a disorganized labor situation, a wage-scale three times the pre-war scale, a demoralized morale, great difficulty in getting foreign exchange to pay for his raw materials, great difficulty in getting bottoms to ship them in, great difficulty in getting them transported to him after it arrives at a port, may still produce. But after he produces he has not a market that can pay, a market that will give him the means to go on completing the industrial cycle of buying more raw material and paying his labor.

That is serious almost beyond our understanding because we have not realized, at least I had not realized, how like a great manufacturing community Europe is. Europe has increased its population since the Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Just think of those figures—175,000,000 to 440,000,000! Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount of food more than she did one hundred years ago. How has she fed these people? You can just compare Europe to a New England mill town. If there were no market for the product of the mills of that town, if you could not sell, what would happen? You could not continue the industrial processes, your people could not earn the wages that they must pay to bring food into the town, and they would go hungry or they would go out. A responsible minister of the British Government said to me, "If you can't get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in turn can make an effective demand upon the industries of England, the British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England and nearer to the sources of food supply."

It is this that we must grasp—that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England, the most thickly populated country in the world, with seven hundred people to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can live only by selling abroad a great part of the products of the factory and, with the proceeds of that export, buying more raw material and the food for the population.

England Threatened with Revolution

Let me tell you a little about England—England as I see it. The England that I saw on the first of February was an England on the very verge of revolution. You didn't get that over here, but it is a fact generally admitted by all Englishmen. When I arrived in London—I think it was the second of February—the streets were full of army lorries trying to carry the people because there were strikes on the district railway and in the "tube." Coal miners were threatening an immediate strike and the supply of coal was so scarce that living there was most uncomfortable. Up in Glasgow there were such riots that they had sent military tanks to patrol the streets. The railroad men were threatening a complete tie-up of all transportation service. The electricians were threatening to put London in absolute darkness and we were all pro-

vided with candles throughout the evening, expecting the light to be cut off at any moment. Happily there has been a great change in that situation. The great underlying common sense of the English came to the rescue and differences were partly composed. The coal miners demanded, and received, a Royal Commission that should within a few days examine their claim for higher wages and shorter hours, and that examination did not leave a doubt in a mind in England that the miners had made out a case. The differences were composed with the railroad people, and for the moment the outlook is peaceful so far as any revolution is concerned.

A Million Houses for British Workingmen

But I should like to examine for you a little further, the English situation. England has held the premier position in the international industrial markets. America grew, but England grew too. America grew faster, so did Germany grow faster, but England had up to the outbreak of the war held the premier position. How did she hold it? She had little raw material, some iron and some coal. That was all. I will tell you how she held it. She held it by underpaying labor. That was her differential. That is how she competed. She underpaid labor until that labor to-day has not a house over its head in England, and the Government is undertaking to build a million houses for workingmen. A million houses! English industry made a red-ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently, and you know, if you have been in the mill towns of England, that there grew up a secondary race there of small, underfed, under-educated, under-developed people. Well, England must pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that "you can't make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population." They all see it, and that differential that England has had in international trade is gone.

But that is not all. England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community just like an industrial village. She has this vast population that her fields will not sustain. She must bring in raw material, pass it through her factories, sell the product abroad, and have margin enough to get more raw material and the food she needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe. I believe that these markets must be rebuilt. I believe that is the real peace treaty now. There cannot be peace when there are idle people, lack of production, want and starvation; and these are things that are current in Europe.

England's Paper Money and Heavy War Costs

I have told you a little of English industry. Let me tell you just a word of English finance. The outstanding fact in England is that she is off the gold basis. Very great consequences flow from that. You know that the day after war was declared, she began to print paper money. The Bank of England had a rigidity that permitted of no expansion. Gold disappeared from circulation over night. There was urgent need for more currency, and the Government started its printing-press. It has added to the total of its fiat issue every week during the war, I think, and is still adding. That issue is secured by a deposit of a little gold, perhaps twenty-eight and a half million pounds of gold under it. That amount has remained stationary, and there are government securities also back of this currency issue. But, of course, that is "pig on pork" as we say—that is, merely securing the Government's obligation with the Government's obligation, and in the present situation practically any Bank of England note is not redeemable. Normally they are redeemable in gold. But neither the Bank of England nor the Government has the gold to redeem any great quantity; and if anybody wanted to ask for a redemption they would be closely questioned as to the use they wanted to make of the gold. The difficulty of making any use of gold in a country which puts an embargo on its export is such that the redemption quality has now disappeared.

The English fiscal year begins with the first of April. From the first of April to the armistice, England's war cost was 7½ million pounds a day, roundly. It was a little under that. In the months since the armistice her war cost has been 6½ million pounds a day. Why, the cost of this war after the armistice is going to amaze the world!

France on the Verge of Exhaustion

Now let me turn to France for a moment. France is bled white. That is a trite statement, but it is a statement that comes to you with crushing force when you really see

transformed the valleys into well-nigh impassable swamps.

I wish it lay in my power to describe the wilderness to which these people returned—not a clean wilderness, but a chaos of destruction, the fields covered with graves, the village streets filled with wreckage, all furnishings gone to German dugouts and thence to Germany or to the fire. Decay of all sorts, filth indescribable, and horrible things everywhere—a country beautiful and fertile turned into something worse than a desert—something unutterably foul and fearful. This was the home to which the French peasant was returning.

Yet by every road, in small groups, men, women and children, carrying their provisions, their scanty food, their few fowls, and driving an occasional cow, were coming home. They walked twenty, thirty miles a day—they came without previous knowledge of what they were to find, but they walked courageously, intrepidly forward through ruined villages they did not know, to their own village, perceiving in advance what was in store for them, but losing neither heart nor strength.

III. The Love of France

I wish more of my American friends who talked of French "shell shock" could have seen these infinitely tragic yet memorably splendid caravans of returning French men and women in Artois, Flanders, Picardy, Champagne and Lorraine, as I have seen them. Once on the spot, too, no destruction appalled them. Without delay they settled to the task. If a room was left, they occupied it. If a shanty could be built, they built it. If only a dugout was available they occupied it, and soon along the hillsides ploughed fields appeared, shell-holes disappeared. A little order began to emerge—and always amidst a desolation beyond exaggeration these men and women, these children, with their faces already marked by suffering, smiled and toiled from sunrise to sunset.



A BARE WALL OFTEN FURNISHES SHELTER WHILE THE FRENCH PEASANT STARTS TO BUILD A NEW HOME AND TILL THE FIELDS

And after all, this is the stock that won Verdun, saved the world in four years of war. France, peasant France, the thing that is greatest in this great nation, is fighting another Verdun, like in all but military circumstances to the supreme struggle along the Meuse three years ago. It is fighting it with the same spirit and it will win the same terrible but eternal victory.

But if it is magnificent it is also pitiful. In Paris, statesmen debate the terms of peace, the economic and financial reparations, the frontiers of Poland and the title to Syria. But while these debates go on, hundreds and thousands of human beings are struggling out in the regions Paris vaguely calls the devastated districts. No German indemnity comes to them, rarely government assistance arrives. All is to be made again—not out of new earth but out of the wreckage of battlefields. Cattle, agricultural implements, the most elementary tools of the farmer, are lacking. The taint of the battlefield is frequently in the air. Live, unexploded shells, bombs, hand-grenades lie about the fields that they must cultivate. There is visible death marked by the unnumbered crosses and hidden death in the remaining munitions, and in the face of this the survivors, frequently the old whose sons lie in the graves of the recent "front," are beginning again.

I have come back to an America, booming with prosperity, intent upon business, and I confess that the contrast of France—of the French fields and provinces—is in my mind. Is it too much to hope that America will not quite forget the French, not of Paris, but of the provinces, who are fighting one more battle—the hardest of all—far out yonder in old battlefields amidst the wreckage, human and material, which is all that survives of what was once a pleasant land of fertile farms and smiling fields?

Yet having seen all this, one can believe in France—in the future of France. A race that can breed men and women brave enough to undertake this new struggle after the last



FRENCH PEASANTS RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES AFTER FOUR YEARS' OF ABSENCE
(In France the peasant owns his land; and he is certain to go back to it, even though in the ruined districts he expects to find only desolation)

terrible war will not die, surrender, vanish. Wounded—yes, terribly wounded (the shell-shock figure is an insult), but game—capable of this new Verdun. To see what is happening in the remoter provinces is to feel how shallow, after all, are the judgments which hold France doomed, judgments to be placed beside those other indictments of Frenchmen as unstable and mercurial on the very eve of the Marne and of Verdun.

From many visits to the ruined district I brought away the clear impression that France would recover from her wounds, grave as they were, long as the period of convalescence must be. Since half of all the population are peasants in the fields, and the peasants are returning to their own land—for each peasant owns his land—I believe it is possible to dismiss the apprehension that France has been mortally injured. On the contrary, France, the true France—the France of the peasants—is recovering.

IV. Industrial France

On the other hand, industrial France is not recovering. The factories of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing are silent. Little machinery has come to replace that wrecked or taken away by the Germans. Lens and the surrounding coal regions are heaps of bricks and shattered timbers. The coal mines are flooded still.

Railroad transportation is only beginning to be restored. When the German left Northern France, he blew up every bridge, wrecked every embankment, burned every railroad station. Railway lines had been shelled and bombed out of existence. New railways had to be constructed over a desert—and this necessary work has been done on the whole swiftly. Between Paris and Alsace-Lorraine railway communication is again normal. Trains that took twenty hours to go from Paris to Metz or Strasburg, go in seven or eight now. It is possible to travel from Paris to Lille and Brussels with relative speed and actual comfort; but one travels across a desert, and on every hillside trench lines and shell-holes remain, while railway stations are still lacking.

A part of this gigantic task has been accomplished by German prisoners. All through the devastated district thousands of German prisoners, nearly half a million in all, are filling up trenches, winding up barbed wires, clearing out wreckage, removing live shells and levelling old shell-holes. In all this region they are reconstructing roads. Without this labor nothing could have been done, but of itself it is insufficient and thousands of Chinese, Annamites, Africans are also engaged in this, the most gigantic of all cleaning-up operations.

For these German prisoners I have heard much sympathy expressed. Certainly theirs is not a pleasing job; yet without exception they appeared well fed, well clothed—a striking contrast to Allied prisoners—nor did they seem to work hard. As for their guards, they slept along the roadside, while the prisoners came and went, rode on horseback, drew wagons—at all events, they did not think of escaping. Moreover, if for the individual the punishment was severe, for the race it was just. It was fair that some part, only a small part, of the devastation should



GERMAN PRISONERS ASSISTING IN THE TASK OF RESTORING FRENCH AGRICULTURE

be undone by those who collectively had wrought it.

But it was of industrial France I had set out to speak just now, and industrial France is, I fear, flat—not hopeless, but as yet incapable of starting itself. So much is lacking—machines, raw materials, factories and labor itself—for French casualty lists have sadly changed the man power of France for peace as well as for war.

If one can be optimistic about agricultural France, the same is not true of industrial France. In this field France is not beginning, or is starting only with extreme slowness. And here is the obvious peril. The war has made France a poor country. It lacks the capital, the money, to buy raw materials. With a depreciated currency, to buy them in foreign countries, to buy the machinery, to buy all that is essential to begin industrial life, is to risk financial chaos. Only the German indemnities can restore the stability of French currency, if America will not lend, and against the coming of the indemnity the government stolidly refuses to permit foreign purchases. So the paralysis continues on the industrial side. Here Germany has won, at least temporarily. She has put one nation out of the race—while her own factories are intact.

I do not think one can exaggerate the gravity of the French industrial situation. Without credit, without loans, without aid, French industry cannot start life. A depreciated currency makes the situation difficult within and dangerous without the frontiers. In Paris there is activity and a superficial appearance of activity and prosperity, but between Paris and Belgium, between the Channel and the Oise—in all the once busy land of manufacture—there is a silence, which can only mean economic paralysis. Even in the shell-torn hillsides you can plough and plant—save in a few regions like the Somme and the Chemin-des-Dames; but amidst the ruins of Lens, in the machine-less factories of Lille, within flooded mines of the coal regions, you cannot work.

If France were like England or Germany—mainly an industrial country—her future would be grim indeed. Fortunately this is not the case. But in so far as she is industrial, her suffering will be great and her recovery slow. And it is out of this situation that the French demand for indemnities, for the Sarre coal basin, for German reparation, has grown. If these demands seem excessive, it is because those who find them so have not seen the other side. France wills to live—is making a gallant fight to live after the war, as during the struggle—but if Germany does not pay, life at least seems impossible.

V. THE DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE

There is another question frequently asked of me since I returned—"What of the American Army?" I did not see the army, since in a fighting sense it had ceased to exist before I reached France. What I did see were thousands and thousands of Americans in uniform and under arms all over France. And I confess that as an American I saw these thousands with wonder and with pride.

I recall the first real experience when in the first days of February I went from Paris to Metz, and as the train crept over the long weary miles I saw along the road and in every village literally thousands of American soldiers. They were, in a sense, lonely figures. The land was under snow—it was bitterly cold. There was a far-away look in every pair of eyes, together with a certain degree of puzzlement—for in a sense the whole A. E. F., once the fighting stopped, wondered and continued to wonder why it staid in Europe.

Since he did not understand the language or the civilization about him, and it was different from his own, the American soldier affected and plainly felt a certain sense of superiority. Physically he was, on the average, the finest man in Europe. So much of the best of France and Britain was buried on the tragic battlefields, and this he felt. There was race pride. You felt it, too, see-



THE AMERICAN DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE—HIS JOB IS FINISHED AND HE LONGS FOR HOME

ing these Americans in the lonesome places of the world, remote hamlets all the way from Bar-le-Duc to Baden—a sudden revelation that we Americans are not only a nation but a race and you and the man who guarded a water tank or cranked a Ford car under the shadow of the Vosges were at once alike and together different from all else about.

But there was something big and free and simple about the American soldier. He was like a child in much—though not in fighting. He took his Europe unabashed and unblinking—he saluted his officers with extra fervor, not because they were officers, but because they were American officers. But amidst all that was strange, uncomfortable, incomprehensible, he preserved his poise, his chuckle, his indescribable slang and his never-failing good humor.

It was the pick of our youth, this A. E. F. In groups it was frequently awkward, occasionally grotesque — but always strong, wholesome. Our army was not drunken nor was it unclean. I think of the boys in the Tuileries Gardens and on the ship—some of them Marines, with all the glory that the designation carries, as they talked with my six-year-old son—gathering at his port-hole each morning to discuss with him solemnly such great problems as he presented. Often they seemed in a way of the same age—his older brothers, kind and careful brothers.

And this sense of wholesome freshness, of clean youth, was about almost all of them. They saw Europe unabashed and unafraid—they clamored for America incessantly. They were frequently absorbed in America in the midst of Paris. I saw five hundred of them following a scrub baseball game in the Bois de Boulogne, totally ignorant of the fact that Marshal Foch was passing by—their eyes were all for the national game before them.

Self-sufficient they were—their humor as surprising as joyous. They spoke a score of dialects—Southern, Northern, Eastern and Western. In the United States one would have commented on the differences, but in France it was the amazing resemblances that was impressive. One said again and again, "We are a race after all."

VI. Only Praise

And for these American soldiers I heard only praise—such criticism as there was, and it was not considerable, was for officers. Some of these, newly come to rank by accident, as is necessary in the making of such an army as ours, were inferior to their task, but not the soldier. British, French, Americans, all who had reason to know, told me the same story. These boys—and they are boys—walked through all the hell of our Meuse-Argonne battle—for most of them their first battle—commanded by junior officers equally new, lacking in much, alike in training and material, facing the best of German troops, fortified beyond description. They went where no men then surviving in European armies would go, for four years had had their effect. And by the sheer weight of their numbers, their courage, their blind optimistic faith in the ultimate certainty that nothing could withstand the United States of America represented by themselves, they passed the Meuse from Sedan to Verdun—fought until the very last second before the armistice, and

then with one voice demanded to be set down in the United States without delay.

The Doughboy in Europe was something different from all else—he was himself. He only saw America. He was Kansas, Texas, Maine or Indiana—unmistakable. But no European could distinguish. He was so much more American than provincial. He had the deviltry of youth, the serenity of newly-acquired physical power. He was without malice, rarely if ever drunk, boisterous but not unruly. He had his own convictions, his own grievances. He was inclined to nurse injuries, which he sometimes invented and frequently magnified—but there was a splendor about him that made every last American in Europe almost unreasonably proud. He talked only America, he thought only America. His home town became a new Athens. With the thought of his own cottage in mind he sniffed at French châteaux, but he was capable of anything, from running a locomotive to building a bridge—his vitality was not to be concealed. Yet he saw himself not inaccurately—he laughed at himself and his comrades. He was not a hero. When he talked of his achievements it was with the joy of an artist in invention, not of a conceited, self-satisfied boaster—and it was the story, not the glory, that counted with him.

I wish I could give some really accurate portrait of the American Doughboy in Europe, but it is beyond my power. Certainly no nation was ever more wonderfully represented abroad than our own. A lonely figure, too, despite his unfailing humor, his jibes and his horseplay, the American soldier was. He was a stranger in a very strange land, and there is something infinitely pathetic in the lone graves straggling about the scattered villages all the way from Argonne to the Meuse. A little perplexed as to the reasons for his exile, seized with an intense longing at all times to be home—once the job was done and done right—but in some strange way acutely conscious that he represented America in Europe and therefore had certain obligations conferred upon him, the first of which was to demonstrate the indubitable superiority of America to Europe in all that really counted.

And when the last of him has gone from Europe, save for the thousands who sleep in graves French peasants are already tenderly caring for, I am sure the legend of the American Doughboy will survive and flourish in the land in which whenever it rained—as it usually did—he chuckled over "Sunny France." If he was ever understood fully, he was appreciated. He made friends. He broke hearts and sometimes heads afterwards when his victories were resented. His generosity was boundless, his youth in an old country—whose youth had largely been sacrificed before he came—was magnificent. He was never conquered, benevolently assimilated, culturally captured—he clamored for gum and consumed candy by the ton, but he did every job that was asked of him. He did more than anyone could or did expect of him. He frequently performed miracles because his superiors could not perform the most rudimentary tasks—being new to the game. He would have gone to Berlin if he had not been stopped by the Armistice. But in the shadow of Rheims Cathedral he continued to talk about the "Goddess of Liberty."

Moreover, and this is final, neither the German, nor any other race which saw him in action will ever invite him to come to Europe again as the Kaiser and his advisers did two brief years ago. The next time a President of the United States happens to say "too proud to fight" Europe will recognize that he is indulging in a figure of speech, not a statement of fact. But the American soldier did more than teach Europe the greatness of America—he fought. Every American who saw him in Europe learned something new and unforgettable about his own country. The Doughboy's faith in his country was as simple, complete, unqualified as that of a child, but for that faith and in that faith he walked and lived and died, as only strong men can. And of this, the greatest of all his revelations, he was at all times unconscious.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

A Letter to the Editor, from Mr. Vanderlip

Dear Dr. Shaw:

I am glad to have you publish in the Review of Reviews *the address which I recently made before the Economic Club, with which are here incorporated for your purposes some extracts from other of my more recent speeches.*[1] *I am profoundly convinced of the importance of America seeing the European situation in its true light.*

I have been called an alarmist because of some of the things that I have said in regard to Europe. Some people have, in this connection, called me a pessimist. I feel that I am neither. I have a deep conviction that the European situation is in every respect as serious as I have in any way indicated. Instead of being a pessimist, I have perhaps been a realist. At least I have tried to see conditions as they actually exist.

While the European situation presents features of the deepest gravity, and while there are possible consequences that may develop from present conditions that would mean a great catastrophe, I am, in the face of all that, filled with optimism in regard to our own future—an optimism indeed that runs beyond anything I have ever felt in my life—if we do our part in helping Europe to get on its feet again. If Europe once starts back toward normal life, the position that America will occupy will, I believe, transcend anything that any nation ever occupied before. But we must not forget our intimate relation to Europe. We must not believe that we can smugly live on in prosperity if European civilization suffers a still greater blow than anything the war brought to it.

Faithfully yours,
F. A. Vanderlip.

I WENT to Europe on the *Lapland,* sailing at the end of January. That ship was loaded with American manufacturers and representatives of American manufacturers, who were going over to sell goods, who felt that the war had probably so helped European industry that they were going to have to face sharper conditions of competition than they had ever known. These men had no more conception of the Europe they were going to than I had.

You believe I may have something to tell about the most remarkable situation the world has ever seen. I believe I have, and I am going to tell you straight. I am going to tell you some of the things that I have seen, some of the conclusions that I have reached, and I think you will be shocked. I was shocked when I learned, as I did within twenty-four hours after I got on the other side, that most of my preconceived notions of what had happened to Europe should be thrown into the waste-basket and that I should have to start over again to find out what had happened to Europe.

Now it is fair for you to know something of what I have done in Europe, where I have been, whom I have seen, before I begin to give you some of my conclusions.

I was in Europe from the first of February to the ninth of May. I spent some time

[1] Mr. Vanderlip's observations printed herewith will appear in more extended form in a volume about to be published by the Macmillan Company, under the title "What Happened to Europe."

nd, first; then I went to France, to and, to Italy, to Spain, back to ain; then to Belgium and Holland, to London. It is a fair statement iat I saw the leading men in those . I met every finance minister; I ıy of the Prime Ministers. I met ing financiers and bankers, great s of labor, labor leaders. And ave to tell you is not just an opinion vn snatched out of the blue sky. It ection, perhaps a composite, of the of the first minds in Europe. If not, I would not dare stand before tell you some of the things that I to tell you.

eve it would be possible, too, for ake exactly the trip that I took, to ities that I saw, and still return to ıtry with different conclusions than bout Europe. But I believe I have tunate in seeing men, as well as nd I think I have a true mental pic- Europe.

America's Interest

ıt to say right at the beginning that black a background I paint—and it lark—I would not paint it, I would he story, except that I believe Amer- know it, must comprehend it, that get it into our hearts and minds, we must act. And if we do act, save Europe from a catastrophe, a ıhe that will involve us. That is el moved to tell such an assemblage something of the conditions that I there, something of some of the ıces that may flow from those con- I believe that it is possible that there let loose in Europe forces that will terribly destructive than have been s of the Great War. I believe we bably save the situation from any- ıurring as fearful as that. If I did ve it, I should hesitate to say what ıbout conditions.

Europe's Paralyzed Industry

ere to try to put in two words what as the most essential thing to grasp e situation in Europe, the two words e "paralyzed industry." There is there is a lack of production out Europe and, indeed, in England, I can hardly comprehend. There is lty about a resumption of work on peace affairs that, I think, nobody could be made to comprehend who did not see it on the ground.

Now, of course, there is a great scar across Europe where there has been devastation. I hardly need to speak of that. You have been told that story. I have seen it from the German border to Zeebrugge, and no words can make you comprehend the awfulness of that scar. The complete destruction, the insane destruction, the destruction that went far beyond military necessities, destruction that despoiled factories for the purpose of destroying commercial competition — there was a great deal of that. But after all that is only a scar across Northern France and Belgium, destroying a considerable part of the industry of those two countries, it is true, but it is not that devastated district that I speak of. It is the idleness throughout all countries where there has been nothing of the hand of war laid upon industry, only the hurt of this after-war situation that has in it promise of being a more terrible hurt than the war itself. Now, why should a factory unharmed by the war, in the midst of a continent wanting everything insistently, be idle? Why should there be a million people in England receiving an unemployment dole? Why should there be in little Belgium 800,000 people receiving a weekly unemployment wage?

How Can Raw Materials Be Paid For?

Let me try to give you some picture of the difficulties that a manufacturer is under in Europe to-day in an attempt to start up his factory. In the first place, his labor has been dissipated and he faces a very difficult labor situation, although he is surrounded by idleness. The war has had a bad effect upon the morale of people. That is particularly noticeable in Belgium, where for four and one-half years there has been partial idleness of people supported from the public purse, which has had a serious effect upon the character, for the moment at least, of those people. But our manufacturer must have raw material. Probably it must come from out of the country. He must have exchange with which to pay for it. He must have credit, very likely. Now I have come to see these nations from a new point of view, from a point of view of what they must have from outside to sustain life and go on in a more normal course. And what do they have with which to pay for it?

Let me picture a pair of balances, into one e-pan of which you will put all the things

that a nation must have—in Italy, coal and cotton; in France, cotton and wool and most of the metals. Let us put in the other pan everything that a nation has to export. Well, obviously at the moment, these nations wanting everything—industry disorganized, and nothing to send out—our scales are out of balance. What can be done? We cannot take anything out of the pan containing the nations' necessities, because presumably we have reduced these imports as low as they can go and have the nations live. Put more in the other pan, representing the nations' exports? But you cannot put more in if your industries are paralyzed. What other way is there to balance this? And it must be balanced, else the things cannot be had that are essential to the nations' life. Well, normally we would put gold in there, but, of course, now there is no gold that these countries can spare. What else can we put in? Credit—that is the one thing. There are just three things that will go into this balance to balance these necessary things that the nation must have—goods, gold, credit. So right on the threshold a manufacturer needs a foreign credit. He must have foreign credit if his raw material is to come from abroad. Now, what are some of the other things that are difficult? He is facing a wage situation in which the wages of prewar days have been doubled or tripled. He is in a currency situation that is chaotic. Some of these nations have a variety of currency at the present time that is almost laughable, except that it is horribly serious.

Poland's Currency Troubles

Take the situation of Poland, for example, and Poland was a great manufacturing district about Warsaw. When the present Government was formed, this country, made out of a piece of Russia, a piece of Germany, and a piece of Austria, had first a currency of the old Czar rubles, of the Kerensky rubles, of the Bolshevik rubles, and counterfeits of the Czar rubles and the Kerensky rubles. There there were German marks, and an issue of marks that Germany forced the Warsaw district to make, and then, worth least of all, perhaps, were the Austrian crowns with three-eighths of one per cent. of gold back of them. That Government had to consolidate in some way this terrific mass of currency, and the difficulties that this has thrown upon getting things started would in themselves be almost enough to bring about the paralysis that is found there.

Money Difficulties in England, France, and Belgium

The currency in other countries, while not quite so intricate, is almost equally involved. In France there were a little less than 6,000,000,000 bank notes which formed the nation's currency prior to the war. To-day there are 36,000,000,000 francs of notes of the Bank of France. Now 36,000,000,000 francs of paper money is a sum so vast that you can hardly grasp it. Its effect has been greatly to enhance prices. England itself has an enormous issue of what is practically fiat money—about a billion and a half dollars, I believe it is. These currency notes are secured by a comparatively small amount of gold—about 28,000,000 pounds sterling. In Belgium the Germans forced a bank to make a great issue of notes. It flooded the country with marks, and when the Belgian Government came back they had to take those marks up. They had to issue their own notes, or, in part, bonds against the marks. About 6,000,000,000 marks were so taken up. When France got Alsace-Lorraine she also got about 4,000,000,000 marks along with it, and had to redeem them. It cost France a billion dollars in her bank-note currency which she put out at 1.25 for the mark in a franc. So the currency situation makes a great difficulty.

Thousands Literally Starving

Then there is another paralysis that affects every manufacturer, that affects the whole life of Europe more than you can imagine—the paralysis of domestic railway transportation. In some parts of Europe that has become extremely serious. Mr. Hoover told me that the breakdown in transportation in Central Europe, in the countries east of Germany, was so serious that there was bound to be starvation of hundreds of thousands of people simply because the food could not be moved. If ports were full of food there would still be many, many, many thousands of people starving. Starving people! Do you know they really starve to death by hundreds of thousands? It is a long way off. We don't get it. We don't understand it. It is a sort of oratorical expression—that people are starving. But it's true, only too literally and terribly true!

In Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in much of the Balkan country, the starvation has been appalling, and will continue to be appalling, and people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have

ring, and I say that on the high-
authority. Why is that? Be-
ı has ceased to be a producer for
ause Rumania, who had sent a
illion bushels of grain into Europe
swept clean of her work cattle—
ut seed, and could plant only a
r fields, and her Premier told me
year she would not raise anything
for export. All they hoped for
ise what would feed their own peo-
his sweeping away of work cattle,
horses is very serious. Think! Why,
seen in Belgium men hitched to a
arting off across long fields, two men
; an ordinary drag that a horse would
I have seen rows of men and women
g their great fields because they did
ave the animals to do the plowing. Mr.
rewski told me that in Poland, because
ck of work animals, because of lack of
, not over one-third of the acreage could
lanted this year. So you have that com-
ition of lack of production and of a par-
sis of transportation and even though
re were a sufficient amount of food at the
rts it could not be moved to the people.

The Lack of a Market That Can Pay

I was telling you something of the diffi-
lties of the manufacturer. This difficulty
transportation is an extremely real one.
affects the manufacturer in getting his
w material, the lack of which prevents him
om sending his finished products. But
hat about the market for his finished prod-
ts? There is the rub. The markets of
rope are ravenous for things, and they
ve nothing with which to pay. The manu-
cturer starting with a disorganized labor
uation, a wage-scale three times the pre-
ar scale, a demoralized morale, great diffi-
lty in getting foreign exchange to pay for
s raw materials, great difficulty in getting
ttoms to ship them in, great difficulty in
tting them transported to him after it
rives at a port, may still produce. But
ter he produces he has not a market that
n pay, a market that will give him the
eans to go on completing the industrial
cle of buying more raw material and pay-
g his labor.

That is serious almost beyond our under-
nding because we have not realized, at
ast I had not realized, how like a great
anufacturing community Europe is. Eu-
pe has increased its population since the Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Just think of those figures—175,000,000 to 440,000,000! Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount of food more than she did one hundred years ago. How has she fed these people? You can just compare Europe to a New England mill town. If there were no market for the product of the mills of that town, if you could not sell, what would happen? You could not continue the industrial processes, your people could not earn the wages that they must pay to bring food into the town, and they would go hungry or they would go out. A responsible minister of the British Government said to me, "If you can't get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in turn can make an effective demand upon the industries of England, the British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England and nearer to the sources of food supply."

It is this that we must grasp—that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England, the most thickly populated country in the world, with seven hundred people to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can live only by selling abroad a great part of the products of the factory and, with the proceeds of that export, buying more raw material and the food for the population.

England Threatened with Revolution

Let me tell you a little about England England as I see it. The England th saw on the first of February was an Eng on the very verge of revolution. You d get that over here, but it is a fact gen admitted by all Englishmen. When rived in London—I think it was the of February—the streets were full of lorries trying to carry the people there were strikes on the district and in the "tube." Coal miner threatening an immediate strike and ply of coal was so scarce that livi was most uncomfortable. Up in there were such riots that they military tanks to patrol the stre railroad men were threatening a tie-up of all transportation serv electricians were threatening to p in absolute darkness and we we

vided with candles throughout the evening, expecting the light to be cut off at any moment. Happily there has been a great change in that situation. The great underlying common sense of the English came to the rescue and differences were partly composed. The coal miners demanded, and received, a Royal Commission that should within a few days examine their claim for higher wages and shorter hours, and that examination did not leave a doubt in a mind in England that the miners had made out a case. The differences were composed with the railroad people, and for the moment the outlook is peaceful so far as any revolution is concerned.

A Million Houses for British Workingmen

But I should like to examine for you a little further, the English situation. England has held the premier position in the international industrial markets. America grew, but England grew too. America grew faster, so did Germany grow faster, but England had up to the outbreak of the war held the premier position. How did she hold it? She had little raw material, some iron and some coal. That was all. I will tell you how she held it. She held it by underpaying labor. That was her differential. That is how she competed. She underpaid labor until that labor to-day has not a house over its head in England, and the Government is undertaking to build a million houses for workingmen. A million houses! English industry made a red-ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently, and you know, if you have been in the mill towns of England, that there grew up a secondary race there of small, underfed, under-educated, under-developed people. Well, England must pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that "you can't make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population." They all see it, and that differential that England has had in international trade is gone.

But that is not all. England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community just like an industrial village. She has this v population that her fields will not sustain She must bring in raw material, pass it t h her factories, sell the produc have margin enough to ge al and the food she needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe. I believe that these markets must be rebuilt. I believe that is the real peace treaty now. There cannot be peace when there are idle people, lack of production, want and starvation; and these are things that are current in Europe.

England's Paper Money and Heavy War Costs

I have told you a little of English industry. Let me tell you just a word of English finance. The outstanding fact in England is that she is off the gold basis. Very great consequences flow from that. You know that the day after war was declared, she began to print paper money. The Bank of England had a rigidity that permitted of no expansion. Gold disappeared from circulation over night. There was urgent need for more currency, and the Government started its printing-press. It has added to the total of its fiat issue every week during the war, I think, and is still adding. That issue is secured by a deposit of a little gold, perhaps twenty-eight and a half million pounds of gold under it. That amount has remained stationary, and there are government securities also back of this currency issue. But, of course, that is "pig on pork" as we say—that is, merely securing the Government's obligation with the Government's obligation, and in the present situation practically any Bank of England note is not redeemable. Normally they are redeemable in gold. But neither the Bank of England nor the Government has the gold to redeem any great quantity; and if anybody wanted to ask for a redemption they would be closely questioned as to the use they wanted to make of the gold. The difficulty of making any use of gold in a country which puts an embargo on its export is such that the redemption quality has now disappeared.

The English fiscal year begins with the first of April. From the first of April to the armistice, England's war cost was 7½ million pounds a day, roundly. It was a little under that. In the months since the armistice her war cost has been 6½ million pounds a day. Why, the cost of this war after the armistice is going to amaze the world!

France on the Verge of Exhaustion

Now let me turn to France for a moment. France is bled white. That is a trite statement, but it is a statement that comes to you with crushing force when you really see

France; when you see to-day women in the railway yards, women on the street-cars, women at many things that men should be doing. When you see men well along in the forties still in uniform, you begin to appreciate what has happened in the way of loss of man power. Of course, in Northern France you do not expect to find anything but devastation and idleness. But there is idleness all over France just as you find in England, just as you find in Belgium, just as you find in Italy.

French Finances

In France, the paper money is the issue of the Bank of France—a bank that has been wonderfully well managed, that has gone through all the wars that have been fought since its organization, without any question of insolvency. But the amount of currency issued by the great Bank of France reaches an appalling figure. The total at the outbreak of the war was between five and six billions of francs. A total of thirty-six billions had been reached when I was in Paris, and the Chamber of Deputies had been asked to increase the legal limit to forty. Now thirty-six billions of francs is a vast amount. We have grown used to handling this word "billions," perhaps, without understanding it. I think, perhaps, the French mind is less capable of understanding these great figures than the minds of some other peoples. The Frenchman is wonderful at detail. He is, nationally speaking, a man of small business, and I rather conceive that numerals in nine ciphers get beyond his range.

When I first went to Paris, in the middle of February, there was a situation that seemed to me to raise at once a question of the solvency of the French Government. It is facing a budget of twenty-two billion francs this year. France had a debt, prior to the war, that was larger than that of most countries. It was about $160 per capita. Her funded debt to-day by no means measures her position. The Government owes the Bank of France twenty billion francs of short-term unfunded paper. They are pledged to tremendous payments to the families of the injured, payments of reparation to the people who have had their homes or business destroyed. It was estimated to me by, I believe, competent persons, that when the Government of France has discharged her obligations to her own people, she will have a total obligation of three hundred billion francs.

Italy's Tragic Situation

Here is Italy with its great army not disbanded, and she cannot disband it without disbanding it into idleness, and she is afraid of idleness. Poor Italy! You know I am pro-Italian since I spent three weeks in Italy. I had some preconceptions about Italy, reinforced by current conversations in England and in France and elsewhere—that Italy came into the war when she got her price; that the greatest thing that she had accomplished was a phenomenal defeat, and that when the war was over she wanted to claim the credit and grab all of the "swag" that she could. Well, that view is not correct. When Italy came into the war she came to the side that at the time certainly did not look as if it had the best chance. She did as brilliant fighting in those high places as men ever did in the world. By treachery, through surprise, she suffered a horrible defeat. Her heart was torn open, and she came back and put the enemy back. She defended a line as long as the line across France. She lost as many men in proportion to her population as England lost, and she has buried herself under a crushing debt. My sympathy is with Italy.

An Instance of Italian Patriotism

I believe you may be interested in an Italian story. A good many nations and a good many military organizations think that they won the war. Well, I can tell you of one man, just one man, who, if he did not win the war, saved the Allies from defeat, and that man was an Italian, a great manufacturer at Genoa. His father had been a great manufacturer before him, and had been filled with the idea that he would resist German penetration, that no German money should ever get control in that factory, and his two sons inherited that feeling and were absolutely free from any German taint. When the war broke out they offered to turn their great shops into munition works to make guns. They think there was still German influence in the Italian Government, but whether or not there was, they got no orders. That did not phase them. They got the designs of French guns and they made two thousand cannon—two thousand splendid field pieces—and when that terrible defeat came to Italy and the Italian Government hastened to them to ask them to make guns they had two thousand ready at once to put into the field. But still they had difficulty in getting further orders. At last they

got orders, but they could not get paid. At one time, the Italian Government owed this single corporation 700,000,000 lire.

The firm employed 100,000 men. They made 10,000 field guns. There may be some men here who have tried to make guns for our army, and however desperately they tried they did not, in the months between the declaration of war and the finish of the war, get very many of them over there, and they will appreciate what making 10,000 guns means. That is what this one concern did. They financed the situation in spite of not being able to get paid, although they did finally get paid. I believe that just those two men who ran that concern, who had such patriotism, such foresight, such enormous financial strength, such great industrial ability as to produce these things, saved Italy from defeat, and an Italian defeat would have been very serious to the Allied cause. And now Italy, under this tremendous debt, has to have a million tons of coal a month, has to have its cotton, has to have everything. This balance of necessities is weighted way down and the balance of its exports is high in the air. They have little to put in. Their situation is very serious.

Bolshevism in Spain

I saw something of the neutral countries, too. I was in Spain. Spain has been unharmed, has prospered as she never prospered before, and but for a terrible canker in her heart would be the most promising place in Europe. That canker is the labor situation. There was presented at Barcelona as perfect a laboratory of Bolshevism as you ever saw. An organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. It takes in the whole labor population there. It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination. At the time I was there seventy-two employers and foremen had within a few weeks been assassinated—and not one conviction. No witnesses would testify. They were terrified. No juries would convict; they were terrified. They had terrified the papers. They had told the papers, "you can't publish anything that we do not censor." They censored one paper for publishing an official order of the Government, fined it 5000 pesetas, and told the owners they would destroy the presses if they did not pay. They did pay, but the censorship became so absurd that every paper there stopped publication. Now there was Bolshevism in the making aided by Russian money, aided by German men. There is no question about it whatever.

Counterfeit Money

This use of Russian money brings up an interesting subject. I do not know how much you have seen of it in the papers here, but the best bureau of engraving and printing, the best money factory in the world, next to the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington, was located in Petrograd. The theory of the Bolshevists was that in their order of society there was no place for money. They saw it was difficult, however, to go on without money, and so they set to work to print so much money as to make money useless. They went further than that. They wanted money for their propaganda purposes in other countries. They found no way so easy as to make it. They have counterfeited the pound, the franc, the mark, the lira, the peseta. To what extent I am unable to say. That it has been done there is no question. Some of the English counterfeits have found their way to England. A good many of the English counterfeits were used in the Near East, because they liked the pounds better there than rubles, and so the Bolshevists supplied the pound.

Industry Must Be Restarted

Regarding Russia, the picture I see is a Russia exploited by Germany, with no one to hinder, because the Russian leaders have been driven from the country or exterminated there. That opens an interesting prospect of the future of Europe. Of course Germany will be hampered by every possible means that can be laid upon her. Nothing is too severe, if it could be wreaked upon the people who deserve the punishment. I doubt if all the German people do deserve the punishment. I believe it was a small minority that led Germany into this war. I have been tremendously impressed with the power of minorities. Those are two examples, but you find examples everywhere, of what an active minority, capable in handling propaganda, can do, matched against the phlegmatic majority that does not hang together and does not try to present its case.

And so there is, in every country in Europe, a small minority to-day that actually questions the justice and right of the present

capitalistic order. There is no doubt that it wielded an influence out of all proportion to its numbers,—that it was active, intelligent, that it put out propaganda and was dangerous. I believe there is such a minority in every European country that is dangerous. The things that it will best feed upon are dissatisfaction, want and hunger.

And that is why, I believe, there is no safety in the world if we cannot devise some means of re-starting industry in Europe—giving employment to those people, setting production going again, giving them something to exchange for the things that they must have. And I am impressed with the wealth of America compared with those countries that to live must have great importations from outside of the country. Take poor Italy. She has not a pound of coal. She must have a million pounds a month—must have cotton, wool, minerals—in fact, all the great raw materials. Take the situation of France—much more self-contained, so far as mere food is concerned, but absolutely dependent upon us for cotton; on Italy and Japan for silk, and on other countries for other raw materials—and France is not a great exporting nation. She used to balance her budget by income on her foreign investments. Just look at those foreign investments for a moment—twenty billion of francs invested in Russian Government Loan; five billions in Russian industries; five billions in Turkish Government paper; a large amount in Greek and Balkan security. Now the income on that huge foreign investment went far to balance the international position of France and that income has disappeared.

Well, I could go on putting on black paint on this background, but I think I have covered enough. Now is it hopeless, or can we do something about it? That is the whole point. Well, we can do something. We have got to do something about it. If we do not, it will do something about us.

We Must Send Materials, Machinery, Food

Well, what can we do? I do not believe that we can furnish the credit to rehabilitate the Governmental credits of Europe. Many of them are too badly involved already. I do believe that we must furnish these things that are essential to the re-starting of industry in Europe, and I believe we must furnish these things to all Europe. It won't do to use the usual methods of money-lenders; to pick out the best security and say we will take a chance on this and let the rest go. We must lend in the measure of the necessity, rather than in the measure of the security, because there is no security anywhere so long as you leave part of Europe idle, in want and hunger, ready for Bolshevism, ready for some uprising, something that will better their condition. And I want to tell you that there is a minority in every country in Europe, an active minority, that believes in a program for upsetting the present social order. In England employers estimated to me that that minority was 10 to 15 per cent. A minority that actually believes the whole theory of property rights should be abandoned, that we should go into a communistic state of society. There is inflammable material in every country in Europe. You leave any part of it unprotected, you leave any part of it idle, hungry, starving, and there is going to be social disorder that will be a plague spot. It is infectious. It is likely to spread. So I believe that if we are to tackle this subject of rehabilitating the industry of Europe, we must make a comprehensive job of it. We have got to furnish the raw material, the machinery, a certain amount of food, and the equipment for railroads to make a start at getting this industrial cycle going again all over Europe.

Now some of you may say, "Vanderlip is excited. He has got too imaginative a brain in looking at this thing. This war is over. This tangle is going to work out in the long run, it always has. There have been tangles before. There have been wars before, and in the long run this will work out. Don't get excited. Let us take care of ourselves at home. Let us not get involved in too many foreign financial entanglements." You know that a hungry stomach cannot wait for the economists' "in the long run." The man starves to death, and before he will do that he will go into revolution. This thing would work out in the long run if it were one country, but it is all the European continent. The inter-reactions of one industry on another are broken up. The whole machine is disorganized; it won't work out in the long run, unless we help it work out.

Help Europe to Help Hereslf!

Europe must save itself. You cannot do it by charity, but we have got to get a little priming in the pump to get this thing started. I don't believe in charity for Europe—money charity. We have done a good deal of that. I do believe in a charity of mind toward

Europe. I am no longer critical of any "fool thing" that a European nation does. It is entitled to do fool things. They are in a state of mind, they are in a nervous tension and shaken morale, they are oppressed by the harassing situations; so why should they not grasp greedily for anything in this peace conference that would staunch their wounds? Let us be sympathetic with them, but I do not think we need to be charitable to the extent of trying to support them, because we cannot do it. That would only postpone the days of their trouble. They must go to work, and we must help put them to work. I think a group of nations that can furnish the things that Europe needs, should make an international loan to those countries, not of money—I would not put any money into those treasuries at present—but a loan of the credits that pay for the machinery, equipment for the railroads, raw material, sending it on time, having the payments secured by the very best security that they can give—and that means special security—and I would make this comprehensive attempt to re-start the industries. I think we could do it and I think Europe would start on towards a normal life.

Along with that duty is the greatest opportunity that ever came to a people. Why, we are the darling of the gods. No nation in all times was ever so placed, if civilization will really move on once more over there. Here we are, the reservoir of the world's capital, and at the same time the reservoir of raw materials. We can finance the world and feed the world's industry with its raw material. There have been nations that were the financial reservoirs, but they were not also the reservoirs of raw material. The future that America has with its present opportunities is very great if the Old World goes on and does not go back—and never more hung on one word than on that word "if"—because it may not go forward. It is distinctly possible that it may not go forward, but it is up to us to do all that we can, and what will be asked will not be great. Remember, what I am prophesying is not something that runs into these astronomical figures that now constitute nations' finances. It is something that will be translated into goods with all the determining limiting factors of time to manufacture, of bottoms to transport. Even a billion dollars would lay down a tremendous amount of goods to get these factories started. It would ultimately need more, but, whatever it needs, it is still within a measure that we and some of the other nations who could supply in part what is wanted, could give, and I believe that that is the course that will save the day for Europe and will make a future beyond all estimate for ourselves.

We stand in a position to be of the greatest usefulness to the world, and if we are useful we need not worry about our recompense. If we hunt for opportunities of service, rewards will come. If America looks to her opportunities for service to a stricken world, her opportunities will be such as were never before measured in any country.



MR. VANDERLIP ADDRESSING A BOY SCOUT RALLY

then with one voice demanded to be set down in the United States without delay.

The Doughboy in Europe was something different from all else—he was himself. He only saw America. He was Kansas, Texas, Maine or Indiana—unmistakable. But no European could distinguish. He was so much more American than provincial. He had the deviltry of youth, the serenity of newly-acquired physical power. He was without malice, rarely if ever drunk, boisterous but not unruly. He had his own convictions, his own grievances. He was inclined to nurse injuries, which he sometimes invented and frequently magnified—but there was a splendor about him that made every last American in Europe almost unreasonably proud. He talked only America, he thought only America. His home town became a new Athens. With the thought of his own cottage in mind he sniffed at French châteaux, but he was capable of anything, from running a locomotive to building a bridge—his vitality was not to be concealed. Yet he saw himself not inaccurately—he laughed at himself and his comrades. He was not a hero. When he talked of his achievements it was with the joy of an artist in invention, not of a conceited, self-satisfied boaster—and it was the story, not the glory, that counted with him.

I wish I could give some really accurate portrait of the American Doughboy in Europe, but it is beyond my power. Certainly no nation was ever more wonderfully represented abroad than our own. A lonely figure, too, despite his unfailing humor, his jibes and his horseplay, the American soldier was. He was a stranger in a very strange land, and there is something infinitely pathetic in the lone graves straggling about the scattered villages all the way from Argonne to the Meuse. A little perplexed as to the reasons for his exile, seized with an intense longing at all times to be home—once the job was done and done right—but in some strange way acutely conscious that he represented America in Europe and therefore had certain obligations conferred upon him, the first of which was to demonstrate the indubitable superiority of America to Europe in all that really counted.

And when the last of him has gone from Europe, save for the thousands who sleep in graves French peasants are already tenderly caring for, I am sure the legend of the American Doughboy will survive and flourish in the land in which whenever it rained—as it usually did—he chuckled over "Sunny France." If he was ever understood fully, he was appreciated. He made friends. He broke hearts and sometimes heads afterwards when his victories were resented. His generosity was boundless, his youth in an old country—whose youth had largely been sacrificed before he came—was magnificent. He was never conquered, benevolently assimilated, culturally captured—he clamored for gum and consumed candy by the ton, but he did every job that was asked of him. He did more than anyone could or did expect of him. He frequently performed miracles because his superiors could not perform the most rudimentary tasks—being new to the game. He would have gone to Berlin if he had not been stopped by the Armistice. But in the shadow of Rheims Cathedral he continued to talk about the "Goddess of Liberty."

Moreover, and this is final, neither the German, nor any other race which saw him in action will ever invite him to come to Europe again as the Kaiser and his advisers did two brief years ago. The next time a President of the United States happens to say "too proud to fight" Europe will recognize that he is indulging in a figure of speech, not a statement of fact. But the American soldier did more than teach Europe the greatness of America—he fought. Every American who saw him in Europe learned something new and unforgettable about his own country. The Doughboy's faith in his country was as simple, complete, unqualified as that of a child, but for that faith and in that faith he walked and lived and died, as only strong men can. And of this, the greatest of all his revelations, he was at all times unconscious.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, FROM MR. VANDERLIP

DEAR DR. SHAW:

I am glad to have you publish in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS *the address which I recently made before the Economic Club, with which are here incorporated for your purposes some extracts from other of my more recent speeches.*[1] *I am profoundly convinced of the importance of America seeing the European situation in its true light.*

I have been called an alarmist because of some of the things that I have said in regard to Europe. Some people have, in this connection, called me a pessimist. I feel that I am neither. I have a deep conviction that the European situation is in every respect as serious as I have in any way indicated. Instead of being a pessimist, I have perhaps been a realist. At least I have tried to see conditions as they actually exist.

While the European situation presents features of the deepest gravity, and while there are possible consequences that may develop from present conditions that would mean a great catastrophe, I am, in the face of all that, filled with optimism in regard to our own future—an optimism indeed that runs beyond anything I have ever felt in my life—if we do our part in helping Europe to get on its feet again. If Europe once starts back toward normal life, the position that America will occupy will, I believe, transcend anything that any nation ever occupied before. But we must not forget our intimate relation to Europe. We must not believe that we can smugly live on in prosperity if European civilization suffers a still greater blow than anything the war brought to it.

Faithfully yours,
F. A. VANDERLIP.

I WENT to Europe on the *Lapland*, sailing at the end of January. That ship was loaded with American manufacturers and representatives of American manufacturers, who were going over to sell goods, who felt that the war had probably so helped European industry that they were going to have to face sharper conditions of competition than they had ever known. These men had no more conception of the Europe they were going to than I had.

You believe I may have something to tell about the most remarkable situation the world has ever seen. I believe I have, and I am going to tell you straight. I am going to tell you some of the things that I have seen, some of the conclusions that I have reached, and I think you will be shocked. I was shocked when I learned, as I did within twenty-four hours after I got on the other side, that most of my preconceived notions of what had happened to Europe should be thrown into the waste-basket and that I should have to start over again to find out what had happened to Europe.

Now it is fair for you to know something of what I have done in Europe, where I have been, whom I have seen, before I begin to give you some of my conclusions.

I was in Europe from the first of February to the ninth of May. I spent some time

[1] Mr. Vanderlip's observations printed herewith will appear in more extended form in a volume about to be published by the Macmillan Company, under the title "What Happened to Europe."

in England, first; then I went to France, to Switzerland, to Italy, to Spain, back to Paris again; then to Belgium and Holland, and back to London. It is a fair statement to say that I saw the leading men in those countries. I met every finance minister; I met many of the Prime Ministers. I met the leading financiers and bankers, great employers of labor, labor leaders. And what I have to tell you is not just an opinion of my own snatched out of the blue sky. It is a reflection, perhaps a composite, of the opinions of the first minds in Europe. If it were not, I would not dare stand before you and tell you some of the things that I am going to tell you.

I believe it would be possible, too, for one to take exactly the trip that I took, to see the cities that I saw, and still return to this country with different conclusions than I have about Europe. But I believe I have been fortunate in seeing men, as well as things, and I think I have a true mental picture of Europe.

America's Interest

I want to say right at the beginning that however black a background I paint—and it will be dark—I would not paint it, I would not tell the story, except that I believe America must know it, must comprehend it, that we must get it into our hearts and minds, because we must act. And if we do act, we can save Europe from a catastrophe, a catastrophe that will involve us. That is why I feel moved to tell such an assemblage as this something of the conditions that I saw over there, something of some of the consequences that may flow from those conditions. I believe that it is possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the Great War. I believe we can probably save the situation from anything occurring as fearful as that. If I did not believe it, I should hesitate to say what I shall about conditions.

Europe's Paralyzed Industry

If I were to try to put in two words what I sum up as the most essential thing to grasp about the situation in Europe, the two words would be "paralyzed industry." There is idleness, there is a lack of production throughout Europe and, indeed, in England, that you can hardly comprehend. There is a difficulty about a resumption of work on ordinary peace affairs that, I think, nobody could be made to comprehend who did not see it on the ground.

Now, of course, there is a great scar across Europe where there has been devastation. I hardly need to speak of that. You have been told that story. I have seen it from the German border to Zeebrugge, and no words can make you comprehend the awfulness of that scar. The complete destruction, the insane destruction, the destruction that went far beyond military necessities, destruction that despoiled factories for the purpose of destroying commercial competition — there was a great deal of that. But after all that is only a scar across Northern France and Belgium, destroying a considerable part of the industry of those two countries, it is true, but it is not that devastated district that I speak of. It is the idleness throughout all countries where there has been nothing of the hand of war laid upon industry, only the hurt of this after-war situation that has in it promise of being a more terrible hurt than the war itself. Now, why should a factory unharmed by the war, in the midst of a continent wanting everything insistently, be idle? Why should there be a million people in England receiving an unemployment dole? Why should there be in little Belgium 800,000 people receiving a weekly unemployment wage?

How Can Raw Materials Be Paid For?

Let me try to give you some picture of the difficulties that a manufacturer is under in Europe to-day in an attempt to start up his factory. In the first place, his labor has been dissipated and he faces a very difficult labor situation, although he is surrounded by idleness. The war has had a bad effect upon the morale of people. That is particularly noticeable in Belgium, where for four and one-half years there has been partial idleness of people supported from the public purse, which has had a serious effect upon the character, for the moment at least, of those people. But our manufacturer must have raw material. Probably it must come from out of the country. He must have exchange with which to pay for it. He must have credit, very likely. Now I have come to see these nations from a new point of view, from a point of view of what they must have from outside to sustain life and go on in a more normal course. And what do they have with which to pay for it?

Let me picture a pair of balances, into one scale-pan of which you will put all the things

that a nation must have—in Italy, coal and cotton; in France, cotton and wool and most of the metals. Let us put in the other pan everything that a nation has to export. Well, obviously at the moment, these nations wanting everything—industry disorganized, and nothing to send out—our scales are out of balance. What can be done? We cannot take anything out of the pan containing the nations' necessities, because presumably we have reduced these imports as low as they can go and have the nations live. Put more in the other pan, representing the nations' exports? But you cannot put more in if your industries are paralyzed. What other way is there to balance this? And it must be balanced, else the things cannot be had that are essential to the nations' life. Well, normally we would put gold in there, but, of course, now there is no gold that these countries can spare. What else can we put in? Credit—that is the one thing. There are just three things that will go into this balance to balance these necessary things that the nation must have—goods, gold, credit. So right on the threshold a manufacturer needs a foreign credit. He must have foreign credit if his raw material is to come from abroad. Now, what are some of the other things that are difficult? He is facing a wage situation in which the wages of prewar days have been doubled or tripled. He is in a currency situation that is chaotic. Some of these nations have a variety of currency at the present time that is almost laughable, except that it is horribly serious.

Poland's Currency Troubles

Take the situation of Poland, for example, and Poland was a great manufacturing district about Warsaw. When the present Government was formed, this country, made out of a piece of Russia, a piece of Germany, and a piece of Austria, had first a currency of the old Czar rubles, of the Kerensky rubles, of the Bolshevik rubles, and counterfeits of the Czar rubles and the Kerensky rubles. There there were German marks, and an issue of marks that Germany forced the Warsaw district to make, and then, worth least of all, perhaps, were the Austrian crowns with three-eighths of one per cent. of gold back of them. That Government had to consolidate in some way this terrific mass of currency, and the difficulties that this has thrown upon getting things started would in themselves be almost enough to bring about the paralysis that is found there.

Money Difficulties in England, France, and Belgium

The currency in other countries, while not quite so intricate, is almost equally involved. In France there were a little less than 6,000,000,000 bank notes which formed the nation's currency prior to the war. To-day there are 36,000,000,000 francs of notes of the Bank of France. Now 36,000,000,000 francs of paper money is a sum so vast that you can hardly grasp it. Its effect has been greatly to enhance prices. England itself has an enormous issue of what is practically fiat money—about a billion and a half dollars, I believe it is. These currency notes are secured by a comparatively small amount of gold—about 28,000,000 pounds sterling. In Belgium the Germans forced a bank to make a great issue of notes. It flooded the country with marks, and when the Belgian Government came back they had to take those marks up. They had to issue their own notes, or, in part, bonds against the marks. About 6,000,000,000 marks were so taken up. When France got Alsace-Lorraine she also got about 4,000,000,000 marks along with it, and had to redeem them. It cost France a billion dollars in her bank-note currency which she put out at 1.25 for the mark in a franc. So the currency situation makes a great difficulty.

Thousands Literally Starving

Then there is another paralysis that affects every manufacturer, that affects the whole life of Europe more than you can imagine—the paralysis of domestic railway transportation. In some parts of Europe that has become extremely serious. Mr. Hoover told me that the breakdown in transportation in Central Europe, in the countries east of Germany, was so serious that there was bound to be starvation of hundreds of thousands of people simply because the food could not be moved. If ports were full of food there would still be many, many, many thousands of people starving. Starving people! Do you know they really starve to death by hundreds of thousands? It is a long way off. We don't get it. We don't understand it. It is a sort of oratorical expression—that people are starving. But it's true, only too literally and terribly true!

In Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in much of the Balkan country, the starvation has been appalling, and will continue to be appalling, and people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have

faced this spring, and I say that on the highest possible authority. Why is that? Because Russia has ceased to be a producer for export, because Rumania, who had sent a hundred million bushels of grain into Europe had been swept clean of her work cattle—was without seed, and could plant only a part of her fields, and her Premier told me that this year she would not raise anything whatever for export. All they hoped for was to raise what would feed their own people. This sweeping away of work cattle, of work horses is very serious. Think! Why, I have seen in Belgium men hitched to a drag starting off across long fields, two men pulling an ordinary drag that a horse would draw. I have seen rows of men and women spading their great fields because they did not have the animals to do the plowing. Mr. Paderewski told me that in Poland, because of lack of work animals, because of lack of seed, not over one-third of the acreage could be planted this year. So you have that combination of lack of production and of a paralysis of transportation and even though there were a sufficient amount of food at the ports it could not be moved to the people.

The Lack of a Market That Can Pay

I was telling you something of the difficulties of the manufacturer. This difficulty of transportation is an extremely real one. It affects the manufacturer in getting his raw material, the lack of which prevents him from sending his finished products. But what about the market for his finished products? There is the rub. The markets of Europe are ravenous for things, and they have nothing with which to pay. The manufacturer starting with a disorganized labor situation, a wage-scale three times the pre-war scale, a demoralized morale, great difficulty in getting foreign exchange to pay for his raw materials, great difficulty in getting bottoms to ship them in, great difficulty in getting them transported to him after it arrives at a port, may still produce. But after he produces he has not a market that can pay, a market that will give him the means to go on completing the industrial cycle of buying more raw material and paying his labor.

That is serious almost beyond our understanding because we have not realized, at least I had not realized, how like a great manufacturing community Europe is. Europe has increased its population since the Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Just think of those figures—175,000,000 to 440,000,000! Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount of food more than she did one hundred years ago. How has she fed these people? You can just compare Europe to a New England mill town. If there were no market for the product of the mills of that town, if you could not sell, what would happen? You could not continue the industrial processes, your people could not earn the wages that they must pay to bring food into the town, and they would go hungry or they would go out. A responsible minister of the British Government said to me, "If you can't get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in turn can make an effective demand upon the industries of England, the British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England and nearer to the sources of food supply."

It is this that we must grasp—that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England, the most thickly populated country in the world, with seven hundred people to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can live only by selling abroad a great part of the products of the factory and, with the proceeds of that export, buying more raw material and the food for the population.

England Threatened with Revolution

Let me tell you a little about England—England as I see it. The England that I saw on the first of February was an England on the very verge of revolution. You didn't get that over here, but it is a fact generally admitted by all Englishmen. When I arrived in London—I think it was the second of February—the streets were full of army lorries trying to carry the people because there were strikes on the district railway and in the "tube." Coal miners were threatening an immediate strike and the supply of coal was so scarce that living there was most uncomfortable. Up in Glasgow there were such riots that they had sent military tanks to patrol the streets. The railroad men were threatening a complete tie-up of all transportation service. The electricians were threatening to put London in absolute darkness and we were all pro-

vided with candles throughout the evening, expecting the light to be cut off at any moment. Happily there has been a great change in that situation. The great underlying common sense of the English came to the rescue and differences were partly composed. The coal miners demanded, and received, a Royal Commission that should within a few days examine their claim for higher wages and shorter hours, and that examination did not leave a doubt in a mind in England that the miners had made out a case. The differences were composed with the railroad people, and for the moment the outlook is peaceful so far as any revolution is concerned.

A Million Houses for British Workingmen

But I should like to examine for you a little further, the English situation. England has held the premier position in the international industrial markets. America grew, but England grew too. America grew faster, so did Germany grow faster, but England had up to the outbreak of the war held the premier position. How did she hold it? She had little raw material, some iron and some coal. That was all. I will tell you how she held it. She held it by underpaying labor. That was her differential. That is how she competed. She underpaid labor until that labor to-day has not a house over its head in England, and the Government is undertaking to build a million houses for workingmen. A million houses! English industry made a red-ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently, and you know, if you have been in the mill towns of England, that there grew up a secondary race there of small, underfed, under-educated, under-developed people. Well, England must pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that "you can't make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population." They all see it, and that differential that England has had in international trade is gone.

But that is not all. England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community just like an industrial village. She has this vast population that her fields will not sustain. She must bring in raw material, pass it through her factories, sell the product abroad, and have margin enough to get more raw material and the food she needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe. I believe that these markets must be rebuilt. I believe that is the real peace treaty now. There cannot be peace when there are idle people, lack of production, want and starvation; and these are things that are current in Europe.

England's Paper Money and Heavy War Costs

I have told you a little of English industry. Let me tell you just a word of English finance. The outstanding fact in England is that she is off the gold basis. Very great consequences flow from that. You know that the day after war was declared, she began to print paper money. The Bank of England had a rigidity that permitted of no expansion. Gold disappeared from circulation over night. There was urgent need for more currency, and the Government started its printing-press. It has added to the total of its fiat issue every week during the war, I think, and is still adding. That issue is secured by a deposit of a little gold, perhaps twenty-eight and a half million pounds of gold under it. That amount has remained stationary, and there are government securities also back of this currency issue. But, of course, that is "pig on pork" as we say—that is, merely securing the Government's obligation with the Government's obligation, and in the present situation practically any Bank of England note is not redeemable. Normally they are redeemable in gold. But neither the Bank of England nor the Government has the gold to redeem any great quantity; and if anybody wanted to ask for a redemption they would be closely questioned as to the use they wanted to make of the gold. The difficulty of making any use of gold in a country which puts an embargo on its export is such that the redemption quality has now disappeared.

The English fiscal year begins with the first of April. From the first of April to the armistice, England's war cost was 7½ million pounds a day, roundly. It was a little under that. In the months since the armistice her war cost has been 6½ million pounds a day. Why, the cost of this war after the armistice is going to amaze the world!

France on the Verge of Exhaustion

Now let me turn to France for a moment. France is bled white. That is a trite statement, but it is a statement that comes to you with crushing force when you really see

France; when you see to-day women in the railway yards, women on the street-cars, women at many things that men should be doing. When you see men well along in the forties still in uniform, you begin to appreciate what has happened in the way of loss of man power. Of course, in Northern France you do not expect to find anything but devastation and idleness. But there is idleness all over France just as you find in England, just as you find in Belgium, just as you find in Italy.

French Finances

In France, the paper money is the issue of the Bank of France—a bank that has been wonderfully well managed, that has gone through all the wars that have been fought since its organization, without any question of insolvency. But the amount of currency issued by the great Bank of France reaches an appalling figure. The total at the outbreak of the war was between five and six billions of francs. A total of thirty-six billions had been reached when I was in Paris, and the Chamber of Deputies had been asked to increase the legal limit to forty. Now thirty-six billions of francs is a vast amount. We have grown used to handling this word "billions," perhaps, without understanding it. I think, perhaps, the French mind is less capable of understanding these great figures than the minds of some other peoples. The Frenchman is wonderful at detail. He is, nationally speaking, a man of small business, and I rather conceive that numerals in nine ciphers get beyond his range.

When I first went to Paris, in the middle of February, there was a situation that seemed to me to raise at once a question of the solvency of the French Government. It is facing a budget of twenty-two billion francs this year. France had a debt, prior to the war, that was larger than that of most countries. It was about $160 per capita. Her funded debt to-day by no means measures her position. The Government owes the Bank of France twenty billion francs of short-term unfunded paper. They are pledged to tremendous payments to the families of the injured, payments of reparation to the people who have had their homes or business destroyed. It was estimated to me by, I believe, competent persons, that when the Government of France has discharged her obligations to her own people, she will have a total obligation of three hundred billion francs.

Italy's Tragic Situation

Here is Italy with its great army not disbanded, and she cannot disband it without disbanding it into idleness, and she is afraid of idleness. Poor Italy! You know I am pro-Italian since I spent three weeks in Italy. I had some preconceptions about Italy, reinforced by current conversations in England and in France and elsewhere—that Italy came into the war when she got her price; that the greatest thing that she had accomplished was a phenomenal defeat, and that when the war was over she wanted to claim the credit and grab all of the "swag" that she could. Well, that view is not correct. When Italy came into the war she came to the side that at the time certainly did not look as if it had the best chance. She did as brilliant fighting in those high places as men ever did in the world. By treachery, through surprise, she suffered a horrible defeat. Her heart was torn open, and she came back and put the enemy back. She defended a line as long as the line across France. She lost as many men in proportion to her population as England lost, and she has buried herself under a crushing debt. My sympathy is with Italy.

An Instance of Italian Patriotism

I believe you may be interested in an Italian story. A good many nations and a good many military organizations think that they won the war. Well, I can tell you of one man, just one man, who, if he did not win the war, saved the Allies from defeat, and that man was an Italian, a great manufacturer at Genoa. His father had been a great manufacturer before him, and had been filled with the idea that he would resist German penetration, that no German money should ever get control in that factory, and his two sons inherited that feeling and were absolutely free from any German taint. When the war broke out they offered to turn their great shops into munition works to make guns. They think there was still German influence in the Italian Government, but whether or not there was, they got no orders. That did not phase them. They got the designs of French guns and they made two thousand cannon—two thousand splendid field pieces—and when that terrible defeat came to Italy and the Italian Government hastened to them to ask them to make guns they had two thousand ready at once to put into the field. But still they had difficulty in getting further orders. At last they

got orders, but they could not get paid. At one time, the Italian Government owed this single corporation 700,000,000 lire.

The firm employed 100,000 men. They made 10,000 field guns. There may be some men here who have tried to make guns for our army, and however desperately they tried they did not, in the months between the declaration of war and the finish of the war, get very many of them over there, and they will appreciate what making 10,000 guns means. That is what this one concern did. They financed the situation in spite of not being able to get paid, although they did finally get paid. I believe that just those two men who ran that concern, who had such patriotism, such foresight, such enormous financial strength, such great industrial ability as to produce these things, saved Italy from defeat, and an Italian defeat would have been very serious to the Allied cause. And now Italy, under this tremendous debt, has to have a million tons of coal a month, has to have its cotton, has to have everything. This balance of necessities is weighted way down and the balance of its exports is high in the air. They have little to put in. Their situation is very serious.

Bolshevism in Spain

I saw something of the neutral countries, too. I was in Spain. Spain has been unharmed, has prospered as she never prospered before, and but for a terrible canker in her heart would be the most promising place in Europe. That canker is the labor situation. There was presented at Barcelona as perfect a laboratory of Bolshevism as you ever saw. An organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. It takes in the whole labor population there. It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination. At the time I was there seventy-two employers and foremen had within a few weeks been assassinated—and not one conviction. No witnesses would testify. They were terrified. No juries would convict; they were terrified. They had terrified the papers. They had told the papers, "you can't publish anything that we do not censor." They censored one paper for publishing an official order of the Government, fined it 5000 pesetas, and told the owners they would destroy the presses if they did not pay. They did pay, but the censorship became so absurd that every paper there stopped publication. Now there was Bolshevism in the making aided by Russian money, aided by German men. There is no question about it whatever.

Counterfeit Money

This use of Russian money brings up an interesting subject. I do not know how much you have seen of it in the papers here, but the best bureau of engraving and printing, the best money factory in the world, next to the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington, was located in Petrograd. The theory of the Bolshevists was that in their order of society there was no place for money. They saw it was difficult, however, to go on without money, and so they set to work to print so much money as to make money useless. They went further than that. They wanted money for their propaganda purposes in other countries. They found no way so easy as to make it. They have counterfeited the pound, the franc, the mark, the lira, the peseta. To what extent I am unable to say. That it has been done there is no question. Some of the English counterfeits have found their way to England. A good many of the English counterfeits were used in the Near East, because they liked the pounds better there than rubles, and so the Bolshevists supplied the pound.

Industry Must Be Restarted

Regarding Russia, the picture I see is a Russia exploited by Germany, with no one to hinder, because the Russian leaders have been driven from the country or exterminated there. That opens an interesting prospect of the future of Europe. Of course Germany will be hampered by every possible means that can be laid upon her. Nothing is too severe, if it could be wreaked upon the people who deserve the punishment. I doubt if all the German people do deserve the punishment. I believe it was a small minority that led Germany into this war. I have been tremendously impressed with the power of minorities. Those are two examples, but you find examples everywhere, of what an active minority, capable in handling propaganda, can do, matched against the phlegmatic majority that does not hang together and does not try to present its case.

And so there is, in every country in Europe, a small minority to-day that actually questions the justice and right of the present

capitalistic order. There is no doubt that it wielded an influence out of all proportion to its numbers,—that it was active, intelligent, that it put out propaganda and was dangerous. I believe there is such a minority in every European country that is dangerous. The things that it will best feed upon are dissatisfaction, want and hunger.

And that is why, I believe, there is no safety in the world if we cannot devise some means of re-starting industry in Europe—giving employment to those people, setting production going again, giving them something to exchange for the things that they must have. And I am impressed with the wealth of America compared with those countries that to live must have great importations from outside of the country. Take poor Italy. She has not a pound of coal. She must have a million pounds a month—must have cotton, wool, minerals—in fact, all the great raw materials. Take the situation of France—much more self-contained, so far as mere food is concerned, but absolutely dependent upon us for cotton; on Italy and Japan for silk, and on other countries for other raw materials—and France is not a great exporting nation. She used to balance her budget by income on her foreign investments. Just look at those foreign investments for a moment—twenty billion of francs invested in Russian Government Loan; five billions in Russian industries; five billions in Turkish Government paper; a large amount in Greek and Balkan security. Now the income on that huge foreign investment went far to balance the international position of France and that income has disappeared.

Well, I could go on putting on black paint on this background, but I think I have covered enough. Now is it hopeless, or can we do something about it? That is the whole point. Well, we can do something. We have got to do something about it. If we do not, it will do something about us.

We Must Send Materials, Machinery, Food

Well, what can we do? I do not believe that we can furnish the credit to rehabilitate the Governmental credits of Europe. Many of them are too badly involved already. I do believe that we must furnish these things that are essential to the re-starting of industry in Europe, and I believe we must furnish these things to all Europe. It won't do to use the usual methods of money-lenders; to pick out the best security and say we will take a chance on this and let the rest go. We must lend in the measure of the necessity, rather than in the measure of the security, because there is no security anywhere so long as you leave part of Europe idle, in want and hunger, ready for Bolshevism, ready for some uprising, something that will better their condition. And I want to tell you that there is a minority in every country in Europe, an active minority, that believes in a program for upsetting the present social order. In England employers estimated to me that that minority was 10 to 15 per cent. A minority that actually believes the whole theory of property rights should be abandoned, that we should go into a communistic state of society. There is inflammable material in every country in Europe. You leave any part of it unprotected, you leave any part of it idle, hungry, starving, and there is going to be social disorder that will be a plague spot. It is infectious. It is likely to spread. So I believe that if we are to tackle this subject of rehabilitating the industry of Europe, we must make a comprehensive job of it. We have got to furnish the raw material, the machinery, a certain amount of food, and the equipment for railroads to make a start at getting this industrial cycle going again all over Europe.

Now some of you may say, "Vanderlip is excited. He has got too imaginative a brain in looking at this thing. This war is over. This tangle is going to work out in the long run, it always has. There have been tangles before. There have been wars before, and in the long run this will work out. Don't get excited. Let us take care of ourselves at home. Let us not get involved in too many foreign financial entanglements." You know that a hungry stomach cannot wait for the economists' "in the long run." The man starves to death, and before he will do that he will go into revolution. This thing would work out in the long run if it were one country, but it is all the European continent. The inter-reactions of one industry on another are broken up. The whole machine is disorganized; it won't work out in the long run, unless we help it work out.

Help Europe to Help Hereslf!

Europe must save itself. You cannot do it by charity, but we have got to get a little priming in the pump to get this thing started. I don't believe in charity for Europe—money charity. We have done a good deal of that. I do believe in a charity of mind toward

Europe. I am no longer critical of any "fool thing" that a European nation does. It is entitled to do fool things. They are in a state of mind, they are in a nervous tension and shaken morale, they are oppressed by the harassing situations; so why should they not grasp greedily for anything in this peace conference that would staunch their wounds? Let us be sympathetic with them, but I do not think we need to be charitable to the extent of trying to support them, because we cannot do it. That would only postpone the days of their trouble. They must go to work, and we must help put them to work. I think a group of nations that can furnish the things that Europe needs, should make an international loan to those countries, not of money—I would not put any money into those treasuries at present—but a loan of the credits that pay for the machinery, equipment for the railroads, raw material, sending it on time, having the payments secured by the very best security that they can give—and that means special security—and I would make this comprehensive attempt to re-start the industries. I think we could do it and I think Europe would start on towards a normal life.

Along with that duty is the greatest opportunity that ever came to a people. Why, we are the darling of the gods. No nation in all times was ever so placed, if civilization will really move on once more over there. Here we are, the reservoir of the world's capital, and at the same time the reservoir of raw materials. We can finance the world and feed the world's industry with its raw material. There have been nations that were the financial reservoirs, but they were not also the reservoirs of raw material. The future that America has with its present opportunities is very great if the Old World goes on and does not go back—and never more hung on one word than on that word "if"—because it may not go forward. It is distinctly possible that it may not go forward, but it is up to us to do all that we can, and what will be asked will not be great. Remember, what I am prophesying is not something that runs into these astronomical figures that now constitute nations' finances. It is something that will be translated into goods with all the determining limiting factors of time to manufacture, of bottoms to transport. Even a billion dollars would lay down a tremendous amount of goods to get these factories started. It would ultimately need more, but, whatever it needs, it is still within a measure that we and some of the other nations who could supply in part what is wanted, could give, and I believe that that is the course that will save the day for Europe and will make a future beyond all estimate for ourselves.

We stand in a position to be of the greatest usefulness to the world, and if we are useful we need not worry about our recompense. If we hunt for opportunities of service, rewards will come. If America looks to her opportunities for service to a stricken world, her opportunities will be such as were never before measured in any country.



MR. VANDERLIP ADDRESSING A BOY SCOUT RALLY

FRANK ARTHUR VANDERLIP

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS

THE editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has asked me to write a sketch of the career of Frank Arthur Vanderlip, and I am glad to comply because it seems desirable that this story of individual success and achievement should be told at this time. We are passing through a period of excitement and social turmoil. The world has suffered the greatest catastrophe in history and needs that all its recuperative powers shall be brought into operation as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, a lot of misguided people think they see in this situation an opportunity to overthrow the existing order of society and substitute something radically different. Therefore, instead of coöperating to get the wheels of industry turning, they are using every effort to increase the disorder.

These persons lay all emphasis upon the inequalities which exist in society, assuming that the possessors of wealth have taken it away from others. Their remedy is to restrain and suppress the individual, holding down the man of exceptional energy and initiative. The doctrine is preached in the name of liberty, but the object is to curb individual ambition and freedom.

That there are necessary restrictions upon individual freedom in social relations is of course true, the rights of one person ending where they impinge upon the rights of others; but this rule does not apply to activities which, while beneficial to the individual, are also beneficial to society as a whole. Within this great field it is desirable that there shall be the freest possible play for individual ambition and energy, for it is by the initiative and development of its individual members that society advances.

The best proof of this is to be had by study of the careers of men who have been exceptionally successful in the business world, and in the case of Frank Vanderlip we have one of a boy rising from the ranks of the common people, by his own efforts, without adventitious circumstances, to a position of leadership and great power. It will be interesting to mark the distinguishing characteristics which have contributed to his success, first as a boy and young man, a wage-earner, laying the foundations of his career, and later as a financial leader, directing large interests, and responsible for policies affecting the common welfare. Let us consider whether these characteristics are inimical to the common interest of the community. Did he win any stage of his advancement by acts that were harmful to fellow-workers or prejudicial to anyone? Has he climbed up by pulling or pushing anybody else down or have his efforts contributed to the general progress?

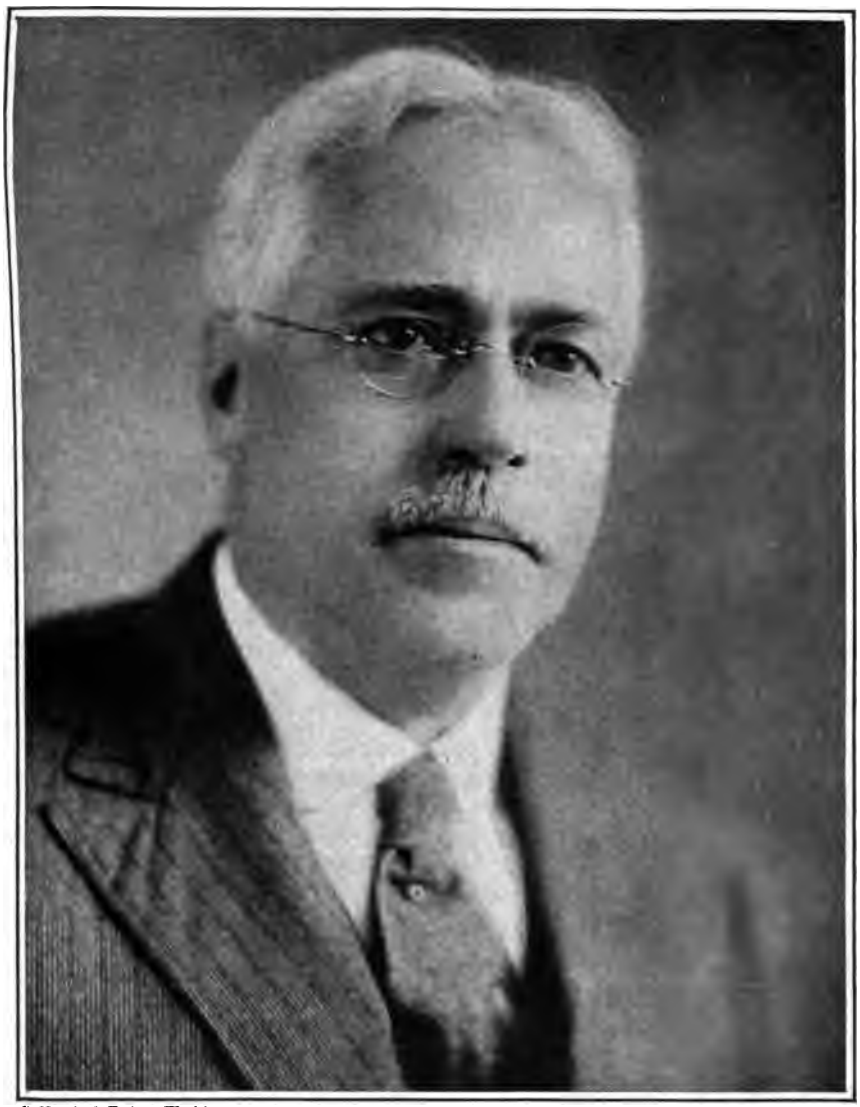
Early Life

Frank Vanderlip was born in Aurora, Illinois, fifty-four years ago. His father was a blacksmith by trade, but had become the superintendent of a wagon-factory. His health failed while Frank was a boy, and he bought a farm to which he moved his family. In 1878 he died, leaving a widow and three children; and of the latter Frank, then aged fourteen, was the oldest. The family remained on the farm another year, Frank working on the place and attending a country district school.

At this time occurred the first incident to be cited as displaying traits of character which marked him for success. He had the job of caring for a bunch of forty calves through one summer, for which he was promised and received one of the calves, and sold this calf for $12. The New York *Tribune* was advertising to give a five years' subscription to the *Weekly Tribune,* together with a copy of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, for $12, and to this purpose the newly acquired wealth was devoted. Then, as at every later opportunity, when the choice was between immediate gratification and denial which enabled him to prepare for something better, he chose the latter.

Machine Shop and University

When he was 15 the family moved back into Aurora, and Frank went to work as an apprentice in a machine shop, tending a lathe. He wanted an education, but the



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MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP, BANKER AND STUDENT OF FINANCE

(Mr. Vanderlip began his career as a financial writer for newspapers. In the McKinley Administration he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. In 1901 he became Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York, and for the past ten years has been President of that institution. His recent observations in Europe are related on pages 41-49, immediately preceding this article. Princeton University has made Mr. Vanderlip a Doctor of Laws)

family income was too slender to finance it, and he set to work to prepare himself for college by night study, and to save the necessary capital out of his wage, which was 75 cents per day for ten hours. In a little over a year at this rate, living at home, he saved up $225, and, having completed his preparatory studies, he entered the Freshman Class of the University of Illinois, at Champaign, in the year 1880-1881.

He got work in a machine shop in Champaign, at $1.25 per day for Saturdays and vacations, to eke out his savings, and in this way made them carry him about a year and a half. Then there was nothing to do but go back to work, and he returned to the machine shop in Aurora and completed his apprenticeship. He continued by night his studies in higher mathematics, and learned stenography, not that stenography was needed in the machine shop but by way of being ready for other possible opportunities. He worked in the shop until the end of 1883, when it closed down in a dull season

and he got his first job as a newspaper reporter on the Aurora *Post*.

Studying Finance

Meantime, however, he had formed what proved to be one of the valued friendships of his life, with Joseph French Johnson, now Dean of the New York University School of Commerce, who lived then in Aurora, and conducted "The Investors' Agency," a bureau of information upon investments, in Chicago. He soon went to the Agency as stenographer and assistant to Mr. Johnson, and when the latter went to the Chicago *Tribune* as its Financial Editor, the subject of our sketch, whom at the age of 20 we may now call Mr. Vanderlip, took charge of the Agency. In this work he obtained his first familiarity with corporation finance. He read widely to qualify himself for this work, and when Mr. Johnson left the *Tribune* in 1890 to found the Spokane *Statesman,* Mr. Vanderlip at the age of 26 succeeded him as Financial Editor of the *Tribune*.

The next chapter, from 1890 to 1897, is that of alert, enterprising, capable and indefatigable newspaper work, supplemented by a regular course of studies in economics at the University of Chicago, under Professors J. Laurence Laughlin and A. C. Miller, the latter now a member of the Federal Reserve Board. His newspaper work kept him up until midnight, but he was on hand for an 8:30 A. M. recitation at the University.

Distinction in Newspaper Work

The Yerkes régime in the street railway history of Chicago was then in full swing. It was a period when not much consideration was given to either the rights of the public or of minority stockholders, and a financial editor who would not take the trouble to pry very deeply into the affairs of the companies would have been highly appreciated by the management.

Young Vanderlip, however, had the ability and the will to go into their affairs, and with money from his own pocket he bought one share in each of the public utilities operating in the city, in order to have a stockholder's right to attend meetings and ask for information. Outside of the officials of the companies he became the best posted man in Chicago about the finances of the companies, and he used his knowledge for the benefit of the public. Here was exhibited a sense of responsibility to the public which he was serving.

At this time he formed the acquaintance of Lyman J. Gage, then President of the First National Bank of Chicago, and of the other bankers of the city, and their opinion of him was shown upon two occasions when emergencies developed in the financial situation. One of these was upon the failure of Moore Brothers, who occupied a very prominent position in Chicago. The bankers of the city held a night meeting at the home of Philip Armour to consider the situation before the news was made public. It was deemed necessary that the Chicago Stock Exchange should not be opened on the following morning. The effect of the news, if presented in a sensational manner, was feared, and, as a result of the conference, Frank Vanderlip was sent for. He undertook to handle the news, and prepared a statement, headlines and all, for each of the morning papers.

He then visited each newspaper office and informed the editor that he had a story which he would give upon the understanding that it would be published exactly as supplied, without additions. All but one used it upon the terms; one declined the terms and went to press without any account of the affair. The story gave all the essential facts, but without the sensational treatment which in time of surprise and excitement might have worked disaster to the banking situation.

Several years later, when the National Bank of Illinois, one of the leading institutions of the city, was found to be upon the point of failure, another midnight meeting was held, and again Vanderlip was sent for and the announcement confided to his discretion. It was handled successfully as before.

Goes to Washington

The announcement that Mr. Gage would be Secretary of the Treasury in President McKinley's Cabinet suggested a new thought to our financial writer, now 32 years old. He had left the Chicago *Tribune* the year before and bought a one-half interest in the Chicago *Economist,* a weekly financial journal, to get established in business on his own account. He was also editing the Rand-McNally *Bankers' Monthly,* and a couple of trade publications, working like a horse, as he always had done. The new idea was that he would like to attach himself to Mr. Gage, and spend a year in the Treasury, to broaden his knowledge of public finance.

He made the proposal to Mr. Gage and the latter made him private secretary, at a

salary of $2500 per year. Here again was displayed his indifference to immediate results as compared with an opportunity to add to his equipment and knowledge and prepare himself for something better in the future. The earnings which he relinquished in Chicago were more than twice the salary which he accepted in Washington. However, without any expectation on his part, Secretary Gage soon asked the President to appoint him to the position of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, with a salary of $4500 per year.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Vanderlip had the financial bureaus and the personnel of the Department under him. He stood for the merit system in the civil service against pressure for political patronage, and it was at his instance that the existing regulation was adopted providing that preliminary to dismissal a civil-service employee must be furnished with written charges and given an opportunity to make reply, the record being subject to review by the Civil Service Commission.

But he was for the merit system also in requiring honest service; he made a reputation as an organizer and disciplinarian throughout the Department. He did more to clear out dead wood and reform the routine methods than had been done since the Civil War. His energizing touch was felt in every division. Of course he had the confidence and support of Secretary Gage, and between the two there developed not only complete sympathy in purposes but a personal affection which on each side will endure while life shall last.

The two leading features of Secretary Gage's able administration of the Treasury were the Spanish-American war loan and the refunding operation conducted later, by which most of the Government's outstanding debt, bearing interest at 3 and 4 per cent., was converted into 2 per cents. The latter especially was an achievement doing credit to the Secretary's initiative and financial judgment, for there were many doubters in high circles as to its success. The feature of the Spanish War Loan was that it was placed by popular subscription and handled directly by the Treasury. Both of the undertakings involved a great amount of extra labor and supervision, and an extension of the organization of the Department; and the executive task at once devolved upon Mr. Vanderlip.



As financial editor of the Chicago *Daily Tribune* — As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

MR. VANDERLIP AT TWO INTERESTING STAGES IN HIS CAREER

Invited to the National City Bank of New York

His work in handling these matters and in connection with the regular business of the financial bureaus, including that of the Comptroller of the Currency, brought him in contact with bankers; and early in 1901 Mr. James Stillman, President of The National City Bank of New York, proposed that he resign from the Treasury and join the staff of that institution. He was ready to move on, and accepted, leaving Washington in March, with the understanding that he would enter the bank on July 1.

He had never been abroad. He wanted to know something, first-hand, about industry, banking, and social conditions in Europe. He made a rapid circuit which took him to the principal capitals and industrial centers in about three months. It was a very interesting time to go. The United States was in the full tide of the great industrial expansion which followed upon the settlement of the Free Silver agitation and the close of the war with Spain. It was the period of industrial reorganization and consolidation, when our industrial leaders were beginning to put into effect the lessons they had been learning in standardized mass production. Europe was startled by what this country was doing. For the first time America was appearing as a formidable competitor in world markets, and even in Europe. Moreover, we had had good crops while Europe had had light ones, so that our agricultural exports were very large, and altogether our



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

MR. VANDERLIP, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON WAR SAVINGS, ADDRESSING A "WAR STAMP RALLY"

trade balance reached proportions which to Europe seemed almost threatening.

Observations in Europe

Our traveler was well equipped and keen to observe European conditions. He knew machinery and industrial methods and the financial resources of this country, and was immensely interested in what he saw. Everywhere but in Germany he was impressed by the inferiority of industrial methods as compared with American methods, and particularly with the slavishness to routine and absence of the spirit of enterprise and improvement. Society, particularly in Eastern and Southern Europe, seemed to be at a standstill. Although population was increasing and making further demands on natural resources, there appeared to be no thought of improving the common welfare by increasing production. He said the greatest ingenuity was exercised in devising positions where the service performed was useless, and that that system seemed to be considered best which kept the most people employed.

The way his fresh, vigorous spirit reacted to some of his experiences is illustrated by the following, from his writings on the trip:

> Everywhere flunkeys stand ready to perform unnecessary services for one. You are not given an opportunity even to open the door—a retainer always stands ready to do it for you, and then hold out his hand. If you call at a bank or a public office, the concierge opens the door with great obsequiousness and hands you over to a guide, who shows you to the door of the room sought, where a flunkey takes your hat and coat, another your card, and still another ushers you in . . . . The street-sprinkling carts in Vienna make a good illustration. A hose about six feet long is attached to the rear of the car, and a rope about ten feet long is tied to the end of the hose. One man drives the cart while another walks behind holding the rope and swinging the hose from side to side. . . . That is the kind of Chinese economics which I heard from educated men in various cities on the Continent. It did not seem to occur to them that work makes work; that the amount of work which the world wants done and is ready to pay for is capable of indefinite increase, or that habits of slothful and unnecessary work must breed a people incapable of energy and enterprise. It takes two men to handle a plough in Europe, not because one man really cannot do it alone, but because public sentiment approves the employment of an extra man wherever the slightest excuse can be found for him.

His observations upon Europe were embodied in a little volume entitled "Commercial Invasion of Europe," and in numerous addresses and magazine articles.

Making His Way in New York

On July 15, 1901, he walked into The National City Bank of New York and took his seat at an empty desk. He had the title of Vice-President and a salary of $10,000 per year, but it was up to him to create a place for himself. He knew the functions of a bank and had a good knowledge of banking theory, but had had no experience in banking methods or routine, and he was not there to displace anyone or take over any work already being performed. He was to use his head and find out something new that might be done that would be serviceable to the bank and its customers.

His experience in the Treasury and particularly his familiarity with Government bonds suggested the first line of effort. The bank was the New York correspondent of a large number of country banks over the country, and these banks were using Government bonds as security for their circulating notes, and buying and selling as suited their convenience. He started a department to give particular attention to this service

for correspondent banks, not only buying and selling the bonds as desired, but depositing them at the Treasury in compliance with law, receiving the bank notes, and acting as the full agent of the distant bank. In connection with this service he started the Monthly Bank Letter, or Bulletin, which at first was devoted mainly to Government bonds and the features of Government finance of especial interest to bankers.

He also began a series of pamphlet publications, handbooks related in one way or another to banking service, and intended to be useful to correspondent banks. He had numerous invitations to deliver public addresses, and some of the addresses were of notable character. One of these was at Wilmington, North Carolina, in September, 1903, when he reviewed the banking expansion which had taken place since the close of the Spanish War and gave a note of warning which instantly caught the attention of the country, and proved to be a correct analysis of the banking and industrial situation. It gave a distinct and useful check to a period of credit expansion which had run quite far enough. Four years later, when the boom was on again, but conditions were no more critical, an untoward development touched off the panic of 1907.

The service of correspondent banks became popular, and that class of business increased with The National City Bank. Then this Bond Department began to deal in other bonds, municipal and corporation issues, until gradually this developed into a large business and The National City Bank came eventually into the front rank in the bond field. A profitable adjunct had been added to the bank's business, and largely by adding a new service which was appreciated by the bank's patrons.

Mr. Stillman appreciated the development that was going on and gradually drew Mr. Vanderlip into a larger part in all the affairs of the bank, until it became an open secret that the former contemplated retirement and had fixed upon the latter as his successor. In 1909 Mr. Stillman carried out the plan he had contemplated for several years, and Mr. Vanderlip was elected to the presidency.

His Part in Banking Reform

Mr. Vanderlip fully understood the peculiar weakness of the American banking situation under the system, or lack of system, which existed prior to the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. It was a system of individual banks, without cohesive strength or means by which the combined resources could be used effectively in times of emergency. It was not the fault of the bankers that from time to time panics swept over the country and they were obliged to suspend cash payments: it was due to the inadequacy of the system. A comparatively small number of bankers and economists understood the dangers of the situation and the remedy that was required. They labored for banking reform, but the inertia and conservatism of the great body of bankers, and of Congress, were too great to be overcome until the panic of 1907 furnished an object lesson which compelled attention.

Mr. Vanderlip had been one of the earnest advocates of banking reform. As Chairman of the Finance Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he reported early in 1907, before the panic, a set of resolutions urging banking reform and declaring in favor of the establishment of a Central Bank of Issue, along the lines of the Aldrich Plan afterward reported to the Senate by the National Monetary Commission.

Four years later, after the National Monetary Commission had been appointed and had made its tour of inquiry to European capitals, a few men distinguished by their interest in the subject met with Senator Aldrich at Jekyl Island, Georgia, to sketch the plan of a measure to be submitted for enactment. Besides Senator Aldrich, Chairman of the National Monetary Commission, and Dr. A. Piatt Andrew, Secretary of the Commission, there were present Paul Warburg, H. P. Davison and Frank A. Vanderlip. The Aldrich Plan took shape and the report was practically drafted at that meeting.

The Aldrich Plan did not become a law. The bitter division which existed in the Republican party at the time the report was submitted, and which resulted in the bolt at Chicago in the following summer, prevented action upon it and deprived the Republican party of the credit of instituting the reform. The essential principles, however, were adopted in the Federal Reserve Act, and no new principles of importance are contained in the Act. The Aldrich Plan provided for one corporate body, with fifteen branch offices over the country, each having a board of directors elected by the member banks of its territory, while the Federal Reserve System has twelve separate banking corporations. Originally, these reserve banks were intended

to be entirely independent of each other, and it was over this that much of the contention developed.

Developing the Federal Reserve System

Mr. Vanderlip urged that the system should be under such unified control that the banking resources of the entire country could be drawn upon for the support of any section of the country. Another feature of the Federal Reserve measure, to which he objected, was the provision that the circulating notes should be Government notes. This provision was not in the original bill as prepared by the Hon. Carter Glass, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives. The bill as introduced by him provided that the circulating notes should be the promises of the Reserve banks which issued them. It was found necessary, however, in order to obtain the support of an important element in the Administration party, which had a record for insisting upon Government currency, to make the change.

Of course the Federal Reserve notes are the obligations of the Reserve banks. The latter issue them in the regular course of their banking business and are required to redeem them; their assets are abundantly sufficient to redeem them, and no other provision for redemption is made. Mr. Vanderlip and economists generally objected to Government notes as unnecessary on the score of security, misleading as to the real responsibility for the notes, and as tending to confuse the public as to the natural functions of the Government and the banks. On the surface it was a compromise with Greenbackism, although the issues in reality are bank notes.

Mr. Vanderlip was invited to appear before the Senate Committee when hearings were held on the measure, and sustained himself effectually. He endorsed the general plan, and said it was 80 per cent. good, but urged the changes referred to. Naturally, most attention was given to the features in controversy, and some persons not familiar with the facts, and others who have no record showing any interest in banking or currency reform in all the years when the real struggle to develop sentiment for it was going on, have charged that he fought the Federal Reserve measure.

As a matter of fact the unity of control over the twelve Reserve banks was finally established by extending the authority of the Federal Reserve Board to the point of requiring these banks to re-discount for each other. This creates a pipe-line connection between all the banks, and permits the flow of credit for which Mr. Vanderlip contended. Moreover, the connection has been found invaluable. The note feature had to stand. It does not affect the operations of the Reserve banks, and is objectionable solely because to uninformed minds it may seem to justify the Greenback theories.

The Beginning of American Branch Banking

The Federal Reserve Act, which became a law in December, 1913, contained a provision authorizing national banks to establish branches in foreign countries. Mr. Vanderlip had long been of the opinion that American banks should have this privilege, for the service they would be able to render American industry and business in foreign trade. Banking service is a necessary and important factor in foreign trade, and should extend unbroken from the exporter to the counting room of his foreign customer. Accordingly, as soon as the necessary formalities in both countries could be performed, the National City Bank of New York took steps to open a branch at Buenos Aires, which was done in September, 1914. A few months later another was opened in Montevideo, then three in Brazil, and so on. The results were encouraging, and the next step was the acquisition of the International Banking Corporation, which at the time had seventeen branches, mainly in Asia. This corporation is now owned practically in full by the National City Bank.

The corporation had been organized under a Connecticut charter to do foreign banking, before the national banks were authorized to enter the field. It had been only moderately successful, because it lacked the necessary intimate relationship with the business situation in this country, but as soon as it became related to the National City Bank this disadvantage was overcome and it became a valuable adjunct. Including the International Banking Corporation, the National City Bank of New York now has fifty-one branch offices in foreign countries.

Promotion of Foreign Trade

The object which the Congress had in view in authorizing the establishment of branch banks abroad was to afford facilities for the extension of American trade. That thought was uppermost also in the mind of

Mr. Vanderlip, and once the branches were established of course the development of American trade where they were located was an important and, indeed, necessary factor in their success. Accordingly, a Foreign Trade Department was established in the bank, with representatives in each of the branches whose duties consisted entirely in looking up opportunities for American exporters to do business. A careful study of credits also was instituted, that the American business man might have the same kind of information to guide him in foreign markets that he has at home.

Then came another development, in natural order. It was quickly apparent to the officers of the branches that a large amount of the best class of business in the countries where they were located was beyond their reach because it was controlled from Europe. The railroads and other large industrial corporations were generally owned in England or the countries of Western Europe, and their orders for equipment and supplies naturally went to the countries in which their head offices were located. That was so inevitable that Mr. Vanderlip promptly determined that the time had come for the United States to enter the foreign investment field to obtain an outlet for its industrial products. The outcome was the organization of the American International Corporation, with an authorized capital of $50,000,000, of which $40,000,000 is now paid up. This organization has become an important factor in forwarding American enterprise abroad. It has projects in hand at this time in South America, China and Europe, all of which will provide outlets for American machinery, materials and supplies. Mr. Vanderlip was the founder of this organization and is Chairman of the Board. The organization excited a great deal of interest in London, with the result that the British Foreign Trade Corporation was promptly organized upon the same plan with equal capital and the same avowed purposes.

Investment Banking

The National City Company is a bond-selling organization closely affiliated with the National City Bank, the stockholders being the same and with the stock held in the same proportions. It was originally formed to take over certain bonds and stocks which had been acquired by the bank and was not an active organization. In August, 1916, an opportunity was opened to Mr. Vanderlip to acquire the well-established bond house of N. W. Halsey & Co., and upon his motion it was taken over by the National City Company, the Bond Department of the bank was added to the merger and the National City Company speedily became the largest security-distributing organization in the world, with over 600 employes and offices in thirty-five leading cities of this country, several in Europe and one in Japan. It goes directly to investors, seeking a broad market and aiming to cultivate thrift and to educate the great body of the people to a knowledge of sound investments, and to an appreciation of the public service rendered by constructive investments in the development of the country and the advancement of the common welfare. Its advertisements attract attention for this characteristic, and the amount of its average sales shows that its distribution is largely to investors of small and moderate incomes.

Education in Banking

One of the most noteworthy features of Mr. Vanderlip's administration has been the development of the bank's Educational Department. The rapid growth of the institution and the multiplication of its offices made a demand for staff material which was not easily met. Alert, capable young men were wanted, without ties which would prevent their going abroad, who had a good educational foundation, good character, some banking experience; in short, young men who had in them the promise of making good bankers. Picked men were wanted, and the problem was to find them. Mr. Vanderlip concluded that the way to get just what was wanted was to develop them in the bank, and the first step was to get the material.

He set up an Educational Department in the bank under trained directors, who mapped out courses of study and brought in teachers. The courses are very practical, being strong in economics, commercial geography, banking, modern languages, etc. In connection with their studies the young men were passed around through the departments of the bank to gain a knowledge of daily operations, and attended lectures given by the officers of the bank and experts and authorities from outside.

Since 1916 arrangements have been in effect with some thirty-five universities by which a limited number of students from each,



"SCARBORO SCHOOL," AT "BEECHWOOD," MR. VANDERLIP'S COUNTRY PLACE IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

(Mr. Vanderlip has been greatly interested in the development of this school, which is most attractively housed, and in the various neighborhood activities which center there)

selected from the classes in economics, have been received each year into a special students' class, which was formed in July, following the college commencements. The privilege of entering this class was awarded as a scholarship by the college authorities, with the result that a fine group of young men has been gathered each year. About two hundred such recruits have entered the permanent service of the bank, and to-day are scattered over the world, fine representatives of America, eager and ambitious to serve their country at every opportunity that opens. Mr. Vanderlip has taken great personal interest in these classes, finding time, despite the endless demands upon him, to address them frequently. The thought always uppermost in these addresses was that of developing the service of the bank to the public. He endeavored to picture to the young men the coöperative character of business life and give them a large view of the useful part the bank should play.

Broadening the Service

He continually emphasized that the first thought should not be for profits but for the improvement of service—if the service was always broadening and improving, the profits would take care of themselves; it was not for the bank to serve grudgingly or wait for demands upon it; it should study to find new ways of serving the interests confided to its care and of promoting the common prosperity of the community, upon which at last the banking business depends for its own growth.

Growth of Business

Such have been the purposes and principal features of Mr. Vanderlip's ten years' administration of the affairs of the bank. It has been a period of great growth in the volume of business, to which, of course, various influences have contributed, among them notably the war, which has inflated bank deposits everywhere. When he entered the bank in 1901 the deposits were $162,000,000; when he was elected President they were $240,000,000, and at the date of the last statement to the Comptroller of the Currency, they were $797,000,000, not including $50,000,000 held by the International Banking Corporation. That the enterprising and public-spirited policies followed had much to do with this growth does not need to be said. The deposits of the foreign offices by themselves are nearly equal to the total deposits in 1901.

At the beginning of this article it was stated that one of the reasons for writing it was to review the career of a successful man of affairs, examine the characteristics which were responsible for the success, and consider whether they were inimical to the progress and welfare of the community in general. The reader can judge for himself as to this career, but the characteristics which have made it successful never fail of that result, and, indeed, account for all real success. They are sometimes associated with other traits, not admirable, but in those instances it is not the latter but the former which win.

Two Views of Life

There are two general views of life and affairs. One looks out upon what appears to be a routine performance, with fixed and settled conditions, a given amount of work to be done, in the same manner, day after day; and a certain definite product to be divided; this is the class of people who want each person restricted to do no more work than anyone else and to have just the same pay as all the rest. These persons see no reason why the Government should not control and direct everything. They think there is nothing to do in running a railroad but

to run a given number of trains each way daily. On the other hand, there is the view which goes below the surface and sees the law of change and development, with the endless possibilities of improving the means of production and the conditions under which people live. The first view of the social order corresponds to the old idea of the physical universe, the other to the understanding of the universe which science has established, as charged with a principle of life and development. The first conception is that which has long dominated society in China, and which Mr. Vanderlip remarked in some parts of Europe; the other is characteristic of the United States and illustrated in Mr. Vanderlip's career.

Mr. Vanderlip said to a class one day that the best test of the soundness of a principle of action was to consider what the result would be if everybody adopted it. That test may be applied to the principles which have achieved his success. What would be the result if all wage-earners followed the example he set while he was a wage-earner and all employers and managers of business followed the example he has set as an employer and manager? Would there not be an enormous gain in the efficiency of society and in the output of the necessaries and comforts of life? And if so much more of everything was produced, can there be any reasonable doubt that every individual would receive much more of these things than at present?

His Private Life

This article, which has already exceeded the space allotted to it, is devoted entirely to Mr. Vanderlip's business career. Of course that does not give a full picture of the man, and it seems a pity to close without at least a glimpse of another side. His interest in education, beginning with his own struggle for a college course, has been absorbing. It was one of the subjects to which he gave most attention on his trip to Europe, especially in Germany, and he has written much upon it. His action in installing the Educational Department in the bank was an expression of this interest, and it has developed again and in quite a remarkable way in the education of his children. Beginning with tutors for them and inviting in the neighborhood children, he gradually developed the "Scarboro School," on his home place in the country. It is now beautifully housed and thoroughly equipped, with nineteen instructors and 150 pupils, undoubtedly one of the best private schools in the country. He has done this not merely to provide special instruction for his children but to develop his own constructive ideas about education, hoping to accomplish something of general value. Nothing that he has been doing in these busy years has interested him more than the development of this school. It has been his recreation and hobby, and his indulgence extends to the delivery of weekly lectures on economics, the series of which it is to be hoped will some day see publicity.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

A SNAPSHOT OF MR. AND MRS. VANDERLIP AT "BEECHWOOD," SCARBORO-ON-THE-HUDSON

It ought to be added that Scarboro School is headquarters for all kinds of neighborhood activities, such as the Community Chorus, Beechwood Dramatic Club, Recreation Club, Poetry Club, etc., etc. The Beechwood Play House, which is a part of the Schoolhouse, and the Vanderlip home, are the center of a quiet, delightful community life.

Nor would it be fitting to close this sketch without mention of what Mr. Vanderlip cherishes most, his family. His early life, and the family obligations which he gladly assumed, did not give him much opportunity for social life, and he was not married until 1903. His bride was Miss Narcissa Cox, of Chicago, and their home life has been ideal. She enters sympathetically into all his plans, but has her own plans and activities, which are chiefly along the lines of social welfare and amelioration.

The children, three boys and three girls, are all that parents could desire, live normal, wholesome lives, and if they do not make good men and women there must be much less in home conditions than we all believe. Mr. Vanderlip, as is well known, was profoundly impressed by what he saw during his recent trip to Europe of conditions existing there, and during the passage home felt prompted to dictate the material for a little volume conveying a message which it was on his heart to deliver to the American public. The dedication of the book is as follows:

This book is dedicated to my six children, with the hope that they and their generation will grow up possessed of an abundant sympathy with their fellows and a sufficient knowledge of economic law to enable them to make a liberal and wise contribution of service to society.



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SOME OF THE ONE THOUSAND WESTCHESTER COUNTY CHILDREN RECENTLY ENTERTAINED AT "BEECHWOOD" THE HOME OF MR. AND MRS. F. A. VANDERLIP

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM

BY HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS

(Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce)

[Senator Cummins has long been one of our foremost authorities upon the problems of transportation service and control. He was eminent as a legal authority in this field before he became for three consecutive terms Governor of the State of Iowa. In the United States Senate for many years past he has had a leading part in the treatment of all questions having to do with interstate commerce and corporations. At the present time, as the new Republican Chairman of the Senate's Interstate Commerce Committee, he will have an exceptionally influential part in the decisions that are to be made by Congress regarding the future of our railroads before the vast system is returned from Government control to private management on the first day of next January in accordance with President Wilson's recent announcement.—THE EDITOR.]

IT is generally understood throughout the country that the readjustment of the plan we have heretofore adopted for the regulation and control of railway transportation must be radical and thorough-going if it is to be of value. In this respect the public estimate is correct. It is, however, I think, believed by a great number of people that the war and the consequent possession and operation of the railways by the Government are the disturbing causes which make the readjustment necessary. In this respect, I venture to say, public opinion is in error. Undoubtedly, the unusual movement of traffic required by the war and the disorganization which necessarily accompanied Government operation demand some legislation of a steadying character upon the return of the properties to their owners, but, if there were no other difficulties in the way, the return would be a simple matter, and the legislation accompanying it would be easily accomplished.

Recent Investigations

The real trouble with which we find ourselves confronted has no connection with the war, and has existed ever since the Government in 1887 began the attempt to control and regulate the maximum charges for the service which common carriers render to the public. It has grown with our development and it became so intense and obvious four years ago that a joint committee of Congress was created to consider it and bring forward, if possible, another plan more just, equitable and effective. This committee, of which the late Senator Francis G. Newlands was chairman, inquired into the subject with great care, conducted the most exhaustive hearings and was just preparing its final survey when the President assumed possession of our main transportation systems and began their operation as a war measure.

A year later, Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, proposed an extension of Government operation, under the act of March, 1918, for a period of five years. The investigation was then resumed by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and again full hearings were had and the most competent men in the country submitted to the committee not only their views in an abstract way but many and varied concrete proposals with regard to the legislation which should be adopted before the railway properties were re-transferred for operation to their respective owners. It is therefore probable that Congress has before it substantially all the information material for a final conclusion.

Powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission

The first and most important question in the whole matter is this: Why is it that the Interstate Commerce Commission with full authority to fix such rates for the service of transportation as will be at once fair to the public and to the railway companies cannot successfully perform its task? Why is it that the Commission cannot establish rates for all the railways which will enable them to sustain the cost of maintenance and operation and to make a reasonable return to the owners of railway securities upon the value of the property which renders the public service?

The Commission is composed of high-minded, intelligent men, fully alive to their duties and skilled by long experience, and whatever men can do they are quite able to do. If under the plan of regulation and control as it is and under conditions as they exist and as they have long existed, the Commission can do this thing there is no railroad problem and all that needs to be done is to pay the loss incurred while the properties have been in Government operation, return them to their owners, and once for all have an end of it.

Rates Adequate for One Carrier Not Sufficient for Another

The truth is, however, that there is an inherent and fatal defect in our system of regulation and control, and until it has been changed by legislation and there is complete reorganization it is no more possible to fix reasonable rates for the carrying of passengers and freight for all the railways of the country than it would be to fix a reasonable price for coal as between two producers for one of whom the cost of production is three dollars per ton and for the other one dollar per ton.

The large proportion of the traffic of the country is competitive in its character, and the railways which share it must carry it at the same rate. By reason of the widely different conditions under which it must be done, there is a tremendous spread in the cost of transportation to the several carriers, which renders our attempts abortive. The rates which will enable one company to maintain and operate its property, give it a sufficient credit for enlargements and betterments and pay a full, adequate return to capital upon the value of its property, fail utterly to do these things for another company equally well managed.

The less fortunately circumstanced roads which I have in mind in the last statement comprise probably 40 per cent. of the railway mileage of the country and carry 25 or 30 per cent. of the traffic. It must be plain that our permanent policy should be one that will maintain these roads, for it is unthinkable that they shall be abandoned and a large part of the United States left without railway service. It is equally unthinkable that the rates shall be advanced so as to meet their requirements, for to do so would give to the railways which carry 75 per cent. of the traffic operating revenues so excessive that they would not be tolerated for a day.

Actual Operating Income

In order that the casual reader may grasp this situation which has hitherto been comprehended by a comparatively few students of the subject, it may be helpful to suggest some illustrations which anyone may gather from the reports annually made by the railway companies to the Interstate Commerce Commission. I will confine these illustrations to what are known as Class One railroads; that is, railroads whose annual gross revenues from operation exceed $1,000,000. There are about 162 of these roads, and, of course, they comprise the stronger systems. If I were to consider the 700 and more roads with annual revenues less than $1,000,000, the comparison would be still more startling.

The three years, 1915, 1916 and 1917, were, taken together, the three most profitable years ever known in the history of railway operation. The average net operating income, and by that term I mean the income from operation less all the cost of maintenance and operation and after deducting all taxes, for the Class One roads for three years was about $900,000,000. Their net-operating income for 1917, computed on the same basis, was, in round numbers, $1,000,000,000. This was the sum which these roads had at the end of the year applicable to the payment of interest, dividends upon stock, permanent investment in property, or to pass into surplus.

Ratio of Income to Capitalization

We do not know just what the value of all the railway properties of the United States is, but for the moment I assume that they are in the aggregate worth their entire capitalization (excluding duplication) substantially $17,000,000,000. The average of the three years mentioned would pay 5.3 per cent. upon the whole capitalization, and the earnings for 1917 would pay 5.9 per cent. When it is remembered that three-fifths of the capitalization is represented in bonds which bear an average rate of interest of about 4¼ per cent. it is at once seen that upon two-fifths of the capitalization represented in stock the income taking the average of the three years, would pay more than 6 per cent., and taking the last year, more than 7 per cent.

There can be no just complaint against the adequacy of this compensation for capital when we consider the railways as a whole. Our difficulty arises when it comes to the

distribution of the aggregate income. Some roads received a great deal more than was fair, other roads a great deal less than was fair; and, unless we can find some way to equalize these conditions, one of two things must happen: Either the people will be compelled to pay excessive rates for transportation or these weak roads must be abandoned to their fate.

Percentage on Property Investment Account

I present another comparison: Again limiting myself to Class One railroads, which, I may say, comprise about 90 per cent. of the railway mileage and carry about 96 per cent of the traffic of the country; in this comparison I take, instead of the capitalization, what is known as the property investment account, which, although not at all accurate as a showing of the actual investment, is fairly accurate for the purpose for which I use it. Its total is a little more than $19,000,000,000.

In the Eastern District there are sixty-seven roads or systems. The average net operating income, for the three years preceding the war, of seventeen of them ranged from 6 to 15 per cent. upon the investment account; of twenty-six of them from 4 to 6 per cent.; of sixteen of them from 2 to 4 per cent. and of eight of them less than 2 per cent.

In the Southern District there are thirty-two roads or systems. Four of them earned more than 7 per cent. upon the investment account; seven of them earned less than 3 per cent., and the earnings of the remainder were between the two extremes.

In the Western District there are sixty-three roads or systems. Thirteen of them had a net operating income of more than 6 per cent. upon the investment account; twenty-five of them less than 3 per cent.; twenty of them less than 2 per cent., with the remainder between the high and the low earning power.

The Chicago & Northwestern and the Chicago Great Western railways are competitive. The average net operating income of the former for the period I have named was 6.13 per cent. upon its property investment account, while for the latter it was 1.77 per cent. It requires no argument or elaboration to convince anyone that the Chicago Great Western Company cannot perform its duty to the public and survive under such conditions.

The average net operating income of the Union Pacific for the period named was 6.72 per cent. upon its investment account. Upon the Western Pacific it was 2.28 per cent.

For the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy it was 7.02 per cent., while for the Chicago & Alton it was 2.64 per cent.

For the Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé it was 6.16 per cent. and for the Colorado Midland it was .02 of one per cent.

The Pennsylvania Company, with an investment account of $236,500,000, had an average net operating income of 6.26 per cent.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, with an investment account of $846,800,000, had an average net operating income of 5.36 per cent.

The New York Central, with an investment account of $919,500,000, had an average net operating income of 6.09 per cent.

The Central Railroad of New Jersey, with an investment account of $132,700,000, had an average net operating income of 7.05 per cent.

The Baltimore & Ohio, with an investment account of $547,800,000, had an average net operating income of 4.67 per cent.

The Erie, with an investment account of $472,500,000, had an average net operating income of 3.56 per cent.

The Chicago & Eastern Illinois, with an investment account of $80,700,000, had an average net operating income of 3.60 per cent.

The Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, with an investment account of $55,200,000, had an average net operating income of 1.95 per cent.

The New York, Chicago & St. Louis, with an investment account of $67,000,000, had an average net operating income of 3.19 per cent.

The Wabash, with an investment account of $200,000,000, had an average net operating income of 2.91 per cent.

The Western Maryland, with an investment account of $119,700,000, had an average net operating income of 2.58 per cent.; and the Wheeling & Lake Erie, with an investment account of $69,600,000, had an average net operating income of 2.30 per cent.

The average of the entire Eastern district was 5.21 per cent.; the highest percentage being 14.67 per cent., and the lowest .02 of one per cent.

Group Consolidations, Preserving Competition

For the problem I have outlined, there is but one solution. There must be a series of consolidations which will merge weak roads with strong ones, to the end that the resulting systems, and they will be comparatively few in number, may do business upon substantially even terms. When this is done the test of reasonable rates will be their effect in producing revenue for the system as a whole, and a minimum increase will accomplish the purpose. In many instances no increase would be required, because the surplus of the favorably situated properties in a given system would make the revenue of the whole system adequate.

It has seemed to me, therefore, that the first principle to be accepted in the reorganization toward which we are looking must be the consolidation of our railways into eighteen or twenty systems, under the initiative and direction of the Government, Not regional systems, for, in my judgment, that would be a sad mistake. Within proper bounds, the rivalry of service is of the utmost value, and the view I have suggested contemplates the preservation of existing competition in every part of the country, and practically in every community.

I do not dwell upon the details through which this plan can be put into operation. It is sufficient to say that it is entirely feasible and can be worked out in several ways with perfect justice to all the interests that may be involved. I am concerned mainly in the principle; but I incline toward a series of Federal incorporations for the ultimate ownership and operation of the several systems.

A Government Guaranty of Interest

The second principle toward which I have been drawn, slowly and reluctantly, but surely, is a Government guaranty, in some form, of a return upon the capital invested in railways. My reason for this position is not that capital so invested should be favored, but because we are now practically guaranteeing the return and are not securing the low rate of return which a direct Government undertaking should and would command.

Taking the railway properties together, the people have, for years and years, been paying a capital charge far in excess of a reasonable rate of interest upon a Government obligation.

As I have already said, the average net operating income of the Class I roads for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917, was more than nine hundred millions of dollars, and this, it will be observed does not include corporate income from other sources than operation. This vast amount was available, if the companies had chosen so to use it, for the payment of interest upon current and funded indebtedness and dividends upon capital stock.

In 1917 railway bonds aggregated at par a little more than eleven billions of dollars, and railway stock at par, eliminating duplications, a little more than six billions of dollars. The average rate of interest upon the bonds is a trifle in excess of 4¼ per centum; so that after paying interest the roads, considered together, had something like four hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars with which to make return in some form or other upon the six billions of stock, which means 7 per centum upon the entire volume of railway stocks, reckoned at their par value.

If a Government guaranty, in normal times, can command capital at 4 per cent., and if it were granted that the railway properties of the country equalled in value their entire capitalization, the people would save two hundred and twenty millions of dollars annually by making the return certain and taking the benefits to which the guaranty would justly entitle them.

This, however, is not the complete story, so far as the future is concerned. The railways claim, and the decisions of the Supreme Court furnish a fair basis for the contention, that under the present law they may demand rates which will enable them to earn a net income of 7, 8, or 9 per centum upon the entire value of the properties which render the service. If this rule is established, the people will be paying upon the properties just as they are, without additions or extensions or increase in capital account, a capital charge of more than one billion two hundred millions of dollars per year.

It is my deliberate judgment that it will be far better for capital to accept a low guaranteed return, and I know that it will be infinitely better for the people to give the guaranty, for it cannot by any possibility increase their burdens, and it opens to them the only possible path toward a reduction in the charge for capital and a decrease in the enormous rates they are now paying for transportation. Furthermore, it is the only

method which assures the growth in facilities necessary to meet our rapidly developing commerce.

There is another consideration which has strongly influenced me in reaching the conclusion I have just stated. The conflict between railway promoters, railway managers, railway security-holders, making up what is commonly known as railway corporations, and the public, which has been in progress for more than forty years, and which has been carried on in conventions, elections, courts, congresses, and legislatures, has been the most corrupting, degrading and demoralizing element in our history. It has been passionate, relentless and cruel.

Whatever may have been the merits of the controversy at different times, it can be confidently asserted that the struggle has not resulted in that degree of justice which ought to prevail. It is high time that it should be brought to a close and the whole subject forever disposed of in a way that will at once secure to the capital invested in a public business its just reward, and protect the people against the unreasonable demand for speculative profit in the performance of a public service.

Valuation of Railroad Properties Necessary

Let no one imagine that I am advocating a guaranty of return upon railway securities without regard to the value of the property upon which the securities are based. Neither the railway corporation nor the owner of its securities should receive more than a fair return upon the value of the property itself.

Using a former illustration again, it would not only be unjust, but absurd for the Government to guarantee upon the same basis a return upon the securities of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, capitalized at $46,000 per mile, and the securities of the Chicago Great Western Railroad, capitalized at $77,000 per mile.

Any plan of reorganization or adjustment involves a valuation of the railway properties, either by an impartial tribunal or by agreement. The former is a long, tedious, and somewhat uncertain process, but if necessary it can and must be done. Personally, I believe that a body of fair-minded men, representing the Government and the railroads, can in the great majority of cases agree upon values, and thus avoid the vexation and delay incident to courts and commissions.

We have now well-nigh complete inventories of the physical property. We have the market values of the securities over a long period of time. We have, or can easily ascertain, the price at which nearly all security holders have made their investments. We have the earning power of the several railroads. With all these items of information I know that we can reach a result that will preserve the interests of the bona fide investor, and usher in an era of peace and quiet such as we have never before enjoyed.

I am quite aware that I am proposing a big thing, but that does not disturb me. The United States has fallen into the habit of doing big things in a big way, and when our people make up their minds to do this particular thing they will do it so quickly and so easily that our present timidity will amaze the coming generation.

Roads Should Be Privately Operated

I go forward to another and final principle in the solution of the railway problem. I believe that the railways should be operated by private corporations rather than by the Government. I emphasize now and at all times the distinction between Government ownership and Government operation. I understand perfectly that when the Government undertakes that the return upon the capital invested shall be certain; that is, guarantees the return, whether by legislative assurance or by explicit obligation, it may be well termed the equivalent of Government ownership.

The truth is that under the existing law there is only nominal private ownership, for it is obvious that when public authority determines the revenues which railroads shall earn, how they shall expend the money which they earn, and most minutely prescribes the manner which the business of transportation shall be conducted, the technical ownership of the corporation has none of the essential characteristics of private property.

I ought to say further, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that I look upon transportation as a Governmental function. I believe that the Government is charged with the duty of providing the people with adequate transportation at the lowest possible cost, just as it is charged with the duty of providing them with adequate highways, adequate water supply, adequate courts of justice, or adequate police protection. Whether the Government can best perform this function through the ownership

and operation of railroads or through the instrumentality of private corporations, under public control, is entirely a matter of sound judgment and wise discretion.

It is recognized by every country in the world that Government ownership and operation of railroads is a proper Governmental activity, and if a particular Government selects the agency of a private corporation through which to accomplish its purpose, it is solely because the commerce of that country can be better served through such agency. Therefore the suggestion that the guaranty which I have proposed is in many respects the equivalent of Government ownership does not alarm me; but again I challenge attention to the clear difference between Government ownership and Government operation.

Public Operation Neither Economical Nor Efficient

I advocate the operation of our railways through private corporations under the strictest control for one reason, and for one reason only. The Government cannot operate the railroads either economically or efficiently. It is not possible at this time to examine the experience of other countries. I can only say that it is not reassuring, but if there be different minds about that I feel sure that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country have reached the conclusion that their Government cannot take seventeen billions of railway property, rendering a service which reaches every nook and corner of the land, employing two millions of men or more, and directly affecting the fortunes of many other millions, and operate it without immense waste and tremendous extravagance.

It costs the Government more to do any given thing in a country like ours, where every man is a sovereign, than it costs anybody else to do the same thing. The history of every enterprise of a business character conducted by the Government proves that organized society in its management of industrial affairs can neither practise economy nor attain efficiency.



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SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA

IS ENGLAND'S FRIENDSHIP WORTH WHILE?

BY FRANK DILNOT

[Among the able representatives of international journalism in this war period, Mr. Frank Dilnot is deservedly conspicuous. He has been in the United States as correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle*, and has worked constantly to give England a true appreciation of the American spirit and American effort. He has been well supported by representatives of the other leading British papers, and he has served as President of the Association of Foreign Correspondents in America of the press of the Allied countries. Last year, in our July number, Mr. P. W. Wilson, correspondent of the London *Daily News*, at the height of the war movement, wrote for this magazine an admirable article upon the essential unity of the English-speaking peoples. Mr. Dilnot's contribution, at this time, when London is again celebrating the Fourth of July, is especially welcome.—THE EDITOR.]

IF one asked any of the smaller nations like Portugal, Denmark, or Switzerland whether they put a value on Britain's goodwill and help the answer would necessarily be given in a different frame of mind from that of the United States when confronted with the same question. The friendship of the powerful is always a matter of congratulation to the weak, and this applies to nations as well as to individuals. But a different set of conditions comes into view immediately when the inquiry is put in its bald form before a country like America. This is a country which has within its continuous boundaries a population of well over a hundred millions. Its wealth, real and potential, is almost incalculable. The extent of its territory, continental in scope and variety, affords self-support not only in food but in all the essentials of manufacturing and of trade. Moreover physical isolation from the old countries gives an independence of ideals and policy both domestic and foreign. No necessities within the border of the United States make any obvious call for coöperation with other nations and indeed there is considerable ground for the argument that, so far as her material interests are concerned, this country is much better off if not too closely associated with any other nation whatever.

With England, it is true, America has at least one unshakable bond, that of language. But only the blindly enthusiastic would deny that there are also many factors in a continuing division between the two countries—factors which curiously enough do not exist in the relations between America and any other country. Notwithstanding a growing



MR. FRANK DILNOT

friendliness to Britain amid powerful sections of the American people, there remain wide areas of indifference and in some quarters covert or open hostility. Not yet eliminated is the memory of the War of Independence with the lessons which it inculcated, and the traditions which have been perpetuated through the school books.

It is all very well to say all trace of suspicious feeling towards Britain has been wiped away. As a matter of fact it has not.

One says this of course with the full knowledge that suspicion has been much lessened by the war. At the same time in this world of practical things it would be folly to assume that all memory of the past has disappeared. The hostility to Britain that remains is continually fanned by the Irish here—or, to be more precise, by Americans of Irish descent—who wish to see Ireland separated from Britain. For good or evil they have a considerable influence over wide stretches of the population. There is still one further matter which has to be taken into account. In day-by-day habits of life Britain and America are in many directions far apart—a fact which reacts among those who are already not free from the touch of dissatisfaction. Perhaps to some of the arm-chair philosophers it does not seem very important that there are differences in the habits and amenities of everyday life; in actuality they have a good deal to do with the feeling for or against a foreign nation. The very fact that the British and American language is the same accentuates instead of ameliorating the prevailing differences.

The position and power of the United States and the mood of many of its people are certainly considerations which have to be reckoned with in dealing with the question as to whether it is to the interest of this country to pursue a policy of active friendliness and possibly of coöperation with the British Empire. What is America to get out of it in happiness or material prosperity? It seems to me there would be striking advantages in both directions:

(1) With all their differences, some of them real, some of them artificial, Americans and Britons are nearer in fundamentals and in temperament than any other two nations. They have the same basis in law, morals, social ideals, and forms of religion. The general impulse of the common people in the two countries is similar if not identical. They can by working in unison secure the strength which comes from joint effort and propagate not only the material welfare of the two peoples but also the standards of international behavior. There would be no "Imperialism" that mattered if Britain and America were working solidly together.

(2) While America would be able to avoid what she would regard as the pernicious influences of caste and snobbery from Britain, she would inevitably draw to herself more and more a supply of the better influences from the old country and enlarge her own life. Educationalists, leaders, artists, reformers, the professors from the universities, the religious leaders and the protagonists in a dozen spheres of life, would look upon America as a field of action and a home second only to their native shores. Of course much benefit would flow to Britain from the virility and mental courage and new visions of the United States. Meanwhile it cannot be doubted that America would find herself the richer in many of the possessions which she values perhaps higher than any other nation. The emergency of the war has drawn to the United States intellectuals and men of action on special missions. They came for the mutual help of the Allies.

Those who met them must have realized that the presence of such men had a stimulating value in a community. I recall among such individuals, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Reading, Sir Johnston Forbes Robertson, Mr. Balfour, Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Archbishop of York, and Mr. John Masefield. There were dozens of others, including captains of industry and university leaders. They will take back to the best circles in England a new knowledge of America. They left a message here. The feeling that there were openings in the illimitable field of America for the best that Britain produces could not fail to add to the depth and breadth of life in the United States.

(3) There is no end of the talk about world trade to follow the war. It is obvious there must be no suggestion of exclusive arrangements between the two great countries such as America and Britain which would in any way penalize the other nations of the earth. But these other nations would be helped and not injured by the freest and friendliest coöperation of the two powers who between them, by means of their manufacturing facilities, their national products, and their means of transportation, have the practical command of the world's market. America as a continent has resources which will make her, in a large part, the supply depot of the world. Britain has her market ramifications in practically every land, and her Dominions scattered across the oceans are themselves markets of vast possibilities.

Everywhere the British flag floats the English language, the language of America, is spoken. Ready-made the English-speaking world is at the service of America if she likes to use it. Not exhausted by the war, with unparalleled supplies of all kinds of articles

which the world needs for its sustenance, America has commercial possibilities hitherto unthought of. Friendly coöperation with Britain would quickly materialize those opportunities. It will be of enormous advantage to America to get foreign trade, but it will also be an advantage to the rest of the world which will be securing produce and merchandise urgently needed. America and Britain between them possess the ships. America has the goods. Britain has a network of commercial stations all over the globe. Is it not obvious, prejudices aside, that America would give herself new and swift scope by friendly work with the other great nation which speaks her language?

(4) The League of Nations as a preventive of war is uppermost in the minds of all people on both sides of the Atlantic. Opinion is divided as to the efficacy of the League, although there is a broad general agreement that even in its modified form it will serve at least to retard war and in that very fact, often enough, to prevent it. The backbone of the League, it cannot be doubted, is the association of Britain and America. It is their power on the one hand and their antagonism to militaristic ideals on the other which is the hope of the world. But while all the countries look to them as the shield of peace they are above all things necessary to each other's safety. It can be said with certainty that no country in the future, nor any group of countries, would make an attack on either America or Britain if it were known that their friendly association would lead automatically in time of danger to union for defensive purposes.

Why blink the fact that the influence of the United States, direct or indirect, extends over the whole of the two continents of North and South America? Britain's dominions are far flung in other directions. Goodness knows the people of Britain do not want any more territory. They are, moreover, strenuously opposed to war. They want above all things to see it abolished. America preëminently among the nations has nothing to gain by war. The American people have, however, to look to the safety of their successors in the generations to come. America and Britain do not comprise the whole earth. But they do comprise enough of it to secure by mutual effort the safety of themselves for all time, and not only the safety of themselves but the safety of all other nations.

(5) I was for three years the editor of the *Daily Citizen,* the organ of the labor movement in Britain, and know the psychology of the leaders and the rank and file and the general trend of impulse in the labor movement. During my two and a half years' residence in this country I have studied with interest the labor movement here. It is somewhat different in texture from that in England and its immediate needs are not exactly the same. The United States is a continent with immense prosperity, immense opportunities within its boundaries. Here there has not been experienced the three-quarters of a century of fighting against over-pressing conditions arising from a congested and competitive population in a country which lives on its industrial operations. But all the same there is a similar general tendency and instinct here among those who might call themselves the labor movement—not merely the industrial and agricultural workers and their leaders, but the forward-moving humanitarian thinkers. There is a general upward striving against selfish capitalism, against individual aggrandizement at the expense of the community.

The British labor movement is by far the most powerful in the world. Its policies and methods are continually urged in America as providing lessons worthy of study and adaptation. As time goes on the virility and initiative of America will undoubtedly make this country the leader in what may be called the social reform program of the world. (At the present moment, for example, it blazes a trail by its prohibition measure.) As one who has been intimately associated with the labor movement I can see the practical help which America might derive in the intermediate processes from the tangled experiences, the bitter and unceasing fights and the achievements of the labor movement in England. In the future, too, it will be not only the methods and immediate objectives which would provide a medium for mutual consultations and decisions, but higher and wider considerations affecting the workers generally in all countries. A hint of the possibilities is already forthcoming in the suggestion at Paris to include in the peace arrangements terms respecting labor.

It is these reasons principally which lead me to suggest that in spite of superficial differences a working friendship with Britain will be worth while to America. It will be valuable to Britain. It is hard to avoid the inclusion that it will be a boon to the world.

MAKING AMERICA OVER

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

(Author of "The Conquest of Arid America" and "Constructive Democracy")

IT has been well said that God never makes a world, but only starts one and depends on man to finish it up. In this work of co-creation—of conscious partnership with the Universe—the men of the Western deserts led the way. The American reclamation movement was their vehicle, and the United States Reclamation Service is the organized instrumentality with which they are converting nature's raw materials into the finished product of civilization.

It happened that the REVIEW OF REVIEWS was the first publication of national circulation and influence to offer them a platform. This was more than a quarter of a century ago (October, 1893). Since that date much history has been made, while infinitely more is in the making. For now we are to reclaim the overflow lands, the cut-over areas and the abandoned farms of the East and South, even as we redeemed the deserts of the West.

We are, in a word, to recognize the unfitness of America in its natural state, or in the state to which it has been brought by two or three centuries of wasteful use, to meet the needs of its growing population and its unimaginable future, and then, in the high spirit of co-creation, we are to make America over,—patiently, laboriously, but scientifically and magnificently, and to the end that in all this land there shall be in time to come neither a homeless man nor a hungry child.

Secretary Lane and the Soldier

We owe much to the great war—among other things, this new impulse of the reclamation spirit which has now burst the bounds of its sectionalism and suddenly become nationalized, so that it is as easy to crowd Faneuil Hall or Cooper Union as it was the big auditoriums of Denver or Salt Lake or Los Angeles twenty-five years ago. The soldier and his need, the soldier and the immeasurable obligation now due him from the Republic—it is he who is to lead us into this greatest task of the reconstruction era. And it was the mind of Secretary Lane that first discerned the need and the way to meet it. In a letter that will be historic, addressed to the President and members of Congress, under date of May 31, 1918, the Secretary said:

> Every country has found itself face to face with this situation at the close of a great war. From Rome under Cæsar to France under Napoleon, down even to our own Civil War, the problem arose as to what could be done with the soldiers to be mustered out of military service.

He told how the veterans of the Revolution had crossed the Alleghanies; how the veterans of the Civil War had peopled the public lands beyond the Mississippi, and said that while we no longer possessed a great patrimony of free public land fit for cultivation, "we have arid lands in the West, cut-over lands in the Northwest, Lake States, and South, and also swamp lands in the Middle West and South, which can be made available through the proper development."

Congress gave him an appropriation of $100,000 for preliminary investigations. He promptly set in motion the efficient machinery of the United States Reclamation Service, supplementing its officers with other eminent engineers, and summoned men of social vision who have given their lives to the study of institutions on the soil, at home and abroad. Among others, he called the great American, Dr. Elwood Mead, who began his public career by writing and administering the model irrigation laws of Wyoming, then extended his influence throughout the country through the Bureau of Irrigation Investigations at Washington, then served eight years in Australia as chief of its reclamation and settlement work, and finally became chairman of the Land Settlement Board in California, where he established the model colony of Durham, and is now planning larger developments.[1]

The great thought that Dr. Mead has

[1] See articles by Secretary Lane and Dr. Mead in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for March, 1919, pp. 369-377.

forced into the national consciousness is this: The Land must be ready for the Man, and the Man must be ready for the Land. Not only must we irrigate and drain and pull stumps, but we must level and fertilize, when necessary. We are to build self-sustaining homes, and the land must be absolutely fit before the man begins. Then the man must be as fit as the land. Some men are fit and require only the light of example to guide them into the highest forms of agriculture, but those without knowledge or experience must be educated. This is possible with men possessing the taste and adaptability for country life, and only such men will be accepted.

Achievements—and Mistakes

The national irrigation act has been on the statute books seventeen years. During that time the Reclamation Service, alike under its first Director, Frederick H. Newell, and his successor, Arthur P. Davis, has made a record for integrity and efficiency unmatched by any other department of the Government, a record of which its friends are intensely proud. With the rather beggarly sum of $118,000,000 derived from public land sales, it has turned rivers out of their courses—one which formerly sent its surplus to the Arctic now flows to the Gulf of Mexico!—built mighty dams, including the two highest in the world, reclaimed 2,000,000 acres of land, created 40,000 homes, induced great railroad extensions, and established all the institutions of civilization in the desert wilderness.

Has it paid? To take one example: The development in Salt River Valley, Arizona, including the monumental Roosevelt Dam, cost about $11,000,000, and last year's crops exceeded $18,000,000. But figures are cold. To understand how it has paid one should see the homes of Salt River Valley and listen to the laughter of its children. It's a paradise!

Mistakes in the law? Yes, it was a mistake to stop with bringing the water to the land, leaving the untried settler to deal with savage Nature and grope in the darkness of inexperience. Hence, the complete preparedness, which is the essence of the new policy.

It was a mistake to give the Government no power of selection, but to permit anybody to take land regardless of qualifications or working capital.

It was a mistake to erect no safeguard against speculation in favor of the industrious and ambitious family wishing to make a home in good faith.

It was a mistake to compel the expenditure of the money in certain localities as the result of the effort to satisfy everybody's enthusiasm "for the Old Flag and an Appropriation," instead of permitting the merit of the project to dominate all other considerations.

These mistakes have been rectified in the new and infinitely greater policy now pending before Congress.

The Leadership of Mondell

The Soldier Settlement bill, introduced by Senator Myers, of Montana, and Representative Taylor, of Colorado, failed to come to a vote in the last Congress. It had loyal friends, but the Democratic leaders were not united in its support.

The situation is precisely reversed in the new Republican Congress. Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming, leader of the House, is one of the oldest friends of the reclamation cause, and the great dams which control the flow of Western streams are largely monuments to his statesmanship. On coming to the leadership he addressed himself with energy and enthusiasm to the work of perfecting what is admittedly the greatest constructive measure this country has ever undertaken.

He raised the proposed appropriation from $100,000,000 to $500,000,000, but only a fourth of this sum will be required for the first fiscal year. The bill applies to every State having feasible projects, a condition already discovered in about forty States. And this is perhaps a good place to remark that the region chiefly to be benefited by this epoch-making policy is not merely the Far West nor even the South. The entire nation is to be benefited, and States like those of New England, like Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, are to be shown by the wise expenditure of $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 in each one of them, how their rural life can be made sufficiently attractive to hold their young men and women with hooks of steel, instead of seeing them emigrate to newer sections dominated by more progressive ideas. And they will discover how to provide a degree of comfort and contentment which will attract and satisfy the needed workers, and so solve the vexed farm-labor problem. Thus the character of their rural life will be revolutionized through the in-

fluence of the new community settlements.

The term "community settlements," by the way, should not be understood as implying that all the farmers will live in town. "What we have in mind," says Secretary Lane, "is a happy compromise between the French village plan and the isolated American farm home." This is to be brought about by means of good roads, the shaping of farms in such a way as to minimize the distance between homes, and the creation of centers with all modern advantages. To a certain extent, it is hoped that "the bright lights" may be put into the country. However, many returning soldiers express admiration for the French village system, and those whose lands lie near the center may adopt it if they wish.

Senator Smoot and Utah Ideas

Senator Smoot is the champion of the measure in the upper house, and has incorporated in his version of the bill the principles which have made the Mormon settlements so remarkably successful. He says: "In Utah we have helped men to help themselves, but have never pauperized them by giving them something for nothing. When he found more immigrants on his hands than he could profitably employ at the moment, President Brigham Young set them at work building needless walls around Salt Lake City that they might earn their living and repay advances rather than eat the bread of idleness."

Hence, Senator Smoot provides that the Government shall withhold at least 10 per cent. of wages paid soldiers while employed on construction so that they shall have the necessary first installment to pay on land, improvements, live stock and equipment, and get well started on the road to thrift and property-ownership. The money so withheld will be placed at 4 per cent. interest and repaid to the soldier in full in case he fails to take an allotment at the end of his period of employment—say, one to three years.

Safeguard Against Bureaucracy

A most important provision of the Mondell bill erects an adequate safeguard against the dangers of Washington bureaucracy. A policy which should bring tens of thousands of settlers into an intimate relationship with public authority centered at the national capital, in many cases hundreds or even thousands of miles from their homes, would be obviously fraught with inconvenience, if not with danger.

The Mondell bill provides that when any State shall advance 25 per cent. as much capital as the general Government for projects in that State, the whole administration shall be taken over by local authority at the point where subdivision begins. Many States have already taken steps in that direction. California has proposed to duplicate, 100 per cent. strong, the national fund available within her borders. Thus the whole human problem—the problem of selecting and directing settlers, including the organization of their social life and any coöperative buying or selling agencies they may care to engage in—will be under the leadership of their home people.

Objections to the Policy

A representative of a national farmers' organization appeared in opposition at one of the committee hearings on the ground that the policy will tend to reduce high cost of living. He admitted that three-fourths of the people favored the bill. His argument was not impressive.

A member of Congress representing an Eastern agricultural district says his constituents are short of hired men and would like to have soldiers reserved for seasonal farm labor. Hence, he thinks the bill pernicious. The proposition to show our soldier boys the way to economic independence does not appeal to him at all. As a matter of fact, the bill does provide for a certain amount of farm labor, but in connection with soldier settlements and with very different provision for housing and other living advantages than those made by the average farmer. "More perniciousness," growls the objector.

Some people object to $500,000,000 "to provide employment and rural homes for those who served with the military and naval forces of the United States," including the charming nurses and yeomanettes. Ten days' cost of war to be squandered on the healing work of peace!

Such are the objections, but they are overruled by overwhelming public sentiment.

The New Hindenburg Line to Be Broken

The new national policy will do more than merely to provide employment and rural homes for soldiers. To put it in another way, it will enable the soldier to do another

great service for his country. As he broke the Hindenburg line in France, so he will break the dead line of a form of rural life which has lost its hold upon the hearts of our people.

Recent social surveys have exploded the myth about the superior healthfulness, intelligence and civic spirit of American country life. The selective draft disclosed the fact that there were more rejections for physical disability among country-bred than among city-bred young men. Exact figures concerning diseases most prevalent throughout the country show that the city, with its good sewerage, water supply and inspected milk, is actually a more healthful place to live than the average countryside. Comparison of school facilities, alike in teachers' length of service, of grading, of vocational and technical facilities, is all in favor of the city. Even the organized city playground seems to yield better results than children get from the free run of the country.

These tendencies must be reversed if America is to be kept sound at the core. Rural life must be reorganized and lifted to higher standards. Massachusetts, for example, had three times as much land under cultivation a hundred years ago as she has to-day. Her agriculture was killed by the cheap lands of the West. Those lands are no longer cheap, any more than they are free. They are worth all the way from $100 to $500 an acre, and some of them earn enormous dividends upon the latter figure, while Massachusetts lands may be had from $2.50 to $15 an acre.

"Go East, young man!"

This is the cry of the future, and it rests on precisely the same logic as that which animated the famous Greeley saying. The opportunity of cheap land, plus the opportunity of great markets with multiplying millions of unsatisfied consumers, is in the East. And yet it is no opportunity at all unless America shall be made over, her rich overflow lands drained, her cut-over lands freed of stumps, her abandoned farms redeemed, fertilized—and irrigated!

The policy embodied in the Mondell bill will make a new America. It will send the roots of democracy deeper than they have ever struck before. It will give a new incentive to personal ambition, and a keener edge to that quality of individual initiative which has made us what we are as a people. It will erect an impregnable barrier against Bolshevism. And all this will be done under the kindly leadership of the Nation, coöperating with the several States, in paying its tribute of gratitude to the returning soldiers.

WHY BOLSHEVISM WILL FAIL IN AMERICA

A Workingman's Opinion

BY ALBERT W. BARNES

THE vast amount of space devoted to the discussion of Bolshevism and its various phases in our leading papers and magazines leads one to infer that serious apprehension is felt throughout the country in regard to its growth here and the serious effect that it may have upon our institutions.

But why so much alarm?

In the first place, to attach so much importance to this utterly un-American movement and to give it so much needless advertisement is in itself a serious mistake, and is but adding fuel to the fires of discontent which must necessarily smoulder here and there during this period of reconstruction with its attendant evils of unemployment and industrial unrest.

Still, we must take this movement seriously, for it is, to a certain extent, a world-wide upheaval. We must not for one moment relax our vigilance, and must guard carefully the sacred institutions under which we, as a country, have grown and prospered so mightily. At the same time, we should observe the trend of the times and haste to make the necessary reforms which are so essentially needed, so that all the people of this republic may receive a just share in the prosperity which should follow the institution of new methods and ideas.

Dalmatia. . . . Italy, to the advantage of both ports, and of the productive or consuming countries of the hinterland, will perform a regulating, carrying, and helpful function. Were the states of the hinterland, especially Croatia and Jugo-Slavia, to attempt to fulfil that function, they would find themselves lacking the necessary wealth, technical equipment, and impartiality of judgment.

FAMINE AND REVOLUTION IN INDIA

[illegible] emaciated men, women, and children [illegible] the roadside for lack of food.

[illegible] corroborates the facts [illegible] Toronto *Globe* for April 22:

[illegible] grip of plague and [illegible] Central and Northern provinces [illegible] through the land, taking [illegible] great war casualty list [illegible] To date the estimated [illegible] from plague and famine in the [illegible]. The poor have [illegible], and the physical conditions [illegible] such that they are [illegible] their water jars. . . . [illegible] awful death toll may [illegible] following comparison: If [illegible] British subjects who have [illegible] through plague and [illegible] were to feet, they would [illegible] one and one-third times [illegible] fail to portray the [illegible] tragedy, and photo-[illegible] parts of the country [illegible] for publication.

[illegible] April 25 contained [illegible] despatches:

[illegible] of foodstuffs to [illegible] the people feel [illegible] slowness in release-[illegible] [illegible] particularly [illegible] maintaining high [illegible] [illegible] These [illegible] caused in the de-[illegible] economics.

[illegible] Mysore to [illegible] budget [illegible]

[illegible] the increase [illegible] figures indicate [illegible] which India [illegible] in the way of [illegible] and their armed [illegible] exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent. to a total of 1,151,150 of 5,440,000 tons, valued at [illegible]. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,600,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917.

[illegible] New York *Evening Post*

[illegible] India is [illegible] famine-stricken in many places, it is terribly [illegible] in others. There are districts

ETHICS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE long contribution of Mgr. Henri Chapon, Bishop of Nice, to *Le Correspondant* for April 10, entitled, "War and Peace," is distinctly a sermon, an effort to probe as deeply as may be those impulses of the human heart out of which strife has arisen and still constantly arises.

Beginning with a powerful recital of the German atrocities in the world war, he says: "And now, with all this between us and Germany, we must make peace with her." Looking back from this supreme turning point in history, we see that all the results of the eloquence of Christianity, against aggression, injustice and violence, have been at most a mere palliative, since wars, whether for personal glory or more adequate material gains, have never ceased to arise.

Patriotism has been a misused word. To risk and lose life "for one's country" is glorified as purest heroism, whether the country itself be the shameless aggressor or the innocent defender of its rights or even of its existence. Any trick, even such vulgar forgery as Bismarck's of the Ems dispatch, goes unpunished, because done "for the fatherland." Only in failure is real disgrace. The terrible splendor of the spectacle, the valor, energy, order it evolves, the immense gains won by signal victories in battle, have made Germany question whether the strife itself is not a blessing—even a necessity.

Even if war was admitted to be an evil, it was classed with famine, pestilence, earthquake, lightning,—almost as a force of nature or scourge of God. That the vulgar burglar, the brigand chief, and the imperial destroyer of the world's peace, differ only in the magnitude of their crimes, is a truth never fully brought home to the civilized conscience.

But it is the motive, not the mere act that defines true heroism: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profits not." The all but fatal losses suffered in this last war, and the clearly contrasted motives of Germany and her foes, make it the largest of object-lessons upon which to base a new moral code to cover the whole question.

The conviction has grown general that destruction and violence are exactly as criminal and avoidable internationally as between individuals, and that all aggression must be made promptly punishable, by a power as overwhelming relatively as is the force of a city exerted against individual criminals. It is to the vital interest of all states to defend the weakest, so long as it is a peaceful member, in its freedom, its normal activities, and its natural rights.

But such a doctrine carries with it two chief corollaries: Each state must have a government which fairly represents the whole people, and both must be organized for industry and commerce, in short for peace, and not war, as its proper end and aim. Autocratic, militaristic Germany could never work to any common purpose eventually with industrial democracies. Mankind must be "all slave or all free." Even Germany realized that its true motives and purposes must be hypocritically denied and hidden; but this was always clumsily and unsuccessfully done.

The atrocities of the war, though unheard of in all former history, are still minor matters. The essential horror is the long-known —and permitted—existence of a mighty state bent on ruthless warfare as a means to world-tyranny; a state in which absolutely every ounce of energy was "militarized." We need not ask who began or willed war. To a Germany, war was a necessity of its nature, was indeed "refreshing and joyous." To have observed any restrictions of humanity would have been a confession that war is an evil. To punish the Kaiser and even his leading agents, for overstepping the proper limits of war, would be utterly inadequate. An organization for the destruction of the lives, property or freedom of peace-loving neighbors is in itself the crime of crimes.

The dream of William was that of Alexander, of Augustus, of Napoleon, to unify mankind under his own resistless superstate, which again should be under his personal control. The World-League of free industrial states is the antithesis of this ideal. We should have foreseen its necessity; but man is ever shortsighted.

War between nations is in truth a mere survival of the old legalized "trial by combat" as an appeal to Heaven for justice. The state, which forbids it to individuals, should itself be stopped from recourse to it. The one vital question is: Do we believe in international justice? If so, we must create the means to enforce it. The body of delegates in Paris, or any single body of men, is utterly inadequate to that immense task.

and commonplace. It is, none the less, the greatest single contribution of America to the science of government.

France Adopts the Idea

From America the idea passed to France. When, in 1779, Franklin displayed in Paris the new constitution of his native State, and in 1780 John Adams carried thither the recently adopted Massachusetts instrument, Frenchmen instantly recognized and applauded doctrines with which their own heads were filled. Fresh interest was aroused when, in 1783, Franklin brought out a French edition of all the American fundamental laws; and the constitution drawn up at Philadelphia in 1787 was discussed with hardly less spirit in the salons and clubs of Paris than in the coffee-houses of New York and the drawing-rooms of the Virginia planters.

Two years later the *cahiers* of the middle classes demanded a written constitution for the kingdom, and in the famous Tennis Court oath of 1789 the people's representatives swore never to disband until this end should have been attained. The plan was carried out, and in 1791 France received her first written constitution. Thereafter, in spite of swift changes of the form of government and widely varying conceptions of the rights of the individual, the principle of a fundamental written law lay at the root of all French political régimes. The idea became fixed, indeed, that a true constitution must be a written one. A constitution has no existence, said Thomas Paine, so long as it cannot be carried in the pocket. De Tocqueville, writing forty years later, cut the Gordian knot of England's intermingled law and custom by declaring that that country had no constitution at all.

Napoleon's So-Called Constitutions

It lay within the plans of Revolutionary France to extend constitutional government far and wide beyond her own borders, and in 1795 a beginning was made in Holland, now recognized as the Batavian republic. It fell, however, to Napoleon to carry out the plan; and his era became prolific of written constitutions. Beginning with the Cisalpine republic in 1797, the conqueror spread his paper plans of government over all Italy and Spain, and over much of Germany. These constitutions were hardly more than convenient disguises of despotism; but they at least served to familiarize all western and central Europe with the idea of government limited by solemnly proclaimed rules and principles.

By 1815 it was generally recognized on the continent that any political system that made pretension to liberal inclinations must be based on a written constitution. Hence the Bourbon Louis XVIII, returning to Paris, hastened to promulgate the "constitutional charter" which, with some modification in 1830, remained the fundamental law of France until 1848. Hence, too, William I, King of the United Netherlands, in the following year similarly fulfilled an earlier promise to his people. Hence, also, the princes of the lesser German states began, as early as 1816, to put their several realms upon a constitutional basis.

Charters Granted by Rulers

Constitutions may be the product of gradual evolution, as is the English. They may be deliberately created by the people of newly established states, as was our own. They may spring directly from revolution, as did the French constitution of 1791, the Chinese of 1912, or the Russian of 1918. Or, finally, they may be granted by ruling princes by virtue of their sovereign authority. Most European constitutions dating from the first half of the nineteenth century would fall into the last-mentioned category. They were made by the prince or under his direction; they were promulgated and enforced in his name; they could be revoked or amended by him; they were concessions to the democratic principle which left the prince legally no less autocratic than before. In some of the German states the theory was developed that the constitution was in the nature of an agreement between the prince and the assembly of estates. But even where this contractual basis was fully recognized, popular control over the fundamental law was, in practice, at a minimum.

Organic Laws Based on Popular Vote

Constitution-framing, however, went on apace, and now and again appeared an organic law which could be regarded as a genuine popular product. Such was the Belgian constitution of 1831, framed by a national congress of two hundred elected delegates; the Swiss constitution of 1848, adopted by the federal diet and ratified by popular vote; and the constitution of the second French republic, drafted and put into effect in 1848 by an assembly chosen for the express purpose by manhood suffrage. The

imperialism, militarism, or desire for annexation as such, in Italy at all. While Bissolati, among living statesmen, Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, among the dead, are counted among the "Moderates," even the opposing majority stand on such grounds, we are told, as these:

(1) Italy's extreme claims still leave to Greater Serbia five-sixths of the Dalmatian coast.

(2) It would allow the Slavs at least nine ports, among them Buccari, Seyna, and others of the first rank.

(3) This is a question of life and death for the Italian coast-dwellers, but Slavs have nothing to fear under Italian rule (!)

(4) Italy, for naval strategic reasons, must control both shores of the Adriatic, having on her own side no strong natural fortress between Venice and Brindisi.

(5) The persistent hostility of the Slavs, their threats to seize Trieste, Gorizia, even Udine, compel military and naval measures to "assure" all the results of the war.

The essayist even reveals, despite himself, prejudices, or fears, hardly less perturbing. He, too, believes the Croats still hate all Italians—and even, no less bitterly, their preponderant Serbian kinsfolk. He, too, draws sharply at the Rhine and the Adriatic the frontiers of "Western Europe"—thus accepting the most dangerous theory that all "Mitteleuropa," with Russia, and much more behind it, is a possible unified opponent to the great Western block of states that, with our aid, won the war.

A FRENCH PLEA FOR A POLISH DANZIG

IN the *Revue de Paris* of May 15 Admiral Degouy writes with full knowledge, strong convictions, and true sailor's frankness, on "The Question of Danzig." His present article is really but one of a series. It throws a clear light in two directions on the imperial advantages of Danzig as a naval and mercantile center and on the total diversity of view between the French "defensive" policy and the Wilsonian plans. Indeed there is no disguise as to this cleft. "One sees, yet again, that the Americans do not distinguish between Prussia and Germany at all." To us, again, are credited: "a sort of confidence in German good faith, and illusions as to the efficacy of the League of Nations, apart from the land and sea forces which would be indispensable to it." The "amazing blindness" of the "English statesmen and navy" sets them in the same pillory. On the contrary,

> such cannot be the view of Europeans, particularly of the French, who are endowed with some foresight, and who consent to pay attention to the lessons of a past which they have attentively studied!

By exclusion, we are mere savages, untaught to "look before and after" at all.

The admiral touched at Danzig about the year 1900, and had a remarkably well-informed French guide, perhaps a consular personage, while there. The "hinterland" was, and is, so purely Slavic that the utter misnomer "West Prussia" is condemned, in favor of the old Polish name Pomerelia. Even in the city the relatively few Germans are either officials, needlessly multiplied to serve chiefly as propagandists, or bankrupt and discredited merchants from German cities subsidized there that they may crowd out the Slavic business men. When, in 1870, the French fleet hove in sight, the townsfolk openly spread a banquet for their welcome guests under the very guns of the shore batteries. A year or two later, when one of the five billions of francs was distributed among German cities to be spent for public works, the Danzigans were compelled to make similar local improvements, but told to go to "their French friends" for help in meeting the cost.

Danzig takes pride in her long prominence in the Hanseatic League, and the civic independence which she long kept intact, afterward, under Polish hegemony. From Prussian aggression she has acquired a lasting hatred only. Even to-day the very merchants of German stock and speech have refused to sign any protest against full restoration of the city to Poland.

And yet:

> Some of our allies are exciting themselves, it seems, over the thought of the German "irredentism" which might be aroused by so just and obvious an action. The German is incapable of any such permanent feeling, anyway. If he is protected in his material interests, he adapts him-

republic to-day as, like England, a
an unwritten constitution, for the
ıat the organic laws adopted in 1875
neager as to afford only the barest
of a constitutional system. All
constitutions, however, are in their
outlines; all have to be rounded out
sage and statute in order to be made
workable; and there is no more reason
:nying that the French organic laws
a constitution than for similarly with-
ıg recognition from the Italian *Statuto*
e Austrian *Staatsgrundgesetze* of 1867.
hat is really most peculiar about the
:nt French constitution is the mode of its
ıtion. The instrument is the fruit of revo-
ɔn—the peaceful but none the less real
ɔlution which came with the collapse of
Second Empire after the capture of
ıpoleon III. at Sedan—and its maker was
: National Assembly elected in the dark
ys of 1871 solely on the question of the
ntinuation of the war. By sheer assump-
on of authority, the Assembly made itself
ot only the *de facto* government of the
:ountry but also a constituent body; and
when, after years of delay, it finally framed
the organic laws of 1875 it proclaimed them
and put them into effect with no formal
appeal whatsoever to the will of the nation.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that until then France had made consistent use of the principle of the plebiscite. Beginning with the ill-fated republican frame of government of 1793, all of her successive constitutions save one or two were submitted to a direct popular vote. The constitution of 1875 was not so submitted, and it went into operation as the work of a revolutionary, provisional government body which had no authority to make a constitution at all. Its sanction was, and has always been, simply the informally expressed assent of the nation.

Conclusions from European Experience

All of this goes to show that there is no royal road to good government. By and large, Europe's experience in constitution-making during the past hundred years leads, however, to certain conclusions: (1) that, apart from the wholly exceptional case of England, written constitutions are natural and necessary aids to liberal government; (2) that the trend is away from the constitution that is merely granted and toward the organic law which springs solely or mainly from popular initiative; (3) that constitutions are no longer to be regarded as in the nature of compacts between princes and peoples; (4) that systems of government are, and must be, flexible, with a view to progressive readjustment to changing conditions and ideals; (5) that, therefore, written constitutions should be capable—as, indeed, most European constitutions save the Italian now are—of easy amendment; and (6) that it is desirable to dissociate constituent functions from ordinary legislative functions, at least to the extent to which this is done in France, where the senators and deputies do indeed amend the constitution, but only when sitting at Versailles as one body under the name of a national assembly.

Germany's New Constitution

In taking up their task of political reconstruction the former Teutonic empires have duly recognized these facts. They have set about the formation of governmental systems resting on written, popular, flexible constitutions drawn up by conventions specially elected for the purpose.

Thus the National Assembly which met at Weimar on February 6, to frame an organic law for the new Germany, was a broadly based body, whose 421 members were chosen by direct vote and secret ballot, according to the principle of proportional representation, and on the basis of one delegate for each 150,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1910. A special electoral law conferred the suffrage upon all Germans, men and women, who had attained the age of twenty; and of the thirty-nine millions eligible to take part in the elections, more than twenty-seven millions did so.

When the Assembly met it found read to hand a draft of a constitution drawn u at a conference of widely-known authoriti on constitutional law; and the plan so co mended itself to the Majority Socialists a Democrats, who controlled the Assembl deliberations, that within two weeks an strument, in seven divisions and 109 artic was ready for its final touches.

A federal republic, with ample guarar of individual liberties, a democratic sembly, an upper chamber limited on the of the British House of Lords, and a executive subject to recall through a pc vote, seemed most likely to be the out The question in which the world is interested, namely, whether the people possess actual as well as nominal c has not as yet been conclusively an

THE WENDS: A SLAVIC REMNANT IN GERMANY

ONE of the interesting paradoxes of the moment is the contrast between the efforts we are making in the United States to obliterate racial and linguistic distinctions in behalf of "Americanization," and the sharpening of the same sort of distinctions in Europe under the influence of the Wilsonian gospel of self-determination. The governments of the Old World have always had a difficult "melting-pot" problem on their hands. At present the various racial elements that have hitherto been struggling against assimilation behold a golden opportunity not only to assert their individuality, but also to gain political independence.

Among the submerged peoples lately heard from in this connection are the Wends of Germany—a small remnant of a Slavic population that once spread over a large part of the lands that are now purely German. Centuries of bloody warfare gradually reduced them to a group of about 150,000 people dwelling in the district of Lusatia (Lausitz), which is part in Saxony and part in Prussia. Last January a Wendish national committee undertook to set up an independent state, formed by the union of Upper and Lower Lusatia. This event furnishes the occasion for an article on the Wends in *Larousse Mensual* (Paris), by Henri Froidevaux.

In the accompanying map, which is reproduced from the article mentioned, the shaded area shows the region in which people of Wendish speech are now in the majority, while the dotted line shows approximately the linguistic boundary of the Wends in the middle of the sixteenth century. There are two Wendish dialects, spoken respectively in Upper and Lower Lusatia, so unlike that intercommunication between the people of the two regions is difficult; and there are also two distinct literary dialects and literatures.

The Wends of Lusatia are also known as Sorbs, or Serbs. In 1886 they numbered 176,000, and in 1900 only 156,000. They are, says M. Froidevaux, surrounded on all sides and penetrated in all directions by the Germans, upon whom they have been dependent politically, economically, and even in the matter of religion, since the great majority of them are Lutherans. They were also subject to service in the German army. For many years the Germans have persisted in ignoring them as a distinct racial element



FRONTIER OF 1550 (ANDRÉE)
ACTUAL TERRITORY OF THE WENDS

in the population. Thus the Wendish names of towns in Lusatia (Chotebuz-Kottbus; Budysin-Bautzen; etc.) have been dropped from Baedeker's guidebooks since 1860.

Nevertheless, says M. Froidevaux,

in spite of so many difficulties, so many reasons of all kinds for their disappearance, the Serbs of Lusatia have managed so far to maintain their separate existence. Their physical type distinguishes them sharply from the Germans who surround them. "One is struck by this fact," says Vidal-Lablache, "when, on Sundays, in the streets and the churches of Dresden, one sees these men, with their long cloaks and high boots; easily singled out in the crowd of Germans by their smaller heads, their hair of a dull blond color, and often by an expression on their faces of sleepy gentleness." Their language, moreover, ensures their national individuality. That it persists is due to the efforts of certain enlightened patriots who, about 1840, awoke the popular consciousness, founded a society at Bautzen—the "Masica Serbska"—for perpetuating the language and literature, started a journal, and introduced the Slavic language into the primary schools. However, the situation of the Serbs of Lusatia has remained precarious, not only in Prussia, where the government showed it no consideration, but also in Saxony, prior to the end of the world war.

"Service and Sacrifice" (Scribner's). She has written of him also as "Valiant for Truth" in a moving poem that praises his ardency and fearlessness in defense of his ideals. In another poem entitled "Theodore Roosevelt," she has given lyrical form to the tribute paid him by another woman. This is in part as follows:

I never clasped his hand,
He never knew my name,
And yet at his command
I followed like a flame.
* * * * * *
His words would lift the veil
That blurred my tired eyes,
They seemed to strengthen me
To serve and sacrifice.

And all the values lost
When life was cold and grim,
Were clear and true again,
Interpreted by him.
* * * * * *
Clad in an armored truth,
And by high purpose shod,
He gave us back our youth,
Our country and our God.

In a tribute "To My Brother," Mrs. Robinson writes of the sunniness of his nature, of the zest and charm and sympathy that continually and freshly endeared him to the members of his family circle:

TO MY BROTHER

I loved you for your loving ways,
The ways that many did not know;
Although my heart would beat and glow
When Nations crowned you with their bays.

I loved you for the tender hand
That held my own so close and warm,
I loved you for the winning charm
That brought gay sunshine to the land.

I loved you for the heart that knew
The need of every little child;
I loved you when you turned and smiled—
It was as though a fresh wind blew.

I loved you for your loving ways,
The look that leaped to meet my eye,
The ever-ready sympathy,
The generous ardor of your praise.

I loved you for the buoyant fun
That made perpetual holiday
For all who ever crossed your way,
The highest or the humblest one.

I loved you for the radiant zest,
The thrill and glamour that you gave
To each glad hour that we could save
And garner from Time's grim behest.

I loved you for your loving ways—
And just because I loved them so,
And now have lost them—thus I know
I must go softly all my days!

"Great-Heart," a poem dedicated to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, by Rudyard Kipling, appeared on February 8, in the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger*.

"GREAT-HEART"

By Rudyard Kipling

["The interpreter then called for a man-servant of his, one Great-Heart."—*Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."*]

Concerning brave captains
  Our age hath made known
For all men to honor,
  One standeth alone,
Of whom, o'er both oceans,
  Both peoples may say:
"Our realm is diminished
  With Great-Heart away."

. . . . .

Plain speech with plain folk,
  And plain words for false things,
Plain faith in plain dealing
  'Twixt neighbors or kings
He used and he followed,
  However it sped . . .
Oh, our world is none more honest
  Now Great-Heart is dead.

The heat of his spirit
  Struck warm through all lands;
For he loved such as showed
  'Emselves men of their hands,
In love, as in hate,
  Paying home to the last . . .
But our world is non- the kinder
  Now Great-Heart hath passed.

. . . . .

Let those who would handle
  Make sure they can wield
His far-reaching sword
  And his close-guarding shield;
For those who must journey
  Henceforward alone
Have need of stout convoy
  Now Great-Heart is gone.

One of the most eloquent of the shorter poems is by Amelia Josephine Burr. In "Mr. Valiant Passes Over," one feels the illimitable power of life, not only here but in the "beyond."

MR. VALIANT PASSES OVER

(January 6, 1919)

By Amelia Josephine Burr

When the Post came and told him that at last
The pitcher that so faithfully and long
Had served his fellow-creatures in their thirst
Was broken at the fountain, Valiant said:
"I am going to my Father's; and, although
Not easily I came to where I am,
My pains upon the journey were well spent.
My sword I give to him who shall succeed
My pilgrim steps upon the Royal Road;
My courage and my skill I leave to him
Who can attain them—but my marks and scars
I carry with me for my King to see
As witness of his battles that I fought."
As he went down into the river, many
Stood on the bank, and heard him say, "O death,
Where is thy sting?" And as the water grew
Deeper—"O grave, where is thy victory?"

So he passed over, and the trumpets all
Sounded for him upon the other side.
John Bunyan, did you laugh in paradise
For joy to-day, to see your dream come true?

Edward S. Van Zile's verses published in the New York *Evening Sun* touch the feeling that most of us have that his ideals must be embodied in our national life.

CLOSE UP THE RANKS!
By Edward S. Van Zile

I

Gently Death came to him and bent to him asleep;
His spirit passed, and, lo, his lovers weep,
But not for him, for him the unafraid—
In tears, we ask, "Who'll lead the great crusade?

II

"Who'll hearten us to carry on the war
For those ideals our fathers battled for;
To give our hearts to one dear flag alone,
The flag beloved whose splendid soul has flown?"

III

With his last breath he gave a clarion cry:
"They only serve who do not fear to die;
He only lives who's worthy of our dead!
Beware the peril of the seed that's spread.

IV

"By them who'll reap a harvest of despair,
By them whose dreams unstable are as air;
By them who see the rainbow in the sky,
But not the storm that threatens by and by."

V

Our leader rests, his voice forever still,
But let us vow to do our leader's will!
Close up the ranks! Our Captain is not dead!
His soul shall live, and by his soul we're led.

Mr. Charles Hanson Towne's poem published in the New York *Tribune* gives the last word of Cecil Rhodes—that there was still so much for him to do—as typifying the tirelessness and eagerness of Roosevelt. That he must pass on to some "divine adventure," the poet is certain.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
By Charles Hanson Towne

I

On what divine adventure has he gone?
Beyond what peaks of dawn
Is he now faring? On what errand blest
Has his impulsive heart now turned? No rest
Could be the portion of his tireless soul.
He seeks some frenzied goal
Where he can labor on till Time is not,
And earth is nothing but a thing forgot.

II

Pilot and Prophet! as the years increase
The sorrow of your passing will not cease.
We love to think of you still moving on
From sun to blazing sun,
From planet to far planet, to some height
Of clear perfection in the Infinite,
Where with the wise Immortals you can find
The Peace you fought for with your heart and mind.
Yet from that bourne where you are journeying
Sometimes we think we hear you whispering,
"I went away, O world, so false and true,
I went away—with still so much to do!"

Samuel Valentine Cole, in his stirring poem published in the *Outlook*, expresses his belief that the life of Roosevelt is a splendid heritage, and one whose power will grow with the years.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
(Memorial Day, February 9, 1919)
By Samuel Valentine Cole

Half-mast the flag, and let the bell be tolled:
A tower of strength he was, whose presence drew
The people around him, and to-day is rolled
A wave of unaccustomed sorrow through
The land he loved; whatever now be said,
The latest great American is dead.

How quick he slipped from us—this man of might,
Heroic courage, life-abounding ways!
When God's great angel in the silent night
Brought, though invisible to others' gaze,
Some whispered message, he obedient heard,
Left all, and followed him without a word.

. . . . . .

He stood for honest purposes: unroll
The record of his years, you seek in vain
For life's disfigurements—there lies the scroll,
No blots upon it, nothing to explain;
But what is worthy and to all men's sight
As open as a landscape to the light.

. . . . . .

So lived this man, and died, and lives again—
A white dynamic memory in the land.
Oh, what a heritage, my countrymen!
He'll plead forever now, with voice and hand,
Our righteous causes, and his power will grow.
Cease tolling, bell, and let the bugles blow!

The last words spoken by Roosevelt—"Put out the light"—gave Edith Daley inspiration for a beautiful poem that appeared in the San Francisco *Chronicle:*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
By Edith Daley

"Put out the light!" Altho the stars were dim,
What need of feeble flickering lamps to him
In that high-altared hour? The touch of sleep
Had brought remembrance of his tryst to keep—
A morning tryst—with God's gray messenger.
No sound—no cry—no hesitating stir;
His fearless soul long since had knelt and kissed
A waiting Cross; had borne it through life's mist
From an unlighted lone Gethsemane
To the Christ-hallowed crest of Calvary.

"Put out the light!" Men smile through falling tears,
Remembering the courage of his years
That stood, each one, for God, humanity
And covenanted world-wide Liberty!
The Nation mourns. Laurel the chancel-rail;
Muffle the drums. Columbia's banners trail
Their grieving folds; but memories of him flame
And light the deathless glory of his name.

"Put out the light!" He needs it not who won
A place of permanence within the sun!

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

RUSSIA TO-DAY

THERE is a group of three articles on various aspects of the Russian problem in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Sir Paul Vinogradoff says that the tragic crisis through which Russia is passing is due to a fundamental conflict between East and West. Russians are divided, not so much by party creeds or by class hatreds, as by cultural differences; the great mass of the nation is still on the track of the East, while the educated few have gone far West, so far, indeed, that some of the most extreme among them have, as it were, traveled round the world, and have come to join hands with the most Eastern set of their countrymen:

> In other words, the great trouble in Russia is the dualism of culture, the lack of cohesion between Western and Eastern traditions. And it is certainly not by abstention from political activity that the evil can be removed. On the contrary, only education and coöperation in self-government can help to bridge over the chasm. The common work in the Zemstvos was beginning to take effect in this direction, and it is one of the greatest miseries of the Bolshevik catastrophe that it has broken the threads which were forming themselves. Only a revival and a widening of coöperation on a democratic basis can counteract this social disruption.

Mr. R. Crosier Long discusses in some detail and with a mass of illuminating figures the finance of Bolshevism, a consideration of which leaves the reader in complete agreement with his concluding paragraph:

> Looked at in perspective the Bolshevik financial and economical system appears a vast apparatus for regulating progressive impoverishment. With the production and taxation of real wealth it has nothing to do. Its efficiency, within the limits of its functions, is, however, considerable. Only the peasant population, one must remember, is producing anything worth mentioning, and it produces little. If the urban population were fed, clothed, and warmed in proportion to its production of wealth, it would perish entirely in three months. The paper-money system, backed by Red Guard requisitioning, prevents this; the small quantity of goods produced is distributed over the whole country; and instead of part of the population dying suddenly, the whole nation moves slowly towards extinction.

Finally, Mrs. Blakey contributes some vivid personal experiences of life in the Ukraine under the Bolshevist régime. It is a story of strikes, anarchy, and civil war which rendered life intolerable. It answers questions that everyone is asking to-day about the practical outcome of Bolshevist rule.

MR. HENDERSON ON BRITISH LABOR UNREST

THE industrial unrest, which to-day is the most pressing and complex domestic concern of the British Government and the nation, is no phenomenon arising out of the war or the conditions created by the war, says Mr. Arthur Henderson in the April *Contemporary*, but a permanent feature of the present industrial system, which fluctuates in intensity and gravity according to changing industrial and political conditions. It is the result of an ever-present insurgent spirit, which has been described as the "spirit of divine discontent," and which is in essence a moral struggle to attain to that complete development and fullness of human life which is the right of all, but the actual attainment of few. The workers in all lands are profoundly dissatisfied with their lot.

It is obvious that a new policy is needed, and the purpose of Mr. Henderson's article is to indicate in outline the shape which the new policy should take. He advocates in

general terms the inauguration on a substantial scale of the system of public ownership and the extension of the system of public control, which should be accompanied by a full recognition of the claim of the workers to an equal interest in the management of the various industries, and a larger measure of control over the working conditions which affect them. His concluding words are the most important in his article:

Finally, it must be stated that whatever remedies are adopted with a view to allaying the causes of the present unrest, they will fail to effect more than a temporary settlement unless a real effort is made in the direction of substituting the interests of the community as a whole for the interests of individuals. The motive of public service and public welfare should be the keystone of our industrial system, but this cannot be accomplished so long as industry continues to be run under private ownership for private gain. The war has changed old values and created new standards, and to-day the worker in industry refuses to regard himself or to be regarded as the instrument of his employer. During the war he was a national unit, contributing to the common effort and sacrifice; and he desires to continue, in peace conditions, the servant only of the community as a whole. This is one of the reasons why the question of public ownership and democratic control has become a principal demand, especially amongst the miners, railwaymen, and transport workers.

To bring about industrial peace, we must begin at once to build a new industrial structure, not in the interest of capital, but in the interest of the community. This will involve tremendous changes, and the need to-day is for a new industrial policy which will carry the nation safely through the drastic alterations which the workers are demanding. National interest demands increased national output. This does not depend upon long hours and unsatisfactory conditions of employment. It does certainly depend largely on securing increased confidence between all who are concerned in the success of industry. It is essential, therefore, that the causes of the general unrest should be examined and solutions adequate to the needs of the case speedily applied if we are to remain a powerful unit in world development.

ITALY AND FIUME

HAVING regard to President Wilson's publication of his reasons for objecting to the cession of Fiume to Italy the official statement of Italy's claims to this port laid before the Conference in Paris may be of interest. It is reprinted in the April number of the *International Review* from the Italian *Gazetta del Popolo*. After recounting the history of the resistance of Fiume against all attempts to reunite it with Croatia the document proceeds:

Fiume completes the defensive system of the neighboring countries, and the Italian possession of Fiume also rounds off that anti-German program of the Adriatic system which ought to arise out of the war. Italy alone, as the only great maritime power, can have the means of carrying out the program which corresponds to the collective interests of the powers who have fought this war side by side. "Trieste and Fiume," remarked a French writer in 1915, when tracing the frontiers of the future peace, "although in form Austrian and Hungarian ports, are above all German harbors, the southern points of a line of rule of which Hamburg and Bremen are the corresponding points on the North Sea." It is necessary to see that, while one of these ports, Trieste, is withdrawn from this indirect German rule over the Adriatic, the other, Fiume, should not continue to carry out this German function, while apparently a Jugo-Slav town; and although this German function would be in contradiction to the wishes and the intentions of the new Jugo-Slav state, yet that state would be powerless and unprepared to eliminate old influences or to forestall those new ones which, after the loss of Trieste, the Germans would specially concentrate on the only point where there was a chance of possible penetration. . . .

We must consider in addition the natural aptitudes and the technical means of a maritime nation like the Italians. By putting its own port [of Fiume], and also Trieste, at the complete disposition of the hinterland, she will necessarily reconcile, by means of the best technical apparatus and the most advantageous economy, her own interest with the interests of those who are naturally her clients, and there will be no necessity for exercising political influence or initiating political tutelage contrary to the common policy.

After examining the port concessions which Italy is well disposed to make in order to guarantee the interests of the hinterland, the document continues:

German countries (Germany herself no less than Austria) as well as the Czechoslovak state, the Jugo-Slav countries (Slovenia and Croatia), and Hungary, are bound to make an outlet of Trieste and Fiume. And inevitable rivalries, economic as well as political, must arise between these various states. Therefore, it is obviously difficult, if not impossible, for any foreign sovereignty, except that of the Italians, to secure for these common outlets to the sea that impartial and dispassionate technical government which is an indispensable condition for the rapid and economic development of those ports, and of the railway and steamship lines which should serve them.

As regards the special question of Fiume, it

must be stated that this port cannot be given over to the needs of Croatia. Croatian commerce makes up only six per cent. of the total export and import traffic of Fiume; the remaining traffic belongs to the other countries of the hinterland, and mostly to Hungary. Scarcely 13 per cent. of the total traffic of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina goes through Fiume; the remainder runs through the ports of Lower Dalmatia. . . . Italy, to the advantage of both ports, and of the productive or consuming countries of the hinterland, will perform a regulating, unifying, and helpful function. Were the states of the hinterland, especially Croatia and Jugo-Slavia, to attempt to fulfil that function, they would find themselves lacking the necessary wealth, technical equipment, and impartiality of judgment.

FAMINE AND REVOLUTION IN INDIA

NEWS from India is scanty. And yet from the London papers we get an inkling of the seriousness of the situation in that dependency of Great Britain. Last April there was a revolution which affected the provinces of Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. Hundreds of lives have been lost on both the sides. It is admitted that the Sixth City of Amritsar was a scene of serious troubles. Many English banks were looted by the revolutionists, and the entire city was in their hands for about a week. The northern section of Calcutta was in the hands of the revolutionists for two days. Bombay, Ahmedahad, Lahore, Delhi, Gurjanwala, Allahabad, and other cities were tremendously affected by riots and strikes. The Hindus, the Mahommedans, the Sikhs, the Marwaris, and other sects and creeds united in an organized opposition to the British rule in India. India's disarmed people have now been taken under control by British machine-guns, bombing planes, and armored cars.

Then early in May came the news of the invasion of India by the Ameer of Afghanistan, who, according to London despatches, made direct connections with the Russian Government at Moscow. The Afghan armies crossed the borders and occupied several strategic points in British territories. It has been reported since that they have sued for peace.

All last year India was suffering from one of the worst famines in history. The world's preoccupancy in the world war crowded out the news of the starvation and death of millions in India. Now that the war is over and death is assuming a threatening attitude the world is allowed to know of the ghastly conditions prevailing in India to-day. Says a Paris cable to the New York *Evening Post:*

England's India is in trouble . . . India is hungry. Famine is impending in many places; it is terribly present in others. There are districts of India where emaciated men, women, and children are dying by the roadside for lack of food.

This report simply corroborates the facts published in the Toronto *Globe* for April 22:

India is in the deadly grip of plague and famine. . . . In the Central and Northern provinces of India death stalks through the land, taking a toll that makes the great war casualty list pale into insignificance. To date the estimated number of dead from plague and famine in the past year is over 32,000,000. The poor have eaten all their food, and the physical conditions of thousands upon thousands is such that they are too weak even to carry their water jars. . . .

Some conception of the awful death toll may be gathered from the following comparison: If coffins for the 32,000,000 British subjects who have died during the last year through plague and famine were placed, head to feet, they would reach a distance equal to one and one-third times around the equator. Words fail to portray the ghastliness of this stupendous tragedy, and photographs taken in different parts of the country depict scenes too gruesome for publication.

The London *Times* of April 25 contained the following in its Bombay despatches:

India having been swept bare of foodstuffs to meet the exigencies of the war, the people feel that the home government is lukewarm in releasing supplies from outside, and resent particularly that the shipping controller is maintaining high freights on fat and rice from Burma. These severe sufferings are super-imposed on the devastating influenza and cholera epidemics.

Sir J. Meston, the Finance Minister to the Government of India, said in his budget speech at Delhi last March:

For exports of private merchandise the increase is over £9,000,000. The export figures incidentally demonstrate the extent to which India was able to increase her assistance in the way of supplies to the allied nations and their armed forces. Exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent. to a total in 1917-18 of 5,400,000 tons, valued at £36,000,000. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,500,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917.

ETHICS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE long contribution of Mgr. Henri Chapon, Bishop of Nice, to *Le Correspondant* for April 10, entitled, "War and Peace," is distinctly a sermon, an effort to probe as deeply as may be those impulses of the human heart out of which strife has arisen and still constantly arises.

Beginning with a powerful recital of the German atrocities in the world war, he says: "And now, with all this between us and Germany, we must make peace with her." Looking back from this supreme turning point in history, we see that all the results of the eloquence of Christianity, against aggression, injustice and violence, have been at most a mere palliative, since wars, whether for personal glory or more adequate material gains, have never ceased to arise.

Patriotism has been a misused word. To risk and lose life "for one's country" is glorified as purest heroism, whether the country itself be the shameless aggressor or the innocent defender of its rights or even of its existence. Any trick, even such vulgar forgery as Bismarck's of the Ems dispatch, goes unpunished, because done "for the fatherland." Only in failure is real disgrace. The terrible splendor of the spectacle, the valor, energy, order it evolves, the immense gains won by signal victories in battle, have made Germany question whether the strife itself is not a blessing—even a necessity.

Even if war was admitted to be an evil, it was classed with famine, pestilence, earthquake, lightning,—almost as a force of nature or scourge of God. That the vulgar burglar, the brigand chief, and the imperial destroyer of the world's peace, differ only in the magnitude of their crimes, is a truth never fully brought home to the civilized conscience.

But it is the motive, not the mere act that defines true heroism: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profits not." The all but fatal losses suffered in this last war, and the clearly contrasted motives of Germany and her foes, make it the largest of object-lessons upon which to base a new moral code to cover the whole question.

The conviction has grown general that destruction and violence are exactly as criminal and avoidable internationally as between individuals, and that all aggression must be made promptly punishable, by a power as overwhelming relatively as is the force of a city exerted against individual criminals. It is to the vital interest of all states to defend the weakest, so long as it is a peaceful member, in its freedom, its normal activities, and its natural rights.

But such a doctrine carries with it two chief corollaries: Each state must have a government which fairly represents the whole people, and both must be organized for industry and commerce, in short for peace, and not war, as its proper end and aim. Autocratic, militaristic Germany could never work to any common purpose eventually with industrial democracies. Mankind must be "all slave or all free." Even Germany realized that its true motives and purposes must be hypocritically denied and hidden; but this was always clumsily and unsuccessfully done.

The atrocities of the war, though unheard of in all former history, are still minor matters. The essential horror is the long-known —and permitted—existence of a mighty state bent on ruthless warfare as a means to world-tyranny; a state in which absolutely every ounce of energy was "militarized." We need not ask who began or willed war. To a Germany, war was a necessity of its nature, was indeed "refreshing and joyous." To have observed any restrictions of humanity would have been a confession that war is an evil. To punish the Kaiser and even his leading agents, for overstepping the proper limits of war, would be utterly inadequate. An organization for the destruction of the lives, property or freedom of peace-loving neighbors is in itself the crime of crimes.

The dream of William was that of Alexander, of Augustus, of Napoleon, to unify mankind under his own resistless superstate, which again should be under his personal control. The World-League of free industrial states is the antithesis of this ideal. We should have foreseen its necessity; but man is ever shortsighted.

War between nations is in truth a mere survival of the old legalized "trial by combat" as an appeal to Heaven for justice. The state, which forbids it to individuals, should itself be stopped from recourse to it. The one vital question is: Do we believe in international justice? If so, we must create the means to enforce it. The body of delegates in Paris, or any single body of men, is utterly inadequate to that immense task.

A "WILSONIAN" ITALIAN ATTITUDE

AN article in the May number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse,* on "Some Aspects of the Italo-Slav Problem," is encouraging, as a typical illustration of the free forum which Switzerland is to offer, not only to the official meetings and counsels of the World-League, but, no less, for the frank and temperate international discussion, by philosophic observers and students, who can "look before and after," of these burning questions of the hour, out of which so many a war has suddenly burst forth.

The writer, Signor Aldo Dami, speaking as a Wilsonist and an Italian "moderate," uses the French language, and addresses his international audience, frankly conceding that he speaks for barely a tenth of his own people. He also indicates that his views, and those who hold them, are to-day promptly put to silence in any public gathering of Italians, and are hardly regarded as more loyal than pure pacifism is with ourselves.

A reference to Dante, as having traced the natural frontier of Italy "along the Alps from the Varo to the Quarnero," puts the problem on a fitting historical basis. Quarnero is the deep inlet just south of Trieste, with the great naval station Pola at its entrance (on the northerly point) and Fiume at the head of the long gulf.

When the "secret" treaty of London was signed, the Austrian Empire was not even thought of as perishable or divisible. Croatia was an integral part of it. When Trieste should be redeemed, Fiume was to be left as the one "casement opening" on the perilous Adriatic, not merely for Croatia or Austro-Hungary, but for Slavic Russia behind them no less. But, as an offset, Italy was to have something like half the long Eastern Adriatic coast stretching thence southward, known as Dalmatia, where the ports are in truth already capitalized, utilized, even inhabited very largely by Italians; but only Slavs hold the hinterland (this one German word is being accepted generally as indispensable).

Now, in the terrible days when the Austrian invasion was barely stopped with instant and decisive Anglo-French aid, at the Piave, and all Lombardy was in deadly peril, the Croats are said to have been far more lawless and murderous toward helpless captives than even the Hungarians.

And yet, with kaleidoscopic suddenness, the Croats are to-day an integral part of greater Serbia, the worst sufferer of all the Allied peoples. And to-day, too, the Italians are in the invidious position of claiming from friendly Jugo-Slavia, which is, after all, Serbia, all they exacted from frightened England as the price of their alliance—and the bay window, Fiume, also!

The proposal of the "moderate tenth," on the other hand, is: "We must have Fiume, a purely Italian city from its origin, but we do not want Dalmatia, which is the natural outlet of the Balkan Slavs." The large minority of Italian city coast-dwellers in Dalmatia, who would thus be turned over—with adequate safeguards—to the rule of a Slavic state, are estimated at only 25,000, while this same arrangement is to leave 300,000 Slavs (among them fully a quarter of all the Slovenians) under Italian rule.

Whether Mr. Wilson would accept this avowed adherent as an orthodox disciple is at least doubtful. The Italian war-cry—for generations, indeed—has been "Trent and Trieste must be redeemed." Whether the true curve of the Alpes Maritimae, or the natural sphere of Italian influence politically, may be rightfully slipped fifty miles farther south to gather in Pola and Fiume, is a pretty question of physiography, and of international justice, which even Dante may not settle by a resounding rhyme. Even this "moderate" glides quietly down-coast still another hundred miles, calmly grasping the "purely Italian" port of Zara also!

The editor "cannot spare space" for a rejoinder by the "Annexationists"—or 90 per cent. majority of the Italian nation,—but is clearly dissatisfied with the writer's description of them as the ignorant, inflammable mob, misled by the partisans of Sonnino, who is declared to have "learned nothing and forgotten nothing" (like a true Bourbon) in five years, or, indeed, since the cold-blooded diplomats of 1815 sliced up Europe on purely mathematical lines! What civilization Dalmatia knows, like its trading dialect, is credited to the Venetians. Historically, the claim is sound enough. But then, the three flagpoles before San Marco once upheld the three subject-flags of Mor a, Crete and Cyprus! So that argum s as rash as that of d'Annunzio, who unds the restoration of Augustus' and Tra n's world-empire.

But, the editor decla there is no real

imperialism, militarism, or desire for annexation as such, in Italy at all. While Bissolati, among living statesmen, Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, among the dead, are counted among the "Moderates," even the opposing majority stand on such grounds, we are told, as these:

(1) Italy's extreme claims still leave to Greater Serbia five-sixths of the Dalmatian coast.

(2) It would allow the Slavs at least nine ports, among them Buccari, Seyna, and others of the first rank.

(3) This is a question of life and death for the Italian coast-dwellers, but Slavs have nothing to fear under Italian rule (!)

(4) Italy, for naval strategic reasons, must control both shores of the Adriatic, having on her own side no strong natural fortress between Venice and Brindisi.

(5) The persistent hostility of the Slavs, their threats to seize Trieste, Gorizia, even Udine, compel military and naval measures to "assure" all the results of the war.

The essayist even reveals, despite himself, prejudices, or fears, hardly less perturbing. He, too, believes the Croats still hate all Italians—and even, no less bitterly, their preponderant Serbian kinsfolk. He, too, draws sharply at the Rhine and the Adriatic the frontiers of "Western Europe"—thus accepting the most dangerous theory that all "Mitteleuropa," with Russia, and much more behind it, is a possible unified opponent to the great Western block of states that, with our aid, won the war.

A FRENCH PLEA FOR A POLISH DANZIG

IN the *Revue de Paris* of May 15 Admiral Degouy writes with full knowledge, strong convictions, and true sailor's frankness, on "The Question of Danzig." His present article is really but one of a series. It throws a clear light in two directions on the imperial advantages of Danzig as a naval and mercantile center and on the total diversity of view between the French "defensive" policy and the Wilsonian plans. Indeed there is no disguise as to this cleft. "One sees, yet again, that the Americans do not distinguish between Prussia and Germany at all." To us, again, are credited: "a sort of confidence in German good faith, and illusions as to the efficacy of the League of Nations, apart from the land and sea forces which would be indispensable to it." The "amazing blindness" of the "English statesmen and navy" sets them in the same pillory. On the contrary,

> such cannot be the view of Europeans, particularly of the French, who are endowed with some foresight, and who consent to pay attention to the lessons of a past which they have attentively studied!

By exclusion, we are mere savages, untaught to "look before and after" at all.

The admiral touched at Danzig about the year 1900, and had a remarkably well-informed French guide, perhaps a consular personage, while there. The "hinterland" was, and is, so purely Slavic that the utter misnomer "West Prussia" is condemned, in favor of the old Polish name Pomerelia. Even in the city the relatively few Germans are either officials, needlessly multiplied to serve chiefly as propagandists, or bankrupt and discredited merchants from German cities subsidized there that they may crowd out the Slavic business men. When, in 1870, the French fleet hove in sight, the townsfolk openly spread a banquet for their welcome guests under the very guns of the shore batteries. A year or two later, when one of the five billions of francs was distributed among German cities to be spent for public works, the Danzigans were compelled to make similar local improvements, but told to go to "their French friends" for help in meeting the cost.

Danzig takes pride in her long prominence in the Hanseatic League, and the civic independence which she long kept intact, afterward, under Polish hegemony. From Prussian aggression she has acquired a lasting hatred only. Even to-day the very merchants of German stock and speech have refused to sign any protest against full restoration of the city to Poland.

And yet:

> Some of our allies are exciting themselves, it seems, over the thought of the German "irredentism" which might be aroused by so just and obvious an action. The German is incapable of any such permanent feeling, anyway. If he is protected in his material interests, he adapts him-

self with docile fatalism to any environment. This is illustrated by the left bank of the Rhine, where Germans, in blood and speech, had in fifteen years become so attached to France that they openly desired the victory of the French in 1870.

But let us not deal with abstract principles and too sweeping generalizations. There are certain things that must be brought about.

Thus, Poland must be restored. Full and free access to the one true international highway, the salt water, is a prime necessity to every strong nation, in order to obtain at first hand those necessities which she cannot herself produce. Poland formerly reached the Baltic not merely at Danzig and the Vistula-delta generally, but also farther east on a long coast-stretch of Courland, thus completely encircling the duchy of Prussia and cutting it off from Pomerania and Brandenburg. So the much-debated seaward "corridor" with Danzig itself, is but a partial restoration of long-standing conditions. The proposed union of Lithuania with Poland may yet complete the circle about Koenigsberg again.

Through the Vistula and its great branches, which are united by canals to still other rivers, Danzig is the natural outlet for a country, prevailingly level and fertile, as large as France. She should overshadow easily both Koenigsburg to eastward and Stettin on the west, and hold her own even against Hamburg as a mighty commercial metropolis. A glance at the map will show not only the excellent inner harbor with abundant anchorage, but the immense natural roadstead protected from all but the southerly land-winds, formed by that great natural breakwater, the twenty-five-miles-long sandy spit of Hela.

But the real problem is not a mere question of peaceful international trade. The German propaganda continues, with impunity, to-day, under the eyes of the Peace Conference. In this very last April, the Prussian local authorities arrested, on a charge of *high treason,* a number of Polish citizens of Danzig, who had openly advocated the return of the city to Poland, already foreshadowed in the discussions at Paris. A free port, nominally protected by the Warsaw government, or the still remoter forceless League of Nations, will never be safe from Prussian plots, or even from a Prussian fleet moored at Pillau, two hours' sail from Neufahrwasser.

It is absolutely necessary to the safety of us French, of us Europeans, that Danzig be unreservedly and integrally a part of the Polish state. It must preserve, also, as under the Prussian régime, the double character of a naval and commercial port.

Russia may never regain the position—which the mistakes of the Allies in 1916-17 permitted her to lose—as an effective eastern barrier against Prussian plots and propaganda. Only Poland can effectively take her place. She will be, for a long time at best, too weak to maintain herself unaided. Only through the Baltic can she be promptly reached and supported by the great maritime states of the League—or, rather, of the Allies. The protection of Danzig must begin at Kiel. Though Denmark, economically, will still be closely related to Germany, she must be wholly relieved of any fear of her military and naval forces. South of the Kiel Canal, again, a "somewhat enlarged" revival of the Kingdom of Hanover is desirable as its guardian, a sort of "German Netherlands," no less secure against any renewal of Prussian aggression.

Admiral Degouy deplores the failure of the Allies to accept, and encourage, just after the Armistice began, the widespread desire to create a large number of independent republics throughout Germany. He still advocates, and had urged in a council so early as the autumn of 1916, that Prussia must not only be isolated as far as possible, but forced to restore to the other German states all the lands she has wrested from them since 1750.

It will be evident, even from this rapid outline, that Admiral Degouy holds convictions as to the continued danger from Prussia, and the need of vigorous intervention in the internal affairs of Germany, which have hardly been given hearing at all on this side the Atlantic. His views of the Baltic as the "Mediterranean of the North," perhaps even the true key to world-control, of Danzig as incomparably the greatest of its ports, and, apparently, the proper center for the adequate naval armament which the World-League should support, are hardly more than hinted in his present paper, and will make his forthcoming treatment of the subject one of very great interest.

The Admiral does not hesitate to accuse "certain allies" of indifference, apathy, and a lack of "aggressive mentality," and their "associates" (*i. e.,* the United States) of an ignorance of fundamental European problems.

THE WENDS: A SLAVIC REMNANT IN GERMANY

ONE of the interesting paradoxes of the moment is the contrast between the efforts we are making in the United States to obliterate racial and linguistic distinctions in behalf of "Americanization," and the sharpening of the same sort of distinctions in Europe under the influence of the Wilsonian gospel of self-determination. The governments of the Old World have always had a difficult "melting-pot" problem on their hands. At present the various racial elements that have hitherto been struggling against assimilation behold a golden opportunity not only to assert their individuality, but also to gain political independence.

Among the submerged peoples lately heard from in this connection are the Wends of Germany—a small remnant of a Slavic population that once spread over a large part of the lands that are now purely German. Centuries of bloody warfare gradually reduced them to a group of about 150,000 people dwelling in the district of Lusatia (Lausitz), which is part in Saxony and part in Prussia. Last January a Wendish national committee undertook to set up an independent state, formed by the union of Upper and Lower Lusatia. This event furnishes the occasion for an article on the Wends in *Larousse Mensual* (Paris), by Henri Froidevaux.

In the accompanying map, which is reproduced from the article mentioned, the shaded area shows the region in which people of Wendish speech are now in the majority, while the dotted line shows approximately the linguistic boundary of the Wends in the middle of the sixteenth century. There are two Wendish dialects, spoken respectively in Upper and Lower Lusatia, so unlike that intercommunication between the people of the two regions is difficult; and there are also two distinct literary dialects and literatures.

The Wends of Lusatia are also known as Sorbs, or Serbs. In 1886 they numbered 176,000, and in 1900 only 156,000. They are, says M. Froidevaux, surrounded on all sides and penetrated in all directions by the Germans, upon whom they have been dependent politically, economically, and even in the matter of religion, since the great majority of them are Lutherans. They were also subject to service in the German army. For many years the Germans have persisted in ignoring them as a distinct racial element



FRONTIER OF 1550 (ANDRÉE)
ACTUAL TERRITORY OF THE WENDS

in the population. Thus the Wendish names of towns in Lusatia (Chotebuz-Kottbus; Budysin-Bautzen; etc.) have been dropped from Baedeker's guidebooks since 1860.

Nevertheless, says M. Froidevaux,

in spite of so many difficulties, so many reasons of all kinds for their disappearance, the Serbs of Lusatia have managed so far to maintain their separate existence. Their physical type distinguishes them sharply from the Germans who surround them. "One is struck by this fact," says Vidal-Lablache, "when, on Sundays, in the streets and the churches of Dresden, one sees these men, with their long cloaks and high boots; easily singled out in the crowd of Germans by their smaller heads, their hair of a dull blond color, and often by an expression on their faces of sleepy gentleness." Their language, moreover, ensures their national individuality. That it persists is due to the efforts of certain enlightened patriots who, about 1840, awoke the popular consciousness, founded a society at Bautzen—the "Masica Serbska"—for perpetuating the language and literature, started a journal, and introduced the Slavic language into the primary schools. However, the situation of the Serbs of Lusatia has remained precarious, not only in Prussia, where the government showed it no consideration, but also in Saxony, prior to the end of the world war.

NEW FRANCO-AMERICAN PRESS RELATIONS

V harmony of thought and opinion, nd the eradication of petty national es among the English-speaking peo- being rapidly fostered with the hope r comity between all nations; and it these lines that Henri-Martin Bar- nself a member of the French group ıalists, makes a plea for greater unity the French and American press in cle in *Editor and Publisher*. The unlike our so-called "capitalistic" levote journalism to political ends han the commercial. Incidentally, in ry one-tenth the size of ours, the form as the substance is different. The newspaper, or *feuille*, is a single sheet to four pages, and carrying practically ertising, published once a day—in contrast with our voluminous dailies, us editions, and heavy Sunday supple-

French press, published and edited by llectuals, practically carried the day French Revolution, and it is one of ditions of French journalism that lly every man in public office is the or editor of a newspaper. This tradi- rings from the fact that the French tion placed at the head of the gov- t, instead of royalty, thinkers, writers, nd orators, who were journalists by on or at heart. Mr. Barzun says:

l, in no other country have newspaper re influence upon public opinion, precisely the press in France is more devoted to political than to "business." Thus, the ng which in a sense represents the weak- French journalism—namely, its lack of ercial basis—is at the same time what the great force it exercises upon the pub- national mind.

nceau himself, at the age of twenty, *Le Travail*, at forty-five *La Justice*, at *Aurore*, and at seventy *L'Homme Libre*. A ord, we dare say. Stephen Pichon, now eign Minister, was Clemenceau's as- n the direction of *La Justice*, before be- editor of *Le Petit Journal*. . . . Gambetta, s the Clemenceau of the war of 1870-71, and personally directed *La Republique*, till exists; President Poincaré was in his brilliant journalist, and still is the presi- the most important professional associa- the French press.

s, of course, is the headquarters of the ion, and such papers as *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Matin*, and *Le Petit Parisien* have a daily circulation of over a million copies each. Other papers get their power not so much from circulation as from the weight of their influence.

The French press was hard hit by the war and by the censorship, but with the removal of the censorship and the reimportation of paper from America, it looks forward to an entirely new era of prosperity, and it is entirely probable that it will be run more with a view to commercial success, although not in any discord with the essentially intellectual note which dominates, and will forever dominate the journalism of that country. The large Paris dailies are rapidly forming connections with prominent papers in this country, and the provincial press is carrying out its pre-war plans for syndication and common exploration of information.

The Havas Agency, which is connected with the Associated press, and which is the oldest and best organized news service in France, is the principal medium through which American news is disseminated to hundreds of newspapers in France. The Agence Radio stands next in importance and is connected with the United Press, distributing American news which it formerly obtained from the International News Service. The latter organization now supplies the *Petit Journal*, one of the most important newspapers in France. The Agence Fournier and the Agence Information are local companies which handle French national news.

Formerly, France was interested chiefly in European news and Russia, to the neglect of America; but the time has come when she must have closer press connections with this country, and already the French Press Bureau has sprung into being for the exchange of social, political and economic news between America and France. Mr. Barzun, reviewing the readjustment of international relations, says:

France, henceforth, must have an "American policy" directed toward Washington, while America will have to have an "European policy" directed toward Paris, and thus a tremendous new field of activity is opened to the enterprise of the press and news services of the two countries corresponding to the powerful bonds of interests created by the past of yesterday and bound to be strengthened by the peace of to-morrow.



THE "BISMARCK," THE LARGEST SHIP EVER BUILT, LYING IN HAMBURG HARBOR
(This great vessel had not quite reached completion when the war began)

GERMANY'S BUSINESS PROSPECTS

WILL Germany "come back" commercially after peace is signed? What are Germans planning to do, as competitors in the world's markets? Will the new German Government seek to control trade policy? Is there danger to other nations from the "dumping" of German stocks? These are a few of the questions asked and answered by Mr. Samuel Crowther, the Financial Editor of *System* (Chicago), in the June number of that periodical. Mr. Crowther was in Germany during the month of March last, and visited the most important cities and industrial centers. The information that he gained during this visit is of the greatest interest and importance to all American business men.

According to Mr. Crowther's observation, labor costs in Germany are relatively low. He believes that they will soon be lower than in either Great Britain or America. The value of the German mark is, of course, greatly inflated at the present time, but even taking this into account, wages remain lower than in other countries. Industrial Germany, however, is not functioning at more than ten per cent. of its power. The blockade prevents raw materials from reaching the factories, and even if goods could be produced, the railroads could not transport them, and very few ships would be available for exporting to foreign countries. Chemical factories are still at work, and also special departments of certain industries, but for the most part German industry is "shut down, or is going through motions merely to keep the forces together."

The railroads need only rolling stock, and that is gradually being supplied. As to ships, all the merchant shipbuilding ceased with the war, or hulls were carried only to the point of launching and then allowed to rust until the end of the war. At Hamburg Mr. Crowther saw the great *Bismarck*, the largest ship in the world. He found it streaked with rust, but needing only paint and engines (which were already built) to complete its equipment. He saw dozens of other hulls tied up amid the submarines in the Blohm-Voss yard. These could be made into carrier ships in a few months' time. Even with all the losses, there were some 170 ocean-going ships in the harbor, ready to sail after a few days' work. About 40,000 men were at work on them.

One point, which Mr. Crowther emphasizes in his article, is the fact that German industries do not have to change from a war to a peace basis, for the country, as a whole, never went on a war basis, in the manner of England and France.

Most of the plants which did have war orders directly in their peace lines have increased their productive power. For instance, the Benz plant at Mannheim had 5500 men before the war and rose to 7500 during the war, when they made great numbers of motor lorries, military cars, and airplane engines. When I visited the plant, which is a thoroughly modern one, they were working full time with 6500 men, and the manager told me that they had orders from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in addition to private orders in Germany sufficient to keep them busy for nearly two years. All of these orders had accumulated during the war. He said that although they had by no means doubled their

plant area, they had installed so much machinery and had standardized so many parts that they were capable of twice their pre-war production.

This was the only instance that Mr. Crowther found of any considerable change in manufacturing methods. Mr. Crowther predicts that within a month after the arrival of raw materials the goods will be coming out of Germany. He is convinced that German manufacturers, were they permitted to do so, could supply the British home market more quickly than could the British themselves.

The effect of the war has been to drive the small manufacturer out of business. Before the war Essen alone had 9000 manufacturing concerns employing fewer than ten men each. Now there are only 3000 of these small concerns. The trend has been toward centralization of capital and facilities, both in manufacturing and in banking. What use will be made of these large plants? Mr. Crowther gives a hint of this in the following paragraph:

Take first the big war concerns; the best known of these is Krupps. We think of Krupps as solely a munition depot, but it is far more than that. In peace times something like 90 per cent. in weight of their products were for uses other than war. They made all kinds of heavy forgings, railway material, axles, propeller shafts, springs, steel castings, and plates; but outside of rifles and carriages, railway axles, and wheels, they did no finished work. During the war they accumulated a great quantity of machinery and now, somewhat against their inclinations, they are going in for finished work. When I went over their Essen works they had about 30,000 men making locomotives—which is a new departure; all other portions of the vast plant were shut down.

Mr. Crowther feels assured of these facts:

(1) German trade has no concerted policy and does not want any; it wants to run itself without outside interference from the government and will have nothing of subsidies. The general opinion is that the subsidies did more harm than good and also that cartels were not particularly useful and should not be revived.

(2) The notion that the Germans would trade under a quasi-military system or with a uniform policy is the result of a hectic imagination. It has never even been given serious consideration in Germany and is considered only a fairly interesting absurdity.

(3) There are no German stocks to "dump" and not the slightest intention of selling in any market below cost although, if the home tariff is high enough, concerns will dispose of their surplus stocks outside of Germany at prices cheaper than they will charge the home trade.

(4) The German tariff will make foreign competition inside Germany nearly impossible except in special lines not made so well in Germany.

The German trade of the future will not be as dramatic as it has been pictured. It will not be dramatic at all. But because her merchants, bankers, and manufacturers have both feet squarely on the ground and are prepared to go after profitable business anywhere and on sane lines, Germany is to-day, potentially and after the United States, easily the biggest trade factor in the world.

She is strong because she has no illusions and knows that what she sells in the world will have to be sold on price and merit.

GERMANY'S POLITICAL RENOVATION

HERR HANS BRECHT, writing in a recent number of *Nord und Süd,* on the "New Tasks Before Germany," characterizes the revolution of 1918 as the consequences of the military downfall, and simultaneously as a victory for Social Democracy. The hated Junker rule being thus brought to an end, the backbone of militarism was broken in the process. But that it should have needed four full years, with famine, defeat, and a thousand other evils, to awaken the German out of his political sleep and endow him with the courage of despair, and enable him to achieve the absolutely unbelievable—the overthrow of his idols—is just one more proof of his loyalty and slowness to take action. November 9 will indeed stand alone in the annals of history!

Once before (1848) the throne of Germany tottered. On that occasion the freedom of the people was put in fetters, and the best of the nation were ignominiously banished, or deprived of their posts, or cast into prison, because they fought for freedom and justice. But November 9 of last year saw the rulers crowned "by the grace of God" dragged off their thrones, and it was a truly royal drama when almost at the same hour all the princes of the old *régime* definitely laid down their sceptres. Much was thereby achieved which had hitherto seemed impossible, but there remain new aims and new conflicts to be undertaken before the complete unity of Germany can bring the present period to any sort of harmonious conclusion.

THE DEN OF ZEPPELINS

NORDHOLZ, the German airship station from which nearly all the Zeppelin raids over England were launched, is the subject of an interesting article by Lieut. Lewis R. Freeman, in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for May 21. Lieutenant Freeman accompanied the Allied Naval Commission on its visit to the German Zeppelin bases, after the signing of the armistice. He thus had the best possible opportunities for learning about the resources and present condition of the German Zeppelin industry.

The greatest and most modern of Germany's Zeppelin aërodromes is that at Nordholz, near Cuxhaven, in the Elbe estuary. Lieutenant Freeman refers to the persistent idea in London that airship stations had been constructed in Belgium and that these alternated with those of Germany in dispatching raiders across the North Sea to England. But it is clear that the labor and expense involved in building such a station as Nordholz would have precluded the idea of establishing an installation of that size in any territory that Germany did not feel certain of controlling permanently.

There were other German airship stations within cruising distance of England, but Nordholz was so much the best equipped, especially in the first years of the war, when Zeppelin raiding was the most active, that the most of the work, and by long odds the most effective of it, was done from there. There were grim tales to be told by that band of hard-eyed, straight-mouthed, bull-necked pilots—all that survived some scores of raids over England and some hundreds of reconnaissance flights over the North Sea—who received and conducted round the Naval Commission party, though we did not meet upon a footing that made it possible more than to listen to the account of an occasional incident.

Lieutenant Freeman was especially impressed by the evidences on every hand of the high morale that prevailed in the German air service, even down to the last:

For all the barbarity of many of tneir raids there was splendid stuff in the officers and crews of the Zeppelins which engaged in the campaign of frightfulness against England, and it is idle to deny it. In a better cause or even in worthier work for an indifferent cause the skill and courage repeatedly displayed would have been epic. Considering what these airships faced on every one of their later raids—what their commanders and crews must have known were the odds against them after the night when the destruction of the Zeppelin over Cuffley in September, 1916, proved that the British had effectually solved the problem of igniting the hydrogen of the inner ballonets—one cannot but conclude that the morale of the whole personnel must have been very high during even this trying period. If it had not been high there would undoubtedly have been mutinies at the airship stations, such as are known to have occurred on so many occasions among the submarine crews. Even in the light of present knowledge there is nothing to indicate that there had ever been serious trouble in getting Zeppelin crews for the most hazardous of raids.

The sheds that make up the Nordholz station are of truly gigantic size:

Of modern buildings of utility, such as factories and exhibition structures, I do not recall one that is so impressive as these in sheer immensity. Yet the proportions of the sheds are so good that constant comparison with some familiar object of known size, such as a man, alone puts them in their proper perspective.

The sheds are built in pairs, standing side by side, and on a plan which has brought each pair on the circumference of a circle two kilometers in diameter. The chord of the arc drawn from one pair of sheds to the next in sequence is a kilometer in length, while the same distance separates each pair on the circumference from the huge revolving shed in the center of the circle. The whole plan has something of the mystic symmetry of an ancient temple of the sun. Of the half dozen pairs of sheds necessary to complete the circle four had been constructed and were in use. Each shed was built to house two airships, or four for the pair. This gave a capacity of sixteen Zeppelins for the four pairs of sheds, while the two housed in the revolving shed in the center brought the total capacity of the station up to eighteen—a larger number, I believe, than were ever over England at one time.

Scarcely less impressive than the immensity of the sheds and the broad conception of the general plan of the station was the solidity of construction. Everything, from the quarters of the men and the officers to the hangars themselves, seemed built for all time, and to play its part in the fulfillment of some farreaching plan. Costly and scarce as asphalt must have been in Germany the many miles of roads connecting the various sheds were laid deep with it, and—as I had a chance to see where repairs were going on—on a heavy base of concrete. The sheds were steel-framed, concrete-floored, and with pressed asbestos sheet figuring extensively in their sides. All the daylight admitted—as we saw presently—filtered through great panes of yellow glass in the roof, shutting out the ultra-violet rays of the sun, which had been found to cause airship fabric to deteriorate rapidly.

The barracks of the men were of brick and concrete, and were built with no less regard for appearance than utility. So, too, the officers' quarters and the casino, and the large and comfortable-looking houses for married officers. All had been built very recently, many in the by no means ineffective new-art style, to the simple solidity of which the Germans seemed to have turned in reaction from the Gothic.

Beyond all doubt Germany was planning years ahead with Nordholz, as to both war and peace.

ORDNANCE SUPPLIES FOR THE AMERICAN ARMY IN FRANCE

THE actual amount of munitions that the United States Army, through its Ordnance Department, was able to supply to its forces overseas is not well understood or appreciated by many Americans. A recent article of semi-official character in *The Stars and Stripes,* a paper published in France by the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force, is not only interesting but highly informing in this respect. According to this authority:

On November 11, 1918, the Ordnance Department had actually placed on the American lines 3500 cannon of all calibres, which, during periods of great artillery activity, were actually handing Jerry 6000 tons of hot steel every twenty-four hours. These guns took 7,000,000 shots at the enemy. There were also on that day 2000 trench mortars helping to make things miserable for the retreating enemy and 2,000,000 hand grenades ready to throw. And more than 100,000 machine guns and automatic rifles reënforced the fire of the million service rifles the doughboys were peppering the Boche with on that eventful day. Nor was this all. There was more and plenty where this came from. Cleverly tucked away and camouflaged from front lines back to base ports there were waiting more than 4,500,000 rounds of shrapnel and high explosive shells and 640,000,000 rounds of small arms and machine-gun ammunition. . . . Seven thousand ordnance tractors and artillery repair and supply trucks were put into action and rendered invaluable service.

The armored tank was perhaps one of the greatest triumphs of the war and our Ordnance Department put 300 of these in the big offensive. Ordnance experts regard as the outstanding accomplishments of this department of the A. E. F. the motorization of our artillery, the system of mobile repair shops maintained with the armies, and the arming of all airplanes for American squadrons. The importance of keeping the guns at the front in first-class fighting trim can readily be realized. The motorized shops for that purpose that kept in the wake of the armies and tendered first aid to all artillery and arms were a distinctive American contribution to the war. There were at the time of the armistice a number of these heavy mobile repair-shop organizations and twenty-five mobile ordnance repair shops operating with the armies. They could doctor up any kind of gun and get it back in commission unless it needed major repairs.

Some of the notable work of the Ordnance Department was done in arming planes for the American front. The aircraft armament shops were at Orly and Romorantin, the two airplane assembly plants of the A. E. F. The adaptation of American armament to European planes was a knotty problem consumately handled. The Vickers, Lewis, and Marlin machine guns with which our planes were armed proved highly satisfactory in combat. The supply of aircraft armament, ammunition, and drop bombs at all times met the demand, and to quote the verdict of experts, was of "proven efficiency against the enemy." . . . The Ordnance Department, indeed, before the war ended, had equipped the forces at the front with veritable flying fortresses fitted with eight guns instead of two or four. Four of these guns projected through the floor of the plane; two fore and two aft.

The base section of the A. E. F. was the great reservoir of ordnance materials and facilities into which the initial ordnance supplies were poured. The intermediate section was the regulating mechanism taking up fluctuations of supply and demand. The advance section was the sensitive system in direct touch with the Army and responsive to its needs from day to day. For the purpose of maintenance and reserves, it was planned to keep forty-five days' supply in the base section, thirty days' supply in the intermediate, and fifteen days' supply in the advance section. This ideal was never fully realized, but it was well approached in the summer of 1918.

The ammunition storage projects alone of the A. E. F. covered enough of France to make a good sized county in New England. The depot at St. Loubes was two miles long and nearly two miles wide. The ammunition storage project at Donges extended along the two sides of a triangle for nearly four miles. Foecy deserves a place on the map of the A. E. F.; here thousands of tons of French, British and American ammunition were received and stored, reclassified and sent to the front.

To make repairs to guns and ordnance equipment at organization and training centers or instruction camps, more than twenty-five repair shops were equipped and maintained in the S. O. S. The greatest of these, at Mehun, was itself so designed as to handle repairs to all artillery and ordnance equipment for an army of 2,000,000 men. It covered fifty acres of ground, was manned by 6000 technically trained soldiers, and could remake anything from a tank or a piece of heavy artillery to a mess kit. It was designed for a capacity of relining 1245 guns, repairing 2000 ordnance gun vehicles and 3000 ordnance motor vehicles and overhauling 150,000 rifles, 5000 pistols and 20,000 machine guns per month.

The work of the Ordnance Department in the A. E. F. was neither a small nor an easy job. Some idea of its extent can be estimated from the fact that it handled more than 500,000 tons of material and spent more than $50,000,000 and made every ton and every dollar count.

To their credit it should be said in conclusion, that this program was carried through by a little band of 1603 officers and 12,205 enlisted men, whose work was as hard as any in the Army, and as hazardous, even if in the S. O. S. According to the schedules of requirements the ordnance force of the A. E. F. should have been 2145 officers and 35,330 enlisted men, while the program for July 1, 1919, called for 3454 officers and 70,550 enlisted men.

CUBAN CRITICISM OF THE PLATT AMENDMENT

AN article in *Cuba Contemporánea* gives expression to the views held by some cubans as to the so-called Platt Amendment, and as to the best means of securing its cancellation. The writer asserts that it was accepted by the Cubans in the hope that it might be abrogated after a time.

In their impatience to attain the independence for which they had so long struggled, the Cubans did not perhaps duly consider the scope of the measure—certainly time was lacking for this—although they may have been persuaded of its necessity as a temporary agreement.

The writer freely admits that the United States intended to render Cuba a special service in the treaty, with its annexed amendment, but he thinks that the results have failed to realize these good intentions, and that the treaty only reflects the wishes of one of the contracting parties, not of both.

With the passage of time and the growth of the spirit of universal justice, the Platt Amendment becomes for the succeeding generations of Cubans a source of irritation. The writer likens it to a thorn thrust into Cuba's heart. He fails to see the need for any additional provisions in Cuba's case outside the bounds of the Monroe Doctrine, and he regards the amendment as constituting a departure from the rule laid down for the other Latin-American countries.

A weak nation may endure, through its weakness or through necessity, the intervention of a strong nation; but it can never be agreeable for any nation, more than for any individual, to be subject to the menace implied in the fact that the stronger party declares itself ever ready to intervene in its internal affairs.

In Cuba, as in so many American countries, there was no period of transition. From the colonial stage it passed at once to independence, and in this last stage it has not learned the lesson of gradual development, for the opinion prevails that this development has already been realized. Without a thought of Cuba's lack of preparation, its leaders gave it a constitution, very modern in certain respects, and electoral laws antiquated in some ways and perhaps a century in advance of the age in other ways.

Among the Cubans, at least ninety-nine out of a hundred of those composing the liberal and conservative parties are not only ignorant of the programs of these parties, but have scarcely an idea of what conservatism and liberalism signify. Personal sympathies and the wish to enjoy power are the only things that separate them.

The politicians, on their side, have as their sole and only mission the task of getting votes from the masses, having recourse to all means to attain this end. Unluckily, the beaten party does not gracefully accept defeat, but is ready to resort to force as a last argument, with the result of bloody conflicts, at once shameful and costly.

This state of things makes the Cuban writer declare that an intervention of the United States in the elections of some of the Latin-American countries, and the support of the United States Government for the officials so elected would have prevented much trouble in Spanish America. If in Cuba the help of foreign experts has been sought for military training and in other matters, he does not see why there should be any hesitation in seeking the advice and supervision of experts in electoral affairs. If the different parties could agree to this, it would put an end to Cuba's troubles, to her basic troubles, for in reality it is the necessity for accepting the electoral decisions that is a chief cause of dissension among the inhabitants.

This being accomplished, the next step could be a request for the immediate abrogation of the present treaty. The assumption of electoral supervision would coincide with the cancellation of the Platt Amendment. It would be a proof of good sense on the part of the Cubans and of their sincere friendship for the United States.

The logical and reasonable course would be to conclude a special treaty, renewable and modifiable every ten years, a treaty that would unite Cuba and the United States just as a certain ancient treaty leagued Portugal with England, provided such an agreement should be compatible with the future League of Nations.

In conclusion the writer asks whether it would not be unpatriotic to hesitate between a policy that might temporarily hurt Cuban *amour propre,* and one that offends it permanently.

ALASKA'S "TEN THOUSAND SMOKES"

ACCORDING to an Act of Congress of June 8, 1906, the President may "declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scenic interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as parts thereof parcels of land." National monuments are, therefore, closely akin to national parks, though generally of smaller area. The latest addition to the list of these reservations is the Katmai National Monument, established by Presidential proclamation of Sept. 24, 1918.

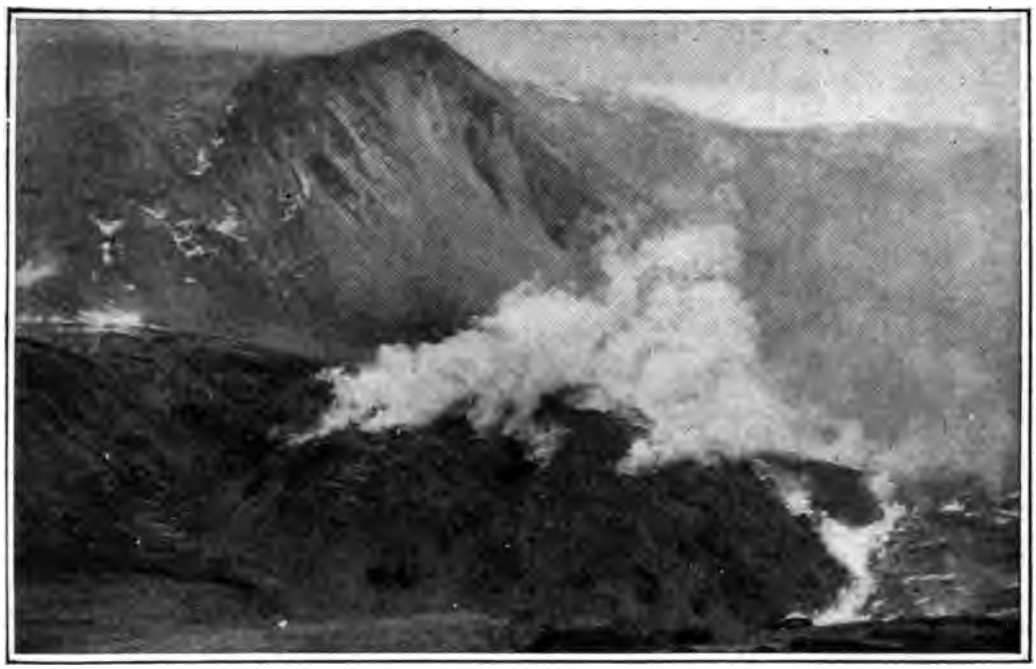
In June, 1912, occurred the tremendous explosive eruption of Mount Katmai, in Alaska. The same year the National Geographic Society sent an expedition to explore the volcano and the surrounding country. A number of subsequent expeditions have been sent to the same region by the Society, and the largest and best-equipped of all of them, led by Prof. R. F. Griggs, is in the field at this writing. More interesting than the volcano itself is a neighboring district discovered by Professor Griggs and his associates and known as the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. This was described at length in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) of February, 1918. It is one of the great natural wonders of the world, and the ebullient volcanic energy of which it is the scene invariably manifests itself in the language used by the National Geographic Society in describing it. Professor Griggs tells us that the valley actually contains, not "ten thousand," but millions of smoking volcanic vents, besides various other wonders, such as Falling Mountain, where falls of rock occur every few minutes. Professor Griggs wrote of this valley last year:

> Nothing approaching it has ever been seen by the eye of man. To find a parallel we must search the records of geology, for here we have such a volcanic outburst as the geologist finds recorded in the rocks of the past, but never before has had an opportunity to observe in the world of the present.

The April number of the *National Geographic Magazine* contains a further account of this extraordinary region, and the text of the proclamation by which it was set aside as a national monument. The writer says:

> All subsequent study and comparison confirms and deepens the opinion expressed in the accounts of the discovery of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, that this and the associated volcanic phenomena stand preëminent among the wonders of the world. Search through the literature of volcanoes, and conversation with travelers who have visited all the show places of the earth, make it quite certain that nowhere else in the present-day world is there anything at all similar to this supreme wonder.
>
> The unique character of the Ten Thousand Smokes is generally recognized by those who have given the matter consideration. But how long will they last? Are the vents really the chimneys by which exit is found for the emanations from a vast mass of molten magma that, having risen from the depths, has all but burst through the surface bodily? Or, are they due merely to the vaporization of surface water by the heated products of the great eruption? Are they likely to endure for a long time, or will they probably dwindle rapidly, as nature settles down again after the great cataclysm of 1912?
>
> So far as the observations of a single year could do so, the studies of 1917 indicated that they were real volcanoes, whose probable life was to be measured by decades rather than by days or months. But no single season's work could settle these questions. It was considered highly important that a watch be kept on developments the succeeding year. Notwithstanding the absorption of every one's energies in the prosecution of the war last summer, it was considered advisable, therefore, to keep some record of their condition. Two members of the expedition of 1917, Jasper D. Sayre and Paul R. Hagelbarger, volunteered to undertake the journey and to extend the scientific studies begun on the previous expeditions.
>
> When they came up into sight of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes they saw at once that its volcanoes had not changed appreciably in the year's interval. In almost every detail the Smokes were exactly the same as in 1917.
>
> Falling Mountain continued its remarkable activity, shooting off hundreds of tons of rock daily. Never, during the three seasons since it was discovered, has there elapsed a five-minute interval during periods of observation when its slopes were quiet. Throughout all three years great falls of rock have followed each other in such rapid succession from its lofty precipices that one avalanche of galloping boulders hardly reaches the bottom before another breaks loose from the summit.

The expedition sent out this season includes not only a strong scientific staff, but some expert moving-picture photographers, who hope to secure films that will bring these volcanic mountains to the Mohammeds at home, pending the inauguration of touring facilities that will enable us to gaze upon the Ten Thousand Smokes under the skies of Alaska. As to the prospects of making this region accessible, it is said:



Photograph by P. R. Hagelbarger

NOVARUPTA AND FALLING MOUNTAIN, TWO OF THE GREAT VOLCANOES AMONG THE "TEN THOUSAND SMOKES"
(During the three years since its discovery Falling Mountain has continued to send avalanches of boulders down its steep slopes in rapid succession. Observers have never had to wait five minutes between discharges)

To many it will appear, doubtless, that the new Katmai National Monument is so remote that there is little possibility of its ever becoming a place of popular resort. But if one will examine the geographical situation of the area, he will see that it is far otherwise. It is much less remote and far more accessible than was the Yellowstone Park at the time of its creation.

From Kukak Bay, which is a fine harbor, suitable for the largest ships, it is but a scant 25 miles overland to the Crater of Katmai. If a suitable road were available, it would, therefore, be easy for one to leave a steamer after breakfast and in an automobile roll through the whole of the volcanic district in a single day, returning to his ship in time for dinner.



Photograph by J. D. Sayre

PHOTOGRAPHING ONE OF THE FUMAROLES

MAKING OPTICAL GLASS IN AMERICA

WE have heard much about the manufacturing industries that were created in the United States during the war in order to keep up the supply of products hitherto imported from Europe. The manufacture of optical glass differs in certain aspects from most of our other infant industries. From a commercial point of view it is of relatively small importance. From the point of view of military requirements it was, during the war, of capital importance. Now that the war is over, whether the industry will continue to flourish in America is problematical.

Dr. Heber D. Curtis, who many years ago abandoned the teaching of Latin and Greek to become an astronomer at the Lick Observatory, has lately further diversified his career by directing the optical department of the U. S. Bureau of Standards in Washington. In the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific* (San Francisco) he records the chapter which American enterprise has added to the history of optical glass; *i. e.*, the special grades of glass used in making all kinds of optical apparatus, such as telescopes, microscopes, camera lenses, and a long list of military appliances, including gun-sights, bore-sighting devices, tank-sights, range-finders, periscopes, bombing-sights, etc. He writes:

Prior to August, 1914, practically all our optical glass came from a few German, English, and French makers. There were some secrets in the industry, but the total annual world demand amounted to only a hundred tons or so. No American firms had cared to go to the expense involved in satisfying this demand, which is relatively very small, from the standpoint of the tonnage of the commercial glass manufacturer. One large optical firm had started to make optical glass for its own use.

The war at once cut off the German supply, and practically all the English and French product was requisitioned by these nations for their own extensive military needs. The United States had been absolutely dependent upon these foreign sources of supply, and our Government found itself suddenly faced by the necessity of creating its own optical glass industry.

That the cutting off of the supply of optical glass threatened to have very serious consequences was recognized by many. Several manufacturers started work on the problem. The Bureau of Standards at once began research work in this field, setting up its experimental furnace and auxiliary apparatus in its Pittsburgh plant in the winter of 1914. This experimental work was pushed vigorously, and the Bureau installed its first one thousand pound pot in the winter of 1916.

The methods of making optical glass, as described by Dr. Curtis, involve the use of various chemicals not found in common glass, the choice of pure materials, very careful control of temperatures, and other details of manufacture.

The excellence of the German product was the result of years of costly research.

Up to about 1888 the optician had only the usual crown and flint glasses at his disposal. It was at this time that the experiments of the Schotts, with the assistance of the firm of Zeiss and liberal subventions from the German government, resulted in the discovery of new types of glass which have made possible great improvements in lens design. Too much credit can scarcely be given these investigators for these improvements.

In addition to the six elements occurring in the older types of optical glass, namely, silicon, potassium, sodium, lead, calcium, and oxygen, the Schotts tried twenty-eight other elements in varying proportions up to at least ten per cent of the whole. Of these new ingredients, which were tested in varying proportions and in many experimental melts, boron and barium proved perhaps of the greatest importance.

Even with the results of European experience at their disposal, the American makers had a great deal of pioneer work to do.

At the time of the declaration of war between the United States and Germany considerable progress had been made. Some success had been attained by the Bausch & Lomb Company, Keuffel & Esser, the Spencer Lens Company, and the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company. The Bureau of Standards had made some very good glass, but its capacity was small. There was need for very much larger quantities of optical glass to meet the requirements of the army and navy, or of the optical firms who were desirous of taking contracts for the instruments needed by these services. Conferences were held, and it was realized that energetic measures must be taken at once for a great expansion of the small optical glass industry. In this work many agencies cooperated. The Bureau of Standards enlarged its Pittsburgh plant, and placed at the disposal of all interested the results of its preliminary experimental work in this field. The glass manufacturers provided enlarged facilities. The Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution sent experts to the optical glass factory of the Bureau of Standards and to the Bausch & Lomb plant, studied the methods which had been developed, and gave valuable assistance in the analysis of materials and product, the procuring of pure materials and the development of inspection methods. A valuable method for quickly testing and inspecting the rough blocks by immersion in a tank filled with liquid of the same refractive index as the glass was developed by Mr. Taylor

of the Bureau of Standards Laboratory at Pittsburgh, and is now in use by several firms.

It is a pleasure to state that the emergency was successfully met, and that optical glass of excellent quality was soon being made in quantities sufficient to meet the multifarious needs of our army and navy. The total production was probably in the neighborhood of twenty tons per month. The Bureau of Standards Laboratory at Pittsburgh, running eight single-pot furnaces, had nearly reached its planned capacity of two tons of optical glass per month at the time the armistice was signed. Most of this went to the Navy Optical Shop Annex at Rochester, where the Navy made its own optical parts for many of its instruments; a smaller amount was sent to the Bureau of Standards shops at Washington, where it was used for the needs of the Bureau and for various experimental purposes.

As a scientific enterprise the work of the Bureau of Standards in the production and improvement of optical glass will undoubtedly be continued. The future of the American industry in general is not so clear. Dr. Curtis thinks that

commercial and financial considerations will undoubtedly prove of paramount importance. At least two of the firms at present manufacturing optical glass propose to continue in the field; several others, which have engaged in the work to assist in meeting war needs, will cease manufacture soon. There is little profit in this product, and some patriotism will have to be combined with the profit or loss of the balance sheet. It is not, and never will be, a very large industry,



Photographic Laboratory, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.

A THIRTEEN-POUND PIECE OF MEDIUM FLINT OPTICAL GLASS

(This glass was made by the Pittsburgh Laboratory of the Bureau of Standards. Two faces have been polished for inspection; the watch is seen through four inches of glass)

important as it is for the scientific independence of the country. We are making in America as good optical glass as that of any foreign firm. Can those firms which will continue in the production of American optical glass meet the post-war competition of foreign cheaper production?

A PROPOSED NEW SAFEGUARD FOR WAGE-EARNERS

"THE tragedy in the situation of the wage-earner in the modern industrial organization," says Prof. E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, in a paper prepared for the last meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, "has been his insecurity. Step by step we have lessened this. Mechanics' lien laws did away with the risk of losing his pay, postal savings banks with the risk of losing his savings, 'safety first' with the risk of preventable industrial accidents, accident compensation with the risk of losing livelihood through injury received while at work, pensions with the risk of a destitute old age. The chief insecurity remaining is that of losing one's job. How can we lessen that?"

Prof. Ross's paper is published in the *Monthly Labor Review*, the substantial and valuable journal issued in Washington by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The author finds the answer to the question above quoted in what he describes as a "legal dismissal wage."

The idea of compensating an employee for the loss of his position is far from new, but it has not yet crystallized into anything like an established general practice; at least, in this country. Strange to say, Russia, before the recent upheaval, provided an example of a nation in which the abrupt dismissal of employees without such compensation was illegal. Under the Czar, employers were required to give their workmen either two weeks' notice of dismissal or two weeks' pay beyond the term of employment, and after the revolution of March, 1917, a month of such "leeway" was established by joint agreement in several industries. Some industries went still further and agreed to give the dis-

missed employee one month's pay for every year he had been in the service of the firm. The author expresses the opinion that the "dismissal wage" idea rests on a sound principle and deserves to be considered seriously as a means of stabilizing industrial relations in this country. He says:

In a mature and humane civilization great importance is attached to the economic security of the individual. As the civil service develops, the public employee is protected in various ways against abrupt and arbitrary dismissal. In universities it is customary to notify the instructor a considerable time in advance of the termination of his employment. The professor is usually given a year's notice or else his salary is continued for at least half a year after his services are dispensed with. School boards, hospitals, churches and nongainful organizations generally feel that it is unjust to cut off a faithful servant without giving him a reasonable time to look around for another place. Even from private employers, professional men are usually able to secure an agreement not to end relations without a month or more of notice.

On the other hand, the common practise of American industrial employers is really amazing in its lack of consideration for the worker found superfluous. No doubt many firms take pride in building up and maintaining a stable labor force and give serious attention to the plight of the men they have to drop. But the average employer seems to give himself not the slightest concern as to what is to become of the worker dismissed through no fault of his own. I have heard of a firm, long aware of the necessity of curtailment of the laboring forces, waiting till half an hour before the evening whistle blew to post a notice throwing hundreds of men out of a job for an indefinite time.

Since Americans are not generally inhumane, the barbarous "firing" policy so characteristic of our industries can be accounted for only as a survival from the time of the small concern when the competent workman dismissed could walk around the corner and get a job just as good. That such is not the case to-day may be learned by simply interviewing workingmen as to what loss of job has meant to them. What tales of tramping the streets looking for work, of rushing hither and thither on a rumor that this firm or that is taking on men, of returning night after night worn out and discouraged to an anxious family, of the frantic cutting down of household expenses, the begging of credit from butcher and grocer, the borrowing of small sums from one's cronies, the shattering of hopeful plans for the children! Here are real tragedies, hundreds, nay thousands, of them a year in our larger centers, yet the general public goes its way quite unconscious.

Professor Ross sets forth detailed plans for putting the "dismissal wage" idea into operation, and endeavors to show how the various problems that it would inevitably entail might be solved. The plan is, in brief, that a workman who has been with his employer long enough to warrant the presumption that he is of value—say six months—shall have a legal right to a fortnight's free wages when he is dismissed without fault on his part. If he is dismissed on account of alleged misconduct and thus loses his dismissal pay, he may appeal to a board of arbitration for redress. It is proposed to establish such a board in each industrial community, comprising one member to represent employees, one to represent employers, and a third named by the State Industrial Commission. The employee who leaves his position voluntarily is to receive no dismissal pay, unless it can be shown that his employer has deliberately brought about his resignation by cutting his wages or making his position onerous in one way or another. Many questions of this sort would need to be settled by arbitration.

The legal dismissal wage should not become involved with strikes and lockouts. Let the rule be that the striker has not relinquished his job any more than the man who has been absent on account of sickness. When the man resumes his job—whether on his terms or those of the employer—he should have whatever rights he had when he struck. Only in case he applies for his job and is refused should he be entitled to a dismissal wage. If he never applies, he should get nothing.

Let the lockout be looked upon as if it were a temporary stoppage owing to a fire or a dearth of fuel or raw material. When the men are taken on again all is as before. If they stay away, they should get nothing. If they are refused their old jobs, they should get the dismissal wage.

If the employer goes bankrupt his men's dismissal wages should constitute precisely the same kind of claim on his assets as their back wages.

As to the effect of the legal dismissal wage upon employers, Prof. Ross thinks that it would be greatly to their advantage, since it would reduce the amount of labor "turnover" which now reaches scandalous proportions in American industries.

The inquiries of Magnus W. Alexander show that the hiring of 22,031 unneeded employees in twelve factories involved an economic waste of nearly a million dollars—3½ per cent of the total wage bill! The obligation to pay a dismissal wage would give such employees a motive to make their practise conform to that of those thoughtful and humane employers who have reduced their annual turnover—in some cases to 30 per cent.—with profit to themselves and contentment to their employees. They would find that it would pay to give attention to human engineering, to install employment managers to investigate why an employee is doing badly and find a way to remove the cause. Before letting a man go with a fortnight's free wages they would try him out in different positions or departments.

THE VIRTUES OF BALSA WOOD

THE existence of serviceable wood one-third lighter than cork began to attract public attention about two years ago, when reports were heard of its extensive use in making life-rafts for Government vessels. In technical circles it had previously been made known, especially through a paper by the late Prof. R. S. Carpenter on "The Properties of Balsa Wood," read before the American Society of Civil Engineers, June 7, 1916.

In April, 1918, Prof. W. W. Rowlee, head of the Botanical Department of Cornell University, was commissioned by the New York Company that has been exploiting this wood to visit the regions of Central America from which a part of the supply is obtained, in order to investigate the different varieties of the tree and the conditions under which it is produced. Professor Rowlee, accompanied by his son, spent seven months in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Since his return he has published in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* (Washington, D. C.) an article dealing fully with the botany of the tree, and in *Fruit Dispatch* (the organ of the Fruit Dispatch Co., New York) an article which sets forth the popular aspects of the tree and its uses.

Balsa belongs to the genus *Ochroma*. Heretofore two species have been recognized, but Prof. Rowlee's investigations have increased the number to nine. The popular name *balsa* is a Spanish word for "raft," and was applied to this wood because the Spanish colonists in the New World found rafts made of it in use on the tropical rivers. It bears many other names in the tropics.

The habits of the tree are thus described:

> It is principally a second growth tree rather than a tree of the primeval forests. It appears promptly and abundantly where clearings have been made, either by the natural agency of floods or by human cultivation. In this it is like a tree weed, and its natural seeding in some places produces such abundance of seedlings as to suggest the weeds in a neglected garden.
>
> Its growth is very rapid. During the first five or six years of its life it may attain a diameter of twenty-five to thirty inches or an average growth in thickness of five inches per year. It also grows very rapidly in height, often attaining, under favorable conditions, fifty or sixty feet in five or six years, an average of ten feet per year. This gives it a place among the most rapidly growing trees, if indeed it is not the most rapid of all.
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> There are other light, soft woods in the tropical forests but, so far as is known, no other tree has the combined advantages of lightness and strength in the same degree as balsa.

Like other light woods, balsa in its natural condition has the property of absorbing moisture very rapidly, causing it to warp and decay. Capt. A. P. Lundin, a retired sea captain, was prompted by the *Slocum* disaster to seek a better material than cork for life-preservers, and experimented with balsa, which he had seen in use in South America. He was, however, baffled by the problem of making wood waterproof, until the invention by R. A. Marr, of Norfolk, of a so-called "encysting" process, by which a waterproofing material can be carried to the center of any piece of timber, coating the cells and ducts with an extremely thin permanent film. This process, since improved, has made balsa a commercial wood.

Balsa life-rafts are now used in the Navy, on Army transports, and on vessels of the Emergency Fleet, and were responsible for saving many lives during the war.

> Some of these small rafts can support as many as sixty persons in the water. They occupy very little space when nested and it is to be hoped that their general use will make it possible to equip our excursion boats in such a way that we will no longer be horrified by accounts of frightful catastrophes, when accidents, which in spite of all precautions will occur, precipitating hundreds of struggling, frantic people suddenly into the water. Life preservers are not always on hand in sufficient numbers or else are improperly adjusted, and in such a situation people clutch and cling to anything that floats. Many lives might be saved if a few balsa life-rafts were available.

Balsa further proved its utility during the war when eighty thousand floats of this material were used in constructing the 230-mile mine barrage across the North Sea, described in a recent number of this REVIEW.

Balsa has also found a very important use in the making of certain parts of airplanes. According to tests made at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, its strength is about one-half that of spruce.

Last but not least, this wood is said to be a better insulating material than any other now in commercial use. It therefore promises to come into general use in the construction of refrigerating appliances of all kinds, from small iceboxes to refrigerator cars and refrigerators for ships.

THE RATIONALE OF BOUNDARIES

NOW that the attention of the world is riveted upon the proceedings of a little group of map-makers assembled at Versailles, an article on "Principles in the Determination of Boundaries" is of timely interest. Prof. Albert Perry Brigham, of Colgate University, presents an article under this title in the *Geographical Review* (New York). It is worth quoting especially as a handy statement of two rival theories of boundary-making which have lately been to the fore in various British books and journals. According to one theory the main function of a boundary is defensive. According to the other, a boundary should serve to establish relations of harmonious association between the peoples on either side of it.

The former view is championed by Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, who, says Prof. Brigham, is recognized as preëminent among those who have had actual and long experience in boundary demarcation. As he is a military man, it is not unnatural that he should cherish the military and defensive conception of the function of boundaries. He believes that, man being "a fighting animal, he must be prevented from physical interference with his neighbor by physical means. . . . A boundary must be a barrier." To which Professor Brigham retorts: "Ergo, if there be no barrier, we must rely on armament and fighting—a rather hopeless outlook." Holdich maintains, says Brigham, that

of all barriers, mountains are "incomparably the best." Holdich often recurs to the Himalayas and the Andes, but most of the world, and most of the people of the world, are not on the two sides of the Andes or the Himalayas; and the Alps, the Carpathians, and the Pyrenees fall far short of supplying high fences for Europe's dense and diverse millions. Failing high mountains, Holdich comes to common divides and water partings. These indeed are determinable and, for human periods, reasonably stable; but are they defensive?

Recognizing that small elevations are more common than Pyrenees, our author reverts to the defensive value of hills, supplemented by forts and trenches, and thus practically surrenders his major contention for natural ring fences and falls back upon the primitive method of keeping the world in some kind of order. These admissions are hardly consistent with the opinion that "there are but few wide spaces existing in the world where some adaptable features of natural topography are not to be found ready to his (the boundary maker's) hand." On the other hand, one may freely ask where, in the thousands of miles of Eurasian plain that stretch from the Pyrenees to Vladivostok, can a boundary expert trace around any nation "a sound, defensible line" within which it "may find peace and security." We may well fear that a doctrine of natural encirclements will delude us with empty hope; and, in default of international good will, send us along the rough road of recurrent war and patched-up peace.

The chief advocate of the rival theory of "assimilative boundaries" is Prof. L. W. Lyde, of University College, London, author of a remarkably suggestive work on "The Continent of Europe," and another on "Some Frontiers of To-morrow."

Professor Lyde approaches the subject from the point of view of the human geographer and brings to bear upon it his wide knowledge of the historical, racial, linguistic, and economic relations of human groups. Nowhere are his views more compactly expounded than in his essay on "River Frontiers in Europe." He refers to Holdich's then recent paper before the British Association as setting forth a purely military doctrine of frontiers, as if war were the normal state of man. If a mountain barrier is far better than all others, then a boundary is good, not as it promotes, but as it prevents intercourse. A boundary must, on the other hand, be an international feature, it must be obvious, indisputable, a promoter of relations in peace and a barrier in war. Lyde cites the Plate, long a frontier line, but never a source of friction as regards the countries bordering it. Civilization is "progress in the art of living together," and the world long ago became an economic unit. It is the navigable river which encourages "a maximum of peaceful tendencies."

The frontier embodies a formal contract which commercial communities, common on rivers, are more likely to respect than are nomad highlanders. Lyde's closing sentence in this paper has the tone of prophetic warning. "If the new map of Europe is based on purely military lines, Europe will have to expiate it—once more—on purely military lines."

Such are the alternatives offered. On the one hand nations may not trust each other and must have defensible borders. Such defenses are hard to find and, when found, must be supplemented by artificial constructions and armies. All being done, the best defensive arrangements are likely to be neutralized by destructive modern invention. On the other hand is the hope, more or less theoretical and academic, promulgated by a university professor, that nations will live together in reasonable amity, assimilating themselves to each other, preferably across the narrow waters of a river.

The author devotes much space to demolishing the widespread notion that so-called "scientific boundaries" really serve to ensure defense and promote peace. By this phrase is commonly meant such natural fea-

tures as mountains, deserts, seas and rivers. History is full of examples to prove that such boundaries fail to serve as effective "barriers," and with the recent progress in the art of warfare they have almost completely lost any defensive value they ever had. The frontier between the United States and Canada is partly natural and partly artificial. "But," says the writer, "the forty-ninth parallel has been as good a divide as Niagara River or the Great Lakes, and the same reason may be affirmed in relation to both—a decently disposed people live on each side of the line."

We are approaching, or we should like to think we are approaching, the time when national limits are to be set for equal welfare on both sides of the line, when considerations of defense and of aggression fall out of sight, and justice is the only goal—justice involving the administrative convenience, reasonable self-sufficiency, and economic coöperation of national groups. So far as this ideal is reached, a line across a plain may be as good as a mountain range, the forty-ninth parallel as useful as the Pyrenees. Under such ideal conditions international lines would be little more than our bounds of states, counties, and towns—they tell us where to vote, where to pay our taxes and record our mortgages, and who will build roads for us, police us, and otherwise carry out our will in the various spheres of government. As state and civic pride still abounds, we need not fear that patriotism will die.

Emphasis lies to-day on the human factors in boundary-making. The word "race" has been much used in this field but deserves to be discarded. All the great nations and many of the smaller are composite in origin, and it is the nation—not the race—that is looking for ring fences. The German may be Teuton, Slav, or Alpine; long head, round head, brunet, or blond; he is a member, for boundary purposes, not of a race, but of a nation. South Germany has been deemed by good authority to be less Teutonic than eastern France.

Nor is language a criterion for the boundary maker. Professor Spenser Wilkinson, in discussing Lyde's paper on boundaries before the Royal Geographical Society, recalled a Greek lady who, in the course of a day's travel in the Balkans, denied that Bulgarian speech necessarily made the speaker Bulgarian. Greeks some of them were in all but speech—"the test of nationality is the will of each." Nationality is the criterion, and men may elect their nationality just as they choose the town they will live in and the business they will pursue. Belgium, bilingual; Switzerland, quadrilingual; and Alsace-Lorraine, with French sympathy and German speech, are examples which in these days need but to be named.

Nationality means unity of ideal, derived chiefly from hereditary experience or from geographical environment or more often perhaps from both combined. It is the group which wishes to live and act together and to have a common government, embodying its purpose and its emotion in the word patriotism.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH AS INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES

AN illuminating and interesting discussion on the international languages of the future, by Albert Dauzat, forms the opening article of a recent issue of *La Revue Mondiale,* Paris (formerly *La Revue*).

Before the war—the writer says—the question of an international tongue was widely debated, increasingly so as commercial and intellectual intercourse among the nations grew closer. Many advocated the adoption of an artificial idiom, but they could not agree upon the choice of that ideal tongue; practical experiments, however, were made with one or two. Others, among them the writer, claimed that an artificial language would never suffice for human thought. They invoked the great law of natural selection, which, causing the national languages to emerge from the multitude of dialects, tended to the world-diffusion of the tongues best fitted for the struggle for existence. M. Chappelier, as far back as 1900, advocated a Franco-English consortium as the solution of the problem.

The question failed, however, to arouse a wide interest and remained purely theoretical. The Great War, which has wrought such profound political and social changes, has, one may assert, here, too, pronounced its verdict. Four years of war have done more than a hundred years of peace to settle the problem. The victory of the Entente will exercise incalculable effects in all domains. In cementing indissolubly the Anglo-Saxon world and the Franco-Anglo-American alliance, it sanctions the joint supremacy of the English and French tongues as well as of the nations where they are spoken.

Two rivals, avowed or prospective, have collapsed and can no longer claim to play the part of world-languages: German and Russian. The writer shows how by her vast losses of territory Germany's sphere of influence will be restricted; and how her pres-

tige, beyond her frontiers—a ruling factor in the use of her language—has been irredeemably impaired in Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia, Poland. The preëminence accorded to German in Austria-Hungary, particularly in the Slav regions, has now lost its *raison d'être*. Finally, if, as is probable, she loses her colonies, German, it may be said, will cease to be spoken beyond Europe, for the war will hasten the assimilation of the German-Americans, the vast majority of whom sided in the conflict with their adopted country.

As for the Russian language, though it did not claim to be an international one, it might ere long have done so owing to the vast number of the Czar's subjects and the political importance of his realm. The collapse and dismemberment of the country have eliminated this possible competitor.

The war has been a moral triumph for France. She has given proof of courage, tenacity, industry—qualities denied her by foreigners, often even by the French themselves. A decadent nation, was the disdainful cry on every hand. Outsiders misunderstood the French; now they appreciate them at their true value. And now they will regain the position which the pretended Teuton superiority had caused them to forfeit in Central Europe as well as in the Orient and America.

French will more and more become the international language of Southern Europe, of the Mediterranean, the Levant, North and Northeast Africa, besides being spoken in Canada and the overseas possessions of France.

The sphere of English is still more vast. It is, or will be, the mother-tongue, or the secondary one, of the British Isles, British America, South and East Africa, Southern Asia, Oceania. Japan has adopted it as an auxiliary tongue without neglecting French, however.

As for Latin America, it must be realized that Spanish is a world-language of the past, not of the future. And it may be readily foreseen that Central America—from Mexico to Colombia and Venezuela—will sooner or later come under the influence of the United States, and, consequently, of English speech.

Between the two great languages which have a legitimate claim to become the international languages of the world, the question is not merely that of a geographic distribution of influence. Beyond that, they have distinctive traits, natural or acquired, in the intellectual and social spheres. In the second half of the 17th century French became the diplomatic language of Europe, because it was the one most in use in good society; it filled that rôle without dispute from 1713 to 1870. After the French defeat Germany essayed to contest that position but with little success. When the United States and Japan were added to the European concert, English was, of course, given a place. The Peace Conference has adopted French as its principal language, with an optional use of English; the proceedings are recorded in both languages. As a matter of fact, only the delegates of Great Britain, Canada, the United States and Japan have spoken in English.

French, the writer comments, owes its success not alone to historical and literary causes, but to its lucidity, finesse, delicacy. English, on the other hand, has since long revealed itself as a commercial tongue of the first order.

The two international languages of the future will not be hostile but will mutually, increasingly penetrate each other, as they already do in special domains. Their reciprocal influence is one of the great phenomena of social history. Linguistically, English is Anglo-Saxon strongly impregnated with French; two-thirds, perhaps, of the English vocabulary comes from south of the English Channel. And what loans has the French made from its neighbor since the 18th century! However, since the close of that century, and particularly since 1870, the Anglo-Saxon world and France had become more and more closed to each other. The war has suddenly changed all that—a change all the more durable since it answers new needs and only renews an anterior evolution interrupted by the violence of Prussian domination. The movement is irresistible. Courses in English are opened on every hand. A like movement, with a like intensity, is taking place in England and America, particularly in the United States, where French, except in the East, was little cultivated before the war.

THE NEW BOOKS

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

The Clash. By William H. Moore. E. P. Dutton & Company. 333 pp.

We have in Mr. Moore's book a remarkable study of the relations between French Canadians and English Canadians, written by a man who presents in a new way the merits of the French race. Mr. Moore believes in bi-lingualism and thinks his own race (the English Canadians), especially in the Province of Ontario, is mistaken in its anti-French attitude. If the book is not wholly convincing, it is at least well worth reading as philosophical study of the problem of races with which the whole world is confronted.

The Near East from Within By ——. E. P. Dutton & Company. 265 pp.

This anonymous account of German diplomacy in the Balkans, Turkey, and Egypt during the past twenty years seems to bear internal evidence that the author, whoever he is, has at least had opportunity to see and hear a great deal of what has been going on in the Near East since the Kaiser set on foot his great Pan-German scheme. Needless to say, his book, written during the war, is anti-Prussian in viewpoint.

Democracy and the Eastern Question. By Thomas F. Millard. The Century Co. 446 pp.

Mr. Thomas F. Millard is one of the frankest and ablest of the writers upon the politics of the Far East. His new volume follows several predecessors and takes the tone of his vigorous periodical known as *Millard's Review*. He holds strongly to the Chinese side in the controversies between Japan and China. Some American authorities hold the Japanese view, while still more are equally friendly in their feeling toward both of these Eastern nations, believing that each needs the other, and that there ought to be the best of understanding in the Far East as among Japan, China, the United States, and Great Britain.

The Freedom of the Seas. By Louise Fargo Brown. E. P. Dutton & Company. 278 pp.

Miss Brown has made a useful and timely survey of the growth of the doctrine of international freedom and equality in the use of the seas for trade and commerce. The maritime controversies and doctrines have been carefully traced and are presented in a way that is readable as well as intelligent and scholarly.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Pioneers of the Old South. By Mary Johnston. New Haven: Yale University Press. 260 pp.

The Fathers of New England. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press. 210 pp.

Dutch and English on the Hudson. By Maud Wilder Goodwin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 243 pp.

Washington and His Colleagues. By Henry Jones Ford. New Haven: Yale University Press. 235 pp.

The Old Northwest. By Frederic Austin Ogg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 220 pp.

"The Chronicles of America" is a new series of historical narratives to be comprised in fifty volumes, twenty of which have already appeared. The plan has been worked out under the direction of Professor Allen Johnson, who holds the Larned Chair of American History at Yale. A glance at the list of authors will show at once that not a single volume in the series is a "first book." In almost every instance the contributor will be found to have been an experienced student and writer in the field to which he has been assigned. Thus, Miss Mary Johnston, known far and wide for her tales of life in Old Virginia, treats with a wealth of detailed knowledge the "Pioneers of the Old South." Professor Charles M. Andrews, for thirty years an authority on English and American Puritanism, pictures "The Fathers of New England." Mrs. Maud Wilder Goodwin, an eager student of Colonial New York, describes the early settlements of "Dutch and English on the Hudson." These examples, taken at random, will perhaps serve as well as any others to indicate to the well-informed reader the effort that has been made by the publishers to unite in these volumes the best forms of literary expression with the substantial qualities of historical scholarship. Unlike much of the historical literature that emanates from our universities these days, not a single volume in this series, among those thus far published, is long or tedious or cumbered with foot-notes. The contributors have been held rigidly to the promise of the prospectus, that the books should be narratives rather than commentaries. This principle has been closely followed, even by veteran historians to whom the temptation to philosophize

must have appealed with force. Thus the episode of the rise and fall of Federatism in the early days of the Republic is related by Professor Henry Jones Ford in the form of a story, built around the personalities of "Washington and His Colleagues." Never before was the politics developed in the administrations of Washington and Adams so gracefully and picturesquely described. There are several books in the series that fill real gaps in our popular literature. Of such is the volume on "The Old Northwest," by Professor Frederic Austin Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin. Oddly enough, the men and women who have grown up in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota have read very little about the origins of their native States, because little was provided for them in attractively printed form. Professor Ogg gives a wonderfully compact record of the white settlements and Indian wars of this entire region. "The Chronicles of America" are beautifully printed and bound, and the illustrations, while not numerous, have been chosen for peculiar merit and fitness in each volume.



MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA MADE BY FATHER KINO IN 1705

(Showing the thoroughness with which the region had been explored at that early date, seventy years before the American Revolution)

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta 1683-1711. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Volume I. 379 pp. Volume II. 329 pp.

Dr. Bolton, who is Professor of American History and Curator of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, has translated for the first time a contemporary account of the beginnings of California, Arizona, and the Mexican State of Sonora, by Father Kino, S. J., a pioneer missionary, explorer, cartographer, and ranchman, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century. The fact that one man could have had more than two centuries ago a more exact and detailed knowledge of the regions in question than is possessed to-day by one American in a million, is the first occasion of wonderment to the unenlightened reader. That he did have such knowledge, there can be no possible doubt. The maps that he made are evidence in themselves. Professor Bolton reminds us, however, that although in our youth we may have thought of the Southwest as an unexplored region, that section was not only known, but books were written about it as early as the sixteenth century, while New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610, and several eighteenth-century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. This background of fact, therefore, helps to account for the amazing erudition displayed by Father Kino in these important and scholarly volumes.

The Oregon Missions. By Bishop James W. Bashford. The Abingdon Press. 311 pp.

Bishop Bashford's essential aim in writing this book was to tell how the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, lying between Russia on the North and Mexico on the South, was divided between the United States and Great Britain. Because in his opinion the work of the missionaries was the most important single factor in securing this division of territory without a war, Bishop Bashford has given more space to the missions than to any other element in the situation and has called his book, "The Oregon Missions." Readers who may have been interested in the long-drawn-out controversy over Dr. Whitman's relation to the Oregon question and his services to the Government will find that Bishop Bashford, after examining carefully the arguments on both sides, has concluded that the original claims made in behalf of Dr. Whitman were extravagant.

The French Blood in America. By Lucian J. Fosdick, Boston: Badger, 448 pp.

Every man, woman and child in America with the heritage of French blood in their veins will own to a thrill of pride on reading Mr. Lucian J. Fosdick's account of the valiant and noble part

played by the French Huguenots in the settlement of America. Under the title of "The French Blood in America," he has given a complete account of their activities in the New World. The narrative begins with a survey of the period of religious persecution in France that brought on the French Revolution, and drove the Huguenots to our shores. Following this is an account of their early and disastrous attempts to found colonies in America, and these chapters are succeeded by the story of the actual French colonization in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and the Southern States. Lists of names are given which include all those names derived from the French which have passed as typical American nomenclature. The text is written in popular style and supplied with rare and interesting illustrations.

Centennial History of Illinois, Volume III: The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By Arthur Charles Cole. Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 499 pp.

The third volume of the "Centennial History of Illinois" covers the era of the Civil War. For that period, the history of no one of the Northern States is more important or interesting. It includes the rise of the great Free Soil movement, the origin of the Republican party, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the election of 1860, and, finally, the profound disturbance of society wrought by the war itself. The author brings to light a great mass of material which, to the present generation, has been almost unknown.

Old Fort Snelling: 1819-1858. By Marcus L. Hansen. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 270 pp. Ill.

To the few surviving Minnesota pioneers of the 50's, this account of the military post that preceded the settlement of the present city of St. Paul will have a fascinating interest. The history of old Fort Snelling has to do with the early annals, not only of Minnesota, but of Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the whole Northwest. The period covered in this volume begins with the establishment of a fort in 1819, and ends with the temporary abandonment of the site as a military post, in 1858. Later the fort was reëstablished, and in 1917 a camp was organized there for the training of officers for our new National Army.

Henry Rosenberg: 1824-1893. Galveston: The Rosenberg Library. 226 pp.

Henry Rosenberg, born in Switzerland, came to America as a lad of nineteen, settled in Galveston, Texas, prospered there as a merchant and banker, and after half a century of useful and unostentatious living, passed away in 1893, leaving by his will a very large part of his wealth for public purposes, the larger portion being devoted to a free public library. This institution, amply endowed by Mr. Rosenberg's request, fulfills not only the usual functions of a library, but maintains a lecture course that is perhaps unequalled in the South. The benefits that for all time to come will accrue to Galveston's people from the generosity of this public-spirited citizen cannot be measured. It is fitting that a memorial volume of this kind should commemorate public gifts and bequests of such enduring usefulness.

Certain American Faces. By Charles Lewis Slattery. E. P. Dutton & Company. 239 pp. Ill.

The rector of Grace Church in New York City gives in this volume sketches of eminent Americans in Church and University circles who were of his own generation. Prominent among these are Phillips Brooks, William James, Josiah Royce, Bishop Hare, Bishop Whipple, and Dr. William Reed Huntington.

The Greater Patriotism. By John Lewis Griffiths. John Lane Company. 229 pp. Ill.

A collection of public addresses made by the late John Lewis Griffiths, American Consul-General at London, with a memoir by his widow, Mrs. Caroline Henderson Griffiths, and an introduction by Hilaire Belloc. Mr. Griffiths did much to promote and intensify the kindly feeling between Great Britain and the United States.

Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Russell Sullivan, 1891-1903. Houghton, Mifflin. 252 pp.

The daily observations of a Bostonian who gave up a business career to devote his time to literary work and included in his journal many references to the current discussions of his time in the field of literature and art.

In the Days of Victoria. By Thomas F. Plowman. John Lane Company. 361 pp. Ill.

Mr. Plowman's recollections antedate the middle of the Nineteenth Century and include memories of relations with men of many groups and interests throughout a long period.

Eminent Victorians. By Lytton Strachey. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 351 pp. Ill.

Brilliant portraits of four of the great Britishers of the Nineteenth Century—Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Thomas Arnold, and "Chinese" Gordon. Embodied in the sketches of these great Victorians are innumerable references to other personalities of their day and generation. All in all, it is a clever contribution to the history of the Victorian age.

George Bernard Shaw. By Archibald Henderson. Boni and Liveright. 528 pp.

The Standard biography of George Bernard Shaw, with literary criticism of all his work, is now accessible to readers in a popular-priced edition. Everything the student of the opinions and philosophy of "G. B. S." could desire to know is included in this voluminous biography. It is a well-made book, excellently printed from the plates of the original edition. The full text is given and all the ilustrations of the earlier $5 volume. It will be remembered that much of the material for this book, pictures, letters, manuscripts, etc., was placed at the disposal of Mr. Henderson by Mr. Shaw himself.

TWO IMPORTANT WAR NARRATIVES

The War Romance of the Salvation Army. By Grace Livingston Hill and Evangeline Booth. Lippincott. 356 pp.

"The War Romance of the Salvation Army," in this country and abroad, written by Grace Livingston Hill (Lutz), in collaboration with Commander Evangeline Booth, is one of the most inspiring accounts of Christian service that the modern world has known. Mrs. Hill has written the main narrative from the stories of the workers, Miss Booth furnishes an introduction and a survey of the methods by which the work was accomplished. Miss Booth states that her workers entered France ahead of the Expeditionary Forces, and it is their purpose to minister there until the last of our troops returns. The secret of the Salvation Army's success lay principally in three factors: "We were ready when the bolt fell with our material mechanism of relief; our workers were inured to labor and accustomed to hardship, for the Salvation Army has thrived on adversity; and the religion of the Army is *practical* Christianity." Arthur Copping says the Salvation Army succeeded because of its "simple thoroughgoing, uncompromising, seven-days-a-week character of its Christianity."



COMMANDER EVANGELINE BOOTH OF THE SALVATION ARMY

The story of the work is a cheerful one in spite of the constant accompaniment of tragedy. Toul, Montdidier, Baccarat, Château-Thierry, Soissons, St. Mihiel, the Argonne, all these historical names point the path of the Salvation Army's service, where with superhuman physical endurance and sleepless vigilance, they served the A. E. F. The work done on the first day of the opening of a kitchen is typical. Two women in this particular section in one day baked 2500 doughnuts, 8 dozen cup cakes, 800 pancakes, fifty pies, and brewed 225 gallons of cocoa. One worker distributed the day's output to the soldiers. Scores of letters and testimonials from the humble and from those in high places testify to the gratitude of the soldiers and to the value of the work undertaken. If any one record of war work could serve as a basis for reasoned assurance that that war had not been fought in vain, and that practical Christianity would triumph in the era to come, it would be the record of the Salvation Army at the front.

An American Poilu. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 244 pp.

This charming book of war letters written by an anonymous American while serving in the ranks of the French Army, to his mother and sister, is an illuminating contribution to the mass of literature on the War. The pen pictures are in excellent style and well drawn, revealing the thoughts and activities of the French soldier in training camp, barracks and battle. The period covered is from July, 1917, to November, 1919, the last hundred pages being written in hospital. That which makes it of value is the detail of soldier life, particularly as to barracks, food, cleanliness, and hospital treatment. It is an interesting and, at times, amusing book; and many of our own veterans will enjoy it. Incidentally, the author won the *Croix de Guerre*; and, in the Battle of Soissons and Château-Thierry received a wound and a second citation for distinguished bravery. The author is mature and clear-visioned. He retains the civilian's cynicism towards war as such.

A BOOK OF REFERENCE

The American Year Book: 1918. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. D. Appleton & Company. 850 pp.

The editors of statistical annuals had their difficulties greatly increased by the World War. Not only was it virtually impossible to get statistics of any value from the Central Powers as long as hostilities continued, but the war itself and its worldwide effects on human relationships of every sort necessarily altered the scope and content of such books. This is especially noticeable in the last few issues of the "American Year Book." The space allotments of many of the departments have been altered materially and foreign affairs, in particular, are covered with much greater thoroughness than in the pre-war volumes of the same series. Undoubtedly some of these changes are permanent, and although it will always be an American work, it cannot neglect international topics. Among the subjects treated in the volume for 1918 are the collapse of Germany, revolutionary developments in Russia, the final military movements of the war, food, temperance, and labor questions, and the preparations for the Peace Conference. This volume has also a capital summary of the war organization of the United States, including forty pages reviewing the functions of the civilian agencies created by the Government for the more efficient prosecution of the war. This record is of permanent value.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HYGIENE

Studies in Electro-Physiology. By Arthur E. Baines. E. P. Dutton, 291 pp. Ill.

Studies in Electro-Pathology. By B. A. White Robertson. E. P. Dutton, 301 pp. Ill.

These remarkable books, which are founded on twenty years of scientific research, advance theories in regard to the electrical control of tissues which may completely alter our ideas of the structure of the human body and its operating forces, and also those of all other living organisms, animal and vegetable. The author of the first volume ("Studies in Electro-Physiology"), Mr. Arthur E. Baines, a technical electrician, discovered while cable-testing in Delagoa Bay, that the delicate readings of his galvanometer were disturbed by the electrical currents of his own body. This was the starting point of his work, which, beginning with studies of plant life, led to the conclusion that the tissues of our bodies, our health, strength and effectiveness, the prolongation of life, and the prevention of old age depend upon the perfection of the electrical control of the living tissues. The extreme importance of tests with the galvanometer in the diagnosis of disease, according to Mr. Baines' opinion, can hardly be overestimated.

The second book, "Studies in Electro-Pathology, By B. A. White Robertson, is based primarily upon Mr. Baines' researches. This book examines and explains the laws of electrical equilibrium in the chemical and electrical activities of the cell, and shows us that the inroad of disease in modern civilization has come in large measure from the disturbance of the electrical equilibrium in body-cells. This is largely brought about by our consumption of "dead food," vegetable and animal food that is too old, that has lost the electrical activity necessary to renew constantly our own cells. These two books are valuable contributions to literature that points the way to the attainment and preservation of perfect bodily vigor and accompanying mental and spiritual poise.

How to Live. By Irving Fisher and Eugene Lyman Fisk, M.D. Funk and Wagnalls. 461 pp. Ill.

To stimulate correct living and prevent premature senility and death is the purpose of "How to Live," a book that has helped to bring about the great health movement that is at present sweeping over the world. The authors, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, and Eugene Lyman Fisk, M.D., have prepared the material in collaboration with the Hygiene Reference Board of the Life Extension Institute. Ninety leading medical authorities are represented in the conclusions of the volume and the present edition—the fifteenth—has been revised and enlarged to include the newest discoveries of modern science. It has been used as a text-book of hygiene in several universities and translations are being prepared in five foreign languages. The subjects are: Air, poisons, activity, hygiene in general, over-weight, hygiene of the brain and the nervous system, narcotics, chronic organic diseases, mortality tendencies in other nations, and eugenics. The illustrations include portraits of members of the Life Extension Institute, and cuts of corrective work, physical exercises, diagrams, tables, etc., that will enable the reader to secure the maximum of physical benefit from the work.

The Road to a Healthy Old Age. By T. Bodley Scott, M.D. Holt. 170 pp.

The alchemists toiled to discover three things—how to make gold, how to remain always young, and how "to die never." The enlarged and revised edition of Dr. Scott's popular book tells us how to attain the second object and live to the end of our days in full strength and vigor. The chapters treat of the value and digestibility of foods, the preservation of health, the treatment and prevention of premature senility and of chronic bronchitis and asthma.

Nervousness. By L. E. Emerson. Boston: Little, Brown. 184 pp.

Dr. Emerson writes in the preface: "Let him who has never been nervous lay down this book. It is not meant for him, or for her. But if everybody else will read it, I shall be satisfied." It is not the conventional treatise of diet, rest, exercise, etc., but a volume of directions for psychic reëducation, a series of chapters that teach the nervous and the morbid to correct faulty thinking and disturbing emotions, and bring themselves back to functional health.

The Mental Hygiene of Childhood. By William A. White, M.D. Boston: Little, Brown. 193 pp.

For many years as superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the Government institution in Washington for the mentally incapable, Dr. White has had exceptional opportunities to make first hand the studies upon which this book is based. He analyzes the mental life of the child and its source, and gives its interpretation, using the familiar methods of psycho-analysis. He shows how a great deal of the child's natural force is wasted, and that this force may be cultivated and trained by wise parents in such measure as to prevent future morbidity, troublesome complexes, and ill health of various kinds.

The Secret of Personality. By George Trumbull Ladd. Longmans. 287 pp.

Although this book might be placed in another category, it most assuredly belongs in that of "mental hygiene." It carries the discussion continuing throughout Professor Ladd's previous books ("What Can I Know?" "What Ought I to Do?" "What Should I Believe?" "What May I hope?") over into the domain of Christian faith. It is a measure by which we may test our mental and spiritual resistance to present-day disturbing factors, and an answer to the question: "What shall I think of myself, my origin, the meaning of my life, the values which it seeks to realize, and my destiny?" This clearing away of mental fog induces healthy physical reactions. Therefore this book will be excellent mental medicine for the unfit who need, fundamentally, the unifying and harmonizing of personality.

SWINBURNE'S LETTERS: ESSAYS: STUDIES OF LITERATURE

THE revolutionary spirit of Swinburne has been rising from its Victorian tomb in slow but sure resurrection. Since the beginning of the war, his interpretations of democracy have engaged the interest of searching minds anxious to wrest from poets and seers the wisdom of the past for the safeguarding of the future. Therefore a comprehensive collection of Swinburne's letters is most welcome. The present series, "The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne,"[1] covers the whole period of the poet's adult life from February, 1858, to January, 1909. They present the poet's personal feeling on many subjects, the kernels of his ideas that were fledged later in stupendous poetry, and above all his sincere and deep attachment for his friends. They enable the reader to form a sane and correct estimate of the life of a man whose early years have in the passage of time become shrouded in a legendary tangle of more or less disagreeable gossip.

Edmund Gosse, co-editor with Thomas Wise of the collection, writes in the introduction that the "treasure heap over which Swinburne's heart loved most to gloat was that formed by the almost innumerable quarto plays of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. These are discussed in his correspondence with a gusto which surpasses anything which Charles Lamb could show." Swinburne's letters to Victor Hugo and Mazzini have not yet been found. It is to be hoped that they will turn up, for their value in the comprehension of Swinburne's republican poetry. Nevertheless, the present collection is indispensable to the student of literature, and should, for the human interest of the documents, have wide general reading.

Anatole France,[2] French artisan of the Greek ideal, pagan, Epicurean, skeptic and humanist, has stood from the beginning of his literary life resolutely at the door of the prison of reality offering mankind the key to intellectual and spiritual freedom. This key is romance. Only a man of like tastes and appreciations could have written the exposition of his life and labors recently published by Lewis Piaget Shanks, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures in the University of Wisconsin, and the essayist of the *Dial* and the *Sewanee Review*. It is a living portrait of the man, an estimate, made with a fine sense of dramatic values, of the forty years of Anatole France's literary activity, and a critical study, with ample quotations, of the forty volumes written during this period. Alfred Croiset said in his tribute to France: "You are the genius of Greece made French." This emerges in the great Frenchman's own words, "delicate yet definite and full of luminous reason," and in his feeling for the past. He says: "I love the things of days gone by and I like to live in the past." And again: "Man is only man because he remembers."

Professor Rudolph Schevill, who holds the Chair of Spanish in the University of California, has written a brilliant and particularly satisfying study of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra,[3] Spain's most illustrious man of letters and creator of the immortal Don Quixote. Professor Schevill says with sound judgment that even if Cervantes had never written books, his remarkable career and gracious personality would merit our interest, affection and esteem. The first chapter describes the birthplace of Cervantes, Alcala, and gives all the discoverable facts concerning his immediate family. Following this is an account of his youth, education, early works, and of his life as a soldier, and the five years of slavery in Algiers. From this background his biographer builds up the story of his literary career, of his relations to his contemporaries and the culture of Spain, and proceeds to a detailed discussion of his novels. More than any other current volume, this study will enable the general reader to understand Spanish culture and Spanish national ideals.

For several years readers have looked forward to Edward J. O'Brien's year-book of the best American short stories culled from the pages of the monthly magazines.[4] Mrs. Blanche Colton Williams, Instructor in Short-Story Writing at Columbia University, has written an analysis of the structure of eighty of these stories taken from the four anthologies. It is an invaluable textbook for those who wish to learn the difficult art of short-story writing. Mrs. Williams believes that one can "learn to write" by studying the progressive steps of literary craftsmanship. She advocates a period of close study, then forgetfulness of technique. In her own words: "Do your exercises and practise much; master the principles and express yourself. When you have become full-grown, put away childish things and forget that you have ever heard of technique."

"The Dry Rot of Society,"[5] a volume of literary studies of modern life, by Mrs. Marian Cox, intrigues interest from the first page to the last because each individual essay makes a brilliant rapier-like play of protest against the trend of things. Like the immortal R. L. Stevenson, the author "would like to ken, the reason of the cause and wherefore of the why." The first essay, "The Dry Rot of Society," analyses the psychology of drunkenness. The "fear of loneliness" is postulated as the initial urge to various forms of intoxication. Man must narcotize himself in some way or another to support the burden of his own spiritual solitariness. The second essay, "The Fools of Love," is a straight-from-the-shoulder-preachment to women. Women, according to Mrs. Cox, have become Love's fools; they are the victims of sentimental excess; they have "gout of the brain." Modern woman can

[1] The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne. Edited by Edmond Gosse and Thomas James Wise. 2 vols. 600 pp.

[2] Anatole France. By Lewis Piaget Shanks. Chicago: The Open Court Co. 222 pp.

[3] Cervantes. By Rudolph Schevill. Duffield. 388 pp.

[4] How to Study "The Best Short Stories." By Blanche Colton Williams. Small Maynard. 222 pp.

[5] The Dry Rot of Society. By Marian Cox. Brentano's. 158 pp.

progress only when she gives love the same place and proportion in her life as man. The third essay, "The Lady in War," touching upon W. L. George's pronouncement that women enjoy war, ranges upon Andreas Latzko's scornful indictment, that women send men to war with smiles and roses, careless of their higher duty which is to exterminate from the world the causes of war. "The Gentleman in War" praises the gentlemen officers of Anglo-Saxon ideals, their chivalrous acceptance of death, and contrasts these ideals with those of military Germany. The last essay, "The Great War in Germany," is a study of fear as it infects a nation. Mrs. Cox sees Germany as the colossal victim of collective fear, a crazy soul, the victim of a recurrent world-madness. Altogether the essays are of the new aerial age. They ascend to the glittering, whirling nebulae of ideas, as yet perceived only by the lens of the trained observer of the intellectual firmament. They are very readable—as one critic writes, "better fun than Bernard Shaw and much truer to life."

"Marie Bashkirtseff: the Journal of a Young Artist"[1] is published in a freshly translated enlarged and revised edition. The frontispiece is a portrait of the young Russian girl as she looked in the bloom of youth and health, and the volume contains cuts from photographs of her paintings. This inimitable journal is too well known for comment, but it is well to remember that Gladstone called it: "the record of an extraordinary life—a book without a parallel"—also that Francis Coppée said: "Everything in this adorable young girl betrayed a superior mind. Beneath her womanly charm, she had a truly masculine will of iron, and one was reminded of the gift of Ulysses to the young Achilles—a sword hidden within the garments of a woman."

"English Literature,"[2] by Herbert Bates, is a guide-book to accompany a course of reading. The chapters follow the stream of literary development in the English tongue from the writings of the Anglo-Saxons down to the latest English and American writers of note. It is skilfully written, simplified in form, and particularly suitable for young students or for those who need basic grounding in literature and a knowledge of its historical figures.

Sir Henry Newboldt's book, "A New Study of English Poetry,"[3] contains twelve essays, three of which are on specific topics—Milton, Chaucer, and British Ballads—the remainder embracing the field of poetry as defined by titles such as "What Is Poetry?" "Poetry and Rhythm," "Poetry and Personality," "Poetry and Politics," "Futurism and Form," etc. As a whole, the volume asks for a middle course in our valuation of poetry, not too much of the scientific spirit nor of the influence of the past, nor a descent into utter anarchy of expression where beauty is irretrievably lost. Not since Meredith and Leigh Hunt have we had so vital and informing a work on poesy. Sir Henry's definition of that intricate art is more involved, however, than might be expected. "Good poetry, poetry in the full sense of the word, is the masterly expression of rare, difficult and complex states of consciousness, of intuitions in which the highest thought is fused with simple perceptions, until both together become a new emotion." And the object of poetry, he writes, is to revive life in us, so that whether for pleasure or for pain we may have life more abundantly.

"The Erotic Motive in Literature"[4] presents the psychoanalysis of the world's greatest poets and novelists. The author, Mr. Albert Mordell, has written his chapters around the thesis that "literature is a personal voice the source of which can be traced to the unconscious." That is to say, an author draws for his literary art not only upon his own personal past and that of his family, but upon the past psychic history of the human family. Using the Freudian method for the most part, Mr. Mordell has produced a book of sound criticism and unflagging interest.

In "The Golden Road,"[5] Miss Lilian Whiting tells the story of her successful literary career. There are reminiscences of her famous friends—among them the Brownings—of travel, impressions that crystalized into books, and a record of the last satisfactions of a busy life. It is an entertaining and an inspiring work, one that reveals the rewards of the seeker after life's fullness, who combines imaginative power with unity of purpose and a belief in the spiritual foundations of the universe.

With serene belief that a great spiritual awakening is over the world working out its high purpose through the turmoil of current events, Miss Whiting writes of the spiritual environment of human life in "They Who Understand."[6] Her beliefs are given in a quotation from Epes Sargent: "Man is an organized quality, consisting of an organic spiritual form, evolved coincidently with and pervading his physical body, having corresponding organs and developments. Death is the separation of this quality, and effects no immediate change in the spirit either intellectually nor morally. Progressive evolution of the moral and intellectual nature is the destiny of individuals; the knowledge, experience, and attainments of earth life form the basis of the spirit life." This thesis is expanded into a book that deals with psychical research, the seen and unseen worlds and with spiritual experiences of noble souls. It is a work that will give strength and poise and fill the heart with courage for the performance of the practical tasks of life.

In Arthur Symons' suggestive and atmospheric collection of essays and travel-sketches, "Cities and Sea-coasts and Islands,"[7] the travel-lover who is at present denied the privilege of European journeying can make a satisfactory pilgrimage to many of the most uniquely beautiful spots in Europe. Part first carries the reader to Spain, to her cities, Toledo, Cordova, Valencia, Seville, and others; to her bullfights, art galleries, Moorish buildings, streets, shops, picturesque aspects of

[1] Marie Bashkirtseff: The Journal of a Young Artist. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. E. P. Dutton. 467 pp.
[2] English Literature. By Herbert Bates. Longmans, Green & Co. 605 pp.
[3] A New Study of English Poetry. By Sir Henry Newboldt. E. P. Dutton. 357 pp.
[4] The Erotic Motive in Literature. By Albert Mordell. Boni & Liveright. 250 pp.
[5] The Golden Road. By Lilian Whiting. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 316 pp.
[6] They Who Understand. By Lilian Whiting. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 200 pp.
[7] Cities and Sea-Coasts and Islands. By Arthur Symons, Brentano's, 353 pp.

life, and to the ancient traditions of her sunny lands. Part second gives the best description of London, past and present, that one can find in print. In part third there are the "sea-coasts and islands," among them Dieppe, Cornwall, the Islands of Arran, Rosses Point, Sligo, Glencar, and Dover. The frontispiece is a fine portrait of the author reproduced from a photograph of a recent painting in oils by the celebrated English artist, Augustus John.

NEW PLAYS: DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

"The play's the thing."

AS the head of the "47 Workshop" at Harvard and Professor of Dramatics, Mr. George Pierce Baker has amply demonstrated over a period of years, that given talent and enthusiasm in the student, he is able to teach the amateur playwright within a short time to write excellent acting plays, in many instances of power and originality. The lectures which make up his book "Dramatic Technique" (Houghton, Mifflin), have been delivered before the Lowell Institute and in Eastern cities previous to publication. Collectively they form the best book now available on dramatic theory, the psychology of the drama, and on the many problems that confront the would-be dramatist. Like Professor Baker's personal instruction, this book is thoroughly alive, a genuine stimulus to the creative powers of the mind. He says: "I have written for the person who cannot be content except when writing plays. I want it distinctly understood I have not written for the person seeking methods of conducting a course in dramatic technique. I view with alarm the recent growth of such courses throughout the country."

For the reader interested in all things Spanish, there is a volume of translations of Spanish plays with biographical notes on the various dramatists, by Charles Alfred Turrell, "Contemporary Spanish Dramatists." (R. J. Badger.) Only one of these plays, "Electra," by Benito Pérez Galdós, had been translated previously. The other plays are: "The Claws," by Manuel Linares Rivas; "The Women's Town," by Joaquín and Serafín Alvarez Quintero; "When the Roses Bloom Again," by Eduardo Marquinaé; "The Passing of the Magi," by Eduardo Zamacois, and "Juan José," by Joaquin Dicenta. The vitality and power of these plays will appeal to every lover of the drama. Maeterlinck has hardly written a passage of greater mystic beauty than the closing scene of, "When the Roses Bloom Again." It has the essentials of purest poetry.

Realizing that most people have difficulty in reading plays, because the reader must create settings in his mind at the same time he reads, J. M. Barrie has modified the stage form of some of his published plays. In "Alice Sit-By-The-Fire," he begins the play as a story and does not launch into the dramatic form until after page 29. Another volume now ready in this edition (Scribners) of the Barrie plays is, "The Admirable Crichton." This is published however, in the acting form without modification.

Phillip Moeller's play "Molière" (Knopf), is one of the most brilliant acting and reading plays of the year. It is not a combination of three capital one-act plays, as its predecessor, "Madame Sand," in which Mrs. Fiske made a notable success, but a cohesive drama, mellow, thrilled throughout its length with old romance, and reminiscent of the actual atmosphere of Louis XIV and Francoise, Marquise de Montespan, two of its leading characters. In the New York production, Blanche Bates played de Montespan, Holbrook Blinn, Louis XIV, and Molière was impersonated by Henry Miller. The play ends with the tribute of Louis to the dead playwright: "Molière is dead, but in his name will live forever the gay spirit, the brave laughter and the unconquered heart of France."

Again Mrs. Katrina Trask has in the drama, "Without the Walls" (Macmillan), interpreted most eloquently the Gospel of Jesus Christ to a world needful of His divine message. The play tells the story of the love of a beautiful Jewish girl and a Roman soldier in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion. The bitterness and narrowness of the Israelitish father, bound rigidly by the letter—not the spirit—of the Hebraic law, is contrasted with the teachings of the Nazarene. Mrs. Trask has by means of her characters symbolized the battle at the present day between the forces of the old régime and the new order now dawning, the order which it is her steadfast hope will bring about universal peace and good will toward all men. A genuine instinct for dramatic structure, and an unerring feeling for word-beauty characterize the play as an artistic achievement.

"The Moon of the Caribbees and Six Other Plays of the Sea" (Boni & Liveright) will convince even the most skeptical that as a dramatist Eugene O'Neil has arrived. He may well be termed the Joseph Conrad among playwrights. He is a painstaking workman, a psychologist, and an gauger of character by the Shakespearian plumbline. The last play of the collection is a remarkable one-act drama, "The Rope," which was produced by The Washington Square Players. While it is not the most pleasing of the six either as an acting or as a reading play, it is a good measuring rod for new American dramatic work. Few among the new plays equal this ironic commentary upon debased human nature's greed for gold, or symbolize so well by means of the sea, the great wash of Time that makes worthless even gold.

Because the processes of civilization, changes in social structure, revolutions in ideas, cataclysms of war, etc., are revealed more intensely in the plays of the period than in fiction, or even history, "Representative British Dramas" deserves many readers beyond the numbers of those who are especially interested in plays. The twenty-one plays, which are exceedingly well edited, with prefaces and notes by Mr. Montrose Moses, record the development of British life as seen through the lens of the stage from the time of "Virginius," by James Sheridan Knowles (1820), to "The Gods of the Mountain," by Lord Dunsany (1913). Synge, Pinero, Wilde. Colum, Granville Barker are included among the dramatists. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.)

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A University's Recognition of Leadership

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CAPITOL HILL AT WASHINGTON AS PHOTOGRAPHED FROM AN AIRPLANE.

(We are to gain new impressions of topography and architecture from the use of the camera in the aviator's hands. Across the square from the Capitol building is the great Library of Congress, with the smaller dome. The large building in the foreground provides offices for members of the House of Representatives. A corresponding building to the northward is the Senate Office Building. Beyond that is the Union Railroad Station, to the left of which is the new Post Office Building, beyond which at the top of the picture is the Government Printing Office. The Treasury Building and White House are about a mile to the westward of this scene on Capitol Hill)

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Critical Task of Peace-keeping

With the acceptance by Germany of the Treaty signed at Versailles, the armistice period of eight months came virtually to an end. We use the word "virtually" because the three periods—that of war, that of armistice, and that of peace—do not fully adjust themselves to exact dates. Civil war still rages in Russia, and there are various areas of border conflict in Europe which would seem very serious and menacing but for their smallness in comparison with the stupendous conflict that has come to an end. The destruction that has been wrought in Europe by five years of organized violence and bloodshed appals the imagination. There is profound relief in the fact that outside of Russia the great countries are turning from the business of war to the pursuits of peace. But no wise or thoughtful person could have supposed that the consequences of war would not be more difficult in many ways to deal with than the problems of creating and employing military force. Every foundation of civilization is to be tested anew; and those of us who believe that the progress of the future, like that of the past, is best assured by quiet and healthy evolution, rather than by agitation and cataclysm, must give closer attention than ever before to public affairs, and must labor and sacrifice in order that peace and good-will may prevail.

War Mania, As National Suicide

Doubtless there are millions of people in Germany who are wondering why and how their whole nation should have become infected with the mania which led them five years ago to embark upon a course that meant something like national suicide. The Bernhardis and Treitschkes had taught that war invigorates a people; instead of which it corrupts and destroys. Democratic reform in domestic government, and a policy of friendship and honor in matters of diplomacy and outside relationships, would have given the German people all that they could possibly have merited of prosperity and of influence. The Alsace-Lorraine question could have been adjusted on terms that would have healed the ancient breach between Germany and France, while not impairing Germany's industrial efficiency. The Great War was madness; and the recovery from it will be a painful process at the very best. This struggle was not needed to demonstrate to the world the intolerable horrors of war. There had been previous object lessons in abundance. Those national agencies that we call "governments" had failed in the most important thing for which they were responsible. It now remains to be seen whether governments will continue to pursue the policies that make for war, or will learn to live with one another by methods which will establish orderly and peaceful relations as substitutes for militarism.

Industrial War Is Also Destructive

A world that has learned the destructiveness of force and violence in domestic and foreign politics, must now learn the danger and folly of violence in the carrying on of the industrial or economic functions of society. Mexico is a good example of the folly of factional warfare in adjusting the political problems of the nation. Cuba, by way of contrast, is finding political freedom as well as prosperity and contentment through the influence of the United States in abandoning the practice of violent revolution. But the industrial organism is even more delicate in its adjustments than the political. Harmony in the relations between capital and labor is far more beneficial to everybody concerned than is a victory for one side or the other that is gained as the result of bitter strife. It is now the accepted view that

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labor's reward must be as large as conditions permit, that hours of labor must be generally shorter than in times past, and that safeguards must be provided against the ills of unemployment and the anxiety that has been general for lack of a system to protect working people against poverty in old age or in times of sickness. These social reforms can be best achieved where production is not curtailed. Labor will gain more in the long run through moderate methods than through extreme and menacing demands. The education of public opinion will accomplish more than strikes that inconvenience and therefore exasperate the public.

How Workers May Hurt Their Fellows

Thus, if the ravages of the great war are to be healed, it will be necessary to work faithfully and to good purpose for some years to come. For instance, if the coal miners are too radical in their immediate demands, as now in England, they may cause a fuel famine and subject all other classes of workers to loss and discomfort. With a short supply of coal, workers at large will shiver in their homes next winter. Furthermore, if coal be scarce and too costly, many industries may be hampered in their operation and workers in many lines thrown out of employment. Coal miners should have good wages, proper hours and fair treatment; but if they enforce any policy that restricts the total output, it is the wage-earning classes at large who will be the principal sufferers.

Coal as "Key Industry"

Coal production is what is termed a "key industry." The coal question was vital during the war and has played a great part in the peace negotiations at Paris. The world's order and prosperity are more dependent just now upon coal than upon rulers and statesmen. Italy must buy a great deal of coal from England or America, if its factories of all kinds are to be kept running, its workmen made busy and contented, and a revolution thus averted. France on one hand, and Germany on the other, must have coal; and they will have to "give and take" as regards certain coal fields, in order that other industries may not perish. The fuel question is vital also to Poland and other parts of Central Europe. On July 14, Sir Auckland Geddes, of the British Ministry, made an extremely sensational speech in the House of Commons on the coal situation. He announced an increase of six shillings a ton in the price of coal in order to stimulate production. English coal miners produce per man far less coal than twenty years ago. Machinery mines half of our American coal, while more than ninety per cent. of the British coal is mined in the old way, by hand, the miners refusing to permit the use of machines.

Sir Auckland Geddes Sounds an Alarm

Sir Auckland undertook to frighten all England by the spectre of America winning against Britain in the field of world trade, and demonstrated by elaborate figures that cheap and abundant coal production is at the basis of British prosperity. The union of British miners demands the immediate Government purchase of the mines, promising in that case ample output and free use of labor-saving machinery. The miners are unwilling to create further prosperity for colliery owners. Coal miners in all countries in times past have had unfair treatment and a hard existence. Everybody should wish for them now short hours and good pay. But large and economical production is essential to all other industries, and the situation must be met in the public interest. Touching upon the bad practice of English labor unionists in the matter of restricting output, Sir Auckland truly said: "There is a most pernicious doctrine being preached



IF ONE GOES, BOTH GO!
From the *World* (London)

that if a man does less work there is more for others. The very opposite is true. The more one does, the more there is for others; for every industry affects every other." And this, of course, is more true of coal than of anything else, because the driving wheels of all industry are dependent upon the burning of fuel, except where waterpower is available.

Control of Transportation

It is similarly true that radical labor changes affecting the cost of local and general transportation bring most hardship to wage-earners, although every other social group is also injured. The ability to pay good wages in hundreds of industries is dependent upon efficient operation of railroads and ships. It would be disastrous from every standpoint to confiscate the railroad properties by increasing their expenses without also increasing their earnings. Railroad labor should be well paid; but the assumption that the great highways of traffic exist solely for the benefit of railroad employes is wholly unsound. It is for the public interest that railroad employes be justly treated. Beyond that, the roads exist for the general welfare; and the owners of their bonds and stocks have rights that cannot be violated with impunity. Nowhere in this country is new railroad building in prospect. The system is not complete, yet it is at a dead standstill.

American Seamen on Strike

Early in July a menacing condition which had existed for some time culminated in a strike of the seamen operating our American merchant vessels. By the middle of July more than 400 ships were tied up in our ports, mostly at New York. The questions of dispute are complicated and the United States Shipping Board was doing its best with leaders of the unions and representatives of the ship owners to secure an agreement and end the strike. The urgent demand of Europe for American coal, besides food and all sorts of commodities, made this strike a matter of serious international concern. The strikers include groups of higher-paid officers and men, especially the marine engineers. The strike was having the momentary result of sending a great many seamen detained on shore to the Western harvest fields at the call of agents who were offering high wages. Undoubtedly the trained and responsible men on our ocean vessels ought to have more pay. But ships have to be operated in the long run to meet international competition



RT. HON. SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

(Professor Geddes is a distinguished anatomist of Edinburgh and Dublin, who has made a brilliant record during the war, was knighted in 1917, and is head of the Ministry of National Service. He is soon to come to this side of the Atlantic as Principal of McGill University at Montreal. He is the brother of Sir Eric Geddes, who has recently filled several high posts in the British Government, and who was formerly a young railroad man in the United States)

on the high seas. Perhaps the solution for the United States may prove to be the employment of many thousands of Chinamen, who make excellent seamen and stewards, while advancing the American seamen to the more important positions at higher wages.

Short Hours and Free Movement

The chief characteristic of the earlier American industrial system was its elasticity. Railroad brakemen were mostly farm boys and village boys who wanted adventure and change. After a few years they could go back to farming, or could enter other kinds of business. They were not a permanent guild of trainmen, but versatile young Americans. With the advent of the short working day it becomes entirely possible to restore much of the earlier freedom of labor movement. The eight-hour day allows the young workman in any trade or line of work to prepare himself either for advancement in his own calling or for a change to something he may like better. He may learn to work well at several different trades. Or, he may choose to carry on two kinds of work regularly at

the same time. For example, a man working in a store or shop for eight hours in the day could spend his winter evenings as a teacher in night schools. A mechanic could carry on a garden or small farm, or work at one trade in winter and another in summer. With ever improving opportunities for special study and training, any young man caring for his future can now acquire valuable knowledge while earning good wages, and can fill an honorable and useful place as a citizen. The highest of values is that which inheres in the intelligence, capacity and moral character of the individual. Short hours of labor, in so far as fixed and steady tasks are concerned in shop or office, can be made to contribute much to the general welfare, other things being equal; and long hours are doomed.

Changes Should Be Reasonable

It does not follow, however, that very rapid and radical changes are to be encouraged. In many industries, short hours must await the opportunity to employ enough labor to keep machinery at work for two or three periods in the twenty-four hours. Lord Leverhulme, formerly William Hesketh Lever, chairman of Lever Bros., is the leader of a movement in England for still shorter hours; and a book by him has just now appeared, entitled "The Six-Hour Day." Another writer, who contributes the introduction to that book, declares, however, that Lord Leverhulme has been able to create his successful industry (he is the head of the great soap business with its famous model village for workers known as Port Sunlight) by being able himself to work with concentration for *sixteen* hours a day.

Leverhulme's Six-hour Arguments

It is a very stimulating and interesting book that Lord Leverhulme has written; and we allude to it because it illustrates a point that deserves recognition. The point is simply that the good-will existing between the management and the labor force in such an industry as that of Sunlight Soap is the most potent influence in evolving improved conditions. When a successful manufacturer like Leverhulme produces a book in which he attempts to demonstrate the possibility of paying good living wages in soap factories, iron works and other industries to men working only six hours a day, the movement for short hours gains more than would result from a strike to bring about the same end. It is only a few years since the immense clothing industry of New York was carried on under horrid sweatshop conditions, with men, women and children working anywhere from twelve to eighteen hours a day. That industry has now been transferred to large buildings with proper light and air, and the garment workers have obtained, with the good will of the employers and the public, a forty-four hour week. This means eight hours a day for five days, with a half holiday on Saturday the year around.

Northcliffe's Five-day Week

Lord Northcliffe, owner of the London *Times,* the London *Daily Mail,* and many other newspapers and periodicals, has announced that a five-day week is to be established as soon as possible in the publishing enterprises that he controls. He is a great believer in the value of complete change of scene at frequent intervals. The average Englishman loves his holiday, his outing in the country, a day at the seaside, a game of cricket or golf, or a bicycle trip to some nook or corner of his beautiful island that he has not yet seen. Northcliffe believes that his employes will put enough freshness and zest into five days of labor to offset any apparent loss in the week's output. His experience will be observed with attention and interest in America as well as in Great Britain. Formerly, the printing trades worked like dogs; but now they have easy hours and good pay, and are not anarchists but responsible citizens.

Labor's Modern Charter of Freedom

The fight against the employment of children in industry has been a bitter one; and it has in some real sense been a fight against slavery, inasmuch as children were the helpless victims of a disgraceful system. The strict rules that have been widely adopted in the matter of the employment of women have interfered with the principle of free contract, but for different reasons from those which have led to the emancipation of children. Adult women were not enslaved, as the children were; for theoretically they could accept or reject conditions of employment as they might choose. But women are homekeepers and child-bearers, and it is not suitable in the public interest that they should work in textile mills or elsewhere for unduly long hours, or at night, or for less than a reasonable minimum wage. The section

of the Peace Treaty at Versailles devoted to international labor conditions has no compulsory character, but it has immense authority in the moral sense. It furnishes the world with accepted standards. It advertises humane practices. Good wages, good opportunities of education, protection from disease by means of public health administration, reasonable hours—the acceptance of such principles as these is intended to eliminate poverty and to enable every man to hold up his head as a citizen in a democracy.

The Folly of Bolshevism

While labor is thus recognized in its rights, there is a corresponding tendency to reduce the advantages of the so-called "privileged classes." In England and America, taxes are now paid by the wealthy instead of the ordinary consumer. Idleness and ostentation will henceforth find scant tolerance. Everybody must be a worker; loafers will be somehow dealt with. Private wealth will be expected to justify itself by the manner in which it is used. Under such conditions as these, it would be suicidal madness for labor in an intelligent country like the United States or England or France to throw itself into the arms of the Communists or Marxian Socialists. Let no casual student of the subject be misled into supposing that the teachers of so-called Bolshevist principles and methods are the heralds of a finer justice or a truer order than that which is sought by their opponents. There are some people who, while deprecating the ugly practices of the Bolshevists—their system of murder, robbery and general destructiveness—have a vague notion that Lenine, Trotsky, Bela Kun and the rest hold theories of human equality that are noble and are destined to prevail. In point of fact, very few of the wise and disinterested friends of humanity, the thorough students of economic and social principles, have any leanings toward the Bolshevist doctrine, much less towards the methods by which the Bolshevists propose to give practical effect to their theories. Bolshevism is fallacy in doctrine, and criminal in practice.



A BIRD THAT CAN'T BE SCARED
From the *World* (New York)

"Capital" and Land

Most of the talk against "capital" and the "capitalistic class" is shallow and ignorant. The real leaders of the labor movement have not been enemies of capital, and have realized that poverty prevailed in the world until capital and invention made supplies of food, clothing and other necessities cheap and abundant. It was the business of the labor movement to see that average human conditions were improved as rapidly as increasing production of real wealth made social progress possible. Many of the Socialists—even the Socialists of the intelligent and law-abiding class—hold to the view that land is a peculiar thing, not properly susceptible of private ownership. They think of land as essential to society, and regard all land ownership as monopolistic and dangerous. But this is a question of fact and conditions, rather than of abstract theory. A postal card sent to the Agricultural Department of the State of New York, at Albany, would bring prompt information to the effect that there are thousands of people owning land in the great Empire State whose eagerness to sell it at a ridiculously low price is pathetic. Instead of opposing private ownership of land, one ought to encourage it in every way as a policy of wise statesmanship. The Government at Washington, under the leadership of Secretary Lane, with the approval of leaders of both parties in Congress, is about to enact a measure of the kind that the whole country should support with enthusiasm. This measure proposes (1) to secure federal and State coöperation in purchasing undeveloped or neglected tracts of land; (2) to employ returned soldiers and others to drain and improve such areas, to build roads, and to fit each selected tract for a model farm settlement. It is then proposed (3) to sell the land in proper-

sized farms to well selected applicants who will make payment on the instalment plan through a long term of years.

Diffusing Private Property

The tendency has been for people to desert the land and flock to the towns because of better schools and more agreeable conditions of life. There is not the slightest danger in this country of land monopoly, or of any form of objectionable landlordism. Town lots and farms are bought and sold as easily and freely as Liberty Bonds, or shares in oil wells or mining stocks. The present tendency makes for a wide diffusion of the institution of private property, and this is to be encouraged. Every one of the thousands of people who have promoted the sale, during the war period, of thrift stamps is helping to popularize capitalism and private property. Everyone who holds a Liberty Bond or has a savings-bank account is to just that extent a member of the capitalist class. Undoubtedly these small capitalists who own some property, together with that great majority whose principal asset lies in their health, skill and character, will obtain in the near future some greater share of influence in the management and direction of industry than heretofore. But we have not yet come to the time when we can afford to dispense with the large capitalist and the great master of industrial organization.

Good Leadership as an Asset

The American Federation of Labor is a huge business and human-welfare organization that has lately insisted not only upon keeping Mr. Gompers at its head, but upon increasing his salary against his own protest. In his youth Mr. Gompers worked for wages at a trade. For several decades past he has been a high official of labor organizations, a professional public speaker, and a capable editor. In their capacity as trade unionists, the members of the numerous bodies making up the Federation of Labor are glad to maintain leaders of brains and wisdom. It would be a great loss to them to have unwise or untrained men representing their interests. In like manner a complicated enterprise like a railroad or a steel company requires great skill and experience in its management; and the workers whom it supports are not the losers, but rather the gainers, when such management is of the very best. The rewards of successful management take nothing out of the pockets of the labor that produces commodities, or of the consumer that buys them.

Housing Reforms

New shipyards and munition plants made necessary last year a number of model housing projects to take care of the workers. The idea of good homes for wage earners as a matter of public policy was widely advertised and gained strong support. Able architects, engineers and landscape designers aided the Government in its housing schemes. It may be fairly said that there is coming into conscious recognition the national aim of providing every family with a habitation that shall meet the minimum requirements of decency and health. Slum conditions in our great towns are by no means as bad as they were thirty or forty years ago. Tenement house laws and sanitary inspection have made striking changes for the better, but much is yet to be done. Thus the young soldiers, returning from service with enhanced personal dignity, are not willing to live in hovels or tumbledown cabins; and numbers of them are said to have persuaded their families to move away from the worst tenement districts of the lower East Side in New York and to find better quarters in outlying zones.

A Building "Boom" at Hand

Meanwhile, the cessation of building operations for two or three years as a war measure has resulted in a scarcity of accommodations and very high rents both for dwellings and for business premises. It is predicted by experienced builders that the country is about to enter upon the greatest construction "boom" ever known. It is a good sign of the times that the various building trades have agreed upon a plan with the architects, contractors and engineering firms to obviate squabbles and sympathetic strikes, and to settle all disputes arising among the unionized members of these crafts by reference to a composite board of eight members with headquarters in Washington under the benevolent auspices of the Department of Labor.

Labor and Immigration

It would require many pages merely to summarize the various disputes, issues and problems with which American and British workers have been dealing during the past few weeks. There has been much restlessness, and the patient and submissive toiler of other days seems to have vanished. With immigration

stopped, with many foreign workmen repatriated in Europe, and with many young Americans still in the Army, there is a shortage of labor in almost every direction. Our immigration policy for the near future is yet to be fixed. It is known that great numbers of foreign-born people are planning to return, many of them intent upon seeking relatives and friends in Central Europe from whom they have not heard for several years. We have recently been deporting anarchists and undesirable agitators, and more are to follow. With Europe in a wild ferment of "Red" uprisings and violence, it will be necessary for America to restrict immigration as never before. The tests in the past have been merely negative, but henceforth they should be positive. No immigrant should be allowed to come to America, even as a sojourner, much less as a prospective naturalized citizen, unless he can pass tests that show him to be honest, industrious, and of fairly sound mind and body. We can make use of sturdy workers, even though illiterate; but we do not need to import social or political agitators. We have already far too many of these foreign-born soap-box preachers of false doctrine. The time is past for a careless immigration policy.

A Word for the Native Born

There is much to be said for Colonel Roosevelt's race suicide arguments. It is not creditable that the old American stock should be dying out for lack of progeny, and that the great country created by the earlier population elements should be handed over to the polyglot and prolific races of Eastern and Southern Europe. The war-time losses of France and Germany have created population problems that will doubtless have a profound influence upon private life and public policy. In less degree the same thing is true of Great Britain. It is high time that every phase of American nationality—and especially those relating to the country's future—should be analyzed with care, and that there should be sound instruction given to the rising generation. The America that has risen so magnificently to meet national crises up to this hour, should not deflect the true course of its history by recruiting its future population from the exportable dregs of other countries, while our own typical American stock is disappearing by reason of a birth rate that does not balance the death rate. Let the young soldiers build up their own America.

Restoring Rural America

The old American stock has to a great extent languished on farms and in country neighborhoods, while foreign immigrants have crowded the cities and have enjoyed, on behalf of their children, our marvelous city school facilities. It is bad policy to allow rural life to decay, as in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. State policies should provide good roads, country schools equal for practical purposes to city schools, and other facilities needed to make country life preferable to city life for the ordinary family. Wisconsin, Iowa, and some other States are setting an example that the Eastern part of the United States should follow. Rural prosperity is worth developing at any cost. It will repay the investment. Meanwhile, it does not always follow that the thing the farmer calls for is the thing he ought to have. Thus, the Southern farmer wants laws and policies to keep the price of cotton high, whereas he should be the happy beneficiary of policies to compel him to raise cattle and produce food crops. The Western farmer in his day has had many a fallacious notion about money and the railroads.

Farmers and "Daylight Saving"

Just now the farmers have risen in their might to secure the repeal of that admirable arrangement known as "Daylight Saving." It is quite true that railroads, great industries and the lesser business establishments could voluntarily change the clock and start the working day an hour earlier in the summer months; but it seemed worth while, when war-time economy was essential, that Congress should sanction the "daylight saving" scheme and thus give it uniform effect. The results have been exceedingly gratifying insofar as towns, cities and all industries are concerned. We are not aware that in the great countries of Europe which have adopted this scheme anybody has objected to it in the name of agriculture. That the farmers of the United States should have deluged their Congressmen with demands for the repeal of the "daylight saving" law is, to say the least, quite puzzling. Farming is the one line of business that has always been operated upon this very plan. The old-fashioned American farmer saved not merely one hour, but sometimes two hours or more, in the summer months by earlier rising. As a matter of convenience, the farmer's clock is actually made to conform to the standard

time of the country; but each farm is a unit, and every farmer can carry on his operations as he chooses within the range of the twenty-four hours.

Wilson Vetoes Repeal

To this statement there is one serious exception, which relates to those dairy farmers who have to deliver their product to meet the morning milk-trains. In that case, with the "daylight saving" change, the Railroad Administration should promptly have altered trains to suit the farmers; for it should not be expected that the farmers would milk an hour earlier by sun time when the railroads could just as well haul the milk at the actual hour suited to the conditions. Farmers do not go into the fields to work by consulting the clock, but by conditions of "rain or shine." Congressmen do not like to displease their solid farmer constituencies, and so there was passed as a rider attached to a money bill a clause repealing the "daylight saving" act to take effect after the present season. Both Houses acted on June 18th by very large majorities. On July 12th President Wilson —objecting to this clause appended to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill—sent the whole measure back to Congress with a veto message. He made a brief but strong statement of the benefits that had resulted from the "daylight saving" measure in this country as in Europe. To carry the repeal over the President's veto would require two-thirds vote; and while this was easily available in the Senate, it was not secured in the House. It is, of course, one thing to be in favor of "daylight saving" and another thing to believe that the plan should be made national by act of Congress. That Congress was misinformed as to public sentiment when the vote of June 18th was taken would seem obvious enough.

A Mistaken Economy

There is, of course, a strong tendency in this Republican Congress to follow any indications whatsoever of reaction from war-time policies. Rapid changes of outlook had seemed fully to justify the Republicans in their general cutting down of appropriations for the current year. Some curtailments were wiser, however, than others. President Wilson—also on July 12th—vetoed the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill carrying large aggregate amounts for various necessary purposes, because of clauses limiting the adopted plan of providing vocational training for crippled and disabled soldiers. Work of this kind has been going on for two or three years in England with remarkable success, and our own Government now has in hand several thousand cases of men whom it is thus training. It is likely that Congress will meet the President's views in this matter. For future military and naval expenditures intelligent economy is desirable to the point of sharp curtailments; but when it comes to caring for our boys who were wounded or injured in France, the country will prefer to be generous rather than merely economical.

Prohibition Takes Effect

At an earlier date in the war period an immense impression was created in Europe and America by the announcement that the Russian Emperor had abolished the making and sale of vodka, with the result of a happily transformed nation. Great restrictions were placed upon the liquor traffic in England; and the anti-saloon movement in the United States received fresh impetus. The Army and Navy demanded sobriety, and military regulation abolished the liquor traffic in the vicinity of training camps. Finally, Congress forbade the use of grains for the making of intoxicants as a measure of food administration, and enacted war-time prohibition of alcoholic beverages of all kinds throughout the country to take effect on July 1, and to continue until the President had pronounced the process of demobilizing the Army to be complete. Under the same general impulse, and with the awakened moral energy of the war period, the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution was passed in both Houses of Congress and speedily ratified by the requisite number of State legislatures. That Amendment becomes operative at the beginning of next year, some five months hence. The liquor interests and their friends had taken the death sentence with what seemed a surprising acquiescence. But as the date of execution approached they awakened suddenly from their lethargy. When it was far too late for effective protest they began to agitate quite hysterically. War-time prohibition, however, went into general effect on July 1. The law was respected by common consent. Large profits were made in June by selling stocks to individuals for home use. There was no especial machinery for enforcing the law, but the liquor traffic of America as it had existed on June 30 was

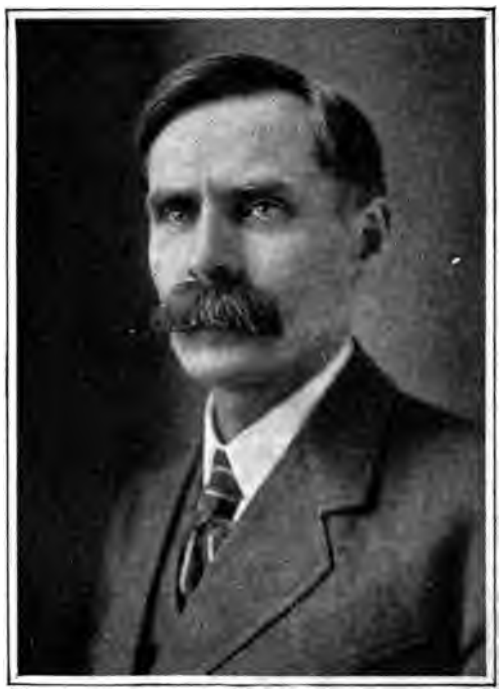
at least ninety-five per cent. dead by the Fourth of July, not to be revived.

Congress Provides for Enforcement

President Wilson had advised Congress to modify the law in favor of light wines and beer, but this had not been done. Meanwhile the courts had become solemnly busy over the technical question whether beer containing two and three-quarters per cent. of alcohol was an intoxicant in the sense of the law. How this precise percentage was fixed upon for the dividing line between things forbidden and things not forbidden is a story that it is needless to relate. Congress is competent to settle the question, and it was quite certain when these comments were written that the pending bill providing for the enforcement of prohibition would be enacted, and that this enforcement measure would fix the alcoholic content at a fraction of one per cent. The debate on this Volstead Prohibition Bill was still pending as we went to press in the third week of July. The one outstanding fact is that national prohibition outlaws the liquor industry. Breweries, distilleries, and retail liquor stores cannot survive under the ban of national law. There will be minor evasions, but capital and labor have both deserted the condemned industry, and it falls of its own weight. National prohibition is here, and it must have its trial. It has been sanctioned by giving it a place in the Constitution. This remarkable innovation might not have prevailed, at least in our day, but for the impulses and emotions of the war period. There are many intelligent people who regard the change as too radical to be maintained. They are likely, however, to find themselves entirely mistaken. While they are debating it, the new system is in effect and the law is fairly well observed.



THE KIND OF CORNER SALOON THAT FLOURISHES THIS SUMMER
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



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HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD, OF MINNESOTA
(Mr. Volstead, who is serving his eighth term in Congress, is the new Republican Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. He was in charge last month of the important measure for giving effect to national prohibition)

Peace Signed on June 28

The National Assembly of Germany sitting at Weimar voted on June 22 in favor of accepting the Peace Treaty, the division being 237 to 138. On June 20th Chancellor Scheidemann had resigned in order to show disapproval of the terms, and on the following day Gustav Adolf Bauer, formerly Minister of Labor, became Chancellor and formed a new Cabinet with Dr. Herman Müller as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Müller was the leader of the Majority Socialists. The German delegation at Versailles, headed by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, had withdrawn and two new delegates were substituted, these being Müller himself and another Cabinet Minister, Johannes Bell; and they arrived just before the ceremony of signing the treaty, which occurred on June 28. President Wilson's ship was waiting for him with steam up and he sailed for home on June 29.

President Wilson's Return

It is to be noted as an interesting circumstance that the Army and Navy Appropriation bills and certain other measures which had been passed by Congress were sent by Secretary Tumulty on a fast outgoing vessel to be delivered to the President at sea so that he might sign them and thus make available the money needed July 1, beginning the new fiscal year. Arriving at New York on July 8, Mr. Wilson received an official and popular welcome, made a brief homecoming talk at Carnegie Hall, and proceeded at once to Washington, where he plunged into the thick of accumulated business. He had been absent in Europe for seven months, except for a brief trip home in March. On July 10 he appeared before the Senate and made an elaborate address in presenting the peace treaty, which was evidently destined to undergo a long and searching debate before the final vote upon its ratification.

His Speech to the Senate

The President's speech to the Senate was graceful and fluent, and was highly praised by Democratic Senators, while disparaged by Republicans. The final treaty is a specific document, and has to be studied by Senators in an exact and careful way. The broad arguments for the League of Nations had already been amply presented by Mr. Wilson and others, and American public opinion had undoubtedly accepted the view that the nations must henceforth be organized for protection against the evils of war. The essence of Mr. Wilson's speech is contained in the following paragraphs:



© Paul Thompson

PRESIDENT WILSON ACKNOWLEDGING GREETINGS OF WELCOME IN NEW YORK ON HIS ARRIVAL LAST MONTH

> Convenient, indeed indispensable, as statesmen found the newly planned League of Nations to be for the execution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished. They saw it as the main object of the peace, as the only thing that could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint. Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?
>
> And so the result of the conference of peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The difficulties encountered were very many. Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate the interests of so great a body of nations—interests which directly or indirectly affected almost every nation in the world—without many minor compromises. The treaty as a result is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national delegations would have written. But results were worked out which on the whole bear test.
>
> I think it will be found that the compromises which were accepted as inevitable nowhere cut to the heart of any principle. The work of the conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

Ready to Answer and Explain

Following the portion of the speech quoted above, Mr. Wilson informed the Senate that he would take a later occasion to present the separate treaty, by the terms of which the United States and Great Britain agree to protect France against an unprovoked attack by Germany. In conclusion, he asserted the new position of America as a world power, holding that "a new role and a new responsibility have come to this great nation." The speech did not attempt to touch upon any of the particular points of doubt that were already under debate in the Senate; but Mr. Wilson offered to place "his services, and all the information" he possessed at the Senate's disposal "at any time, either informally or in session, as you may prefer." This was a fair proposal, and should have met with immediate response. There



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THE KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON AT BRUSSELS, ON OCCASION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO THE BELGIUM CAPITAL ON JUNE 19

were numerous questions relating to the treaty that the Senators had been asking, and that the President was prepared to answer. Speaking in a general way, the Republican Senators were disposed to criticize the treaty and to debate it adversely; while the Democratic Senators, with one or two exceptions, were disposed to praise it in glowing and sweeping phrases, and to champion the President against all comers. The Peace Conference has faced a stupendous undertaking, and the presumptions are in favor of its work. The treaty should be ratified promptly, unless there are good reasons that can be presented for rejecting it or amending it. Little will be gained by dragging the debate through a period of months. The final vote ought to be taken by the middle of August. Doubtless certain interpretations will be adopted, as regards American interests. This is expected.

Mr. Simonds on the Treaty

We are glad to offer to our readers Mr. Simonds' remarkable characterization of the finished work of the Peace Conference, and his analysis of the political difficulties that beset the "new Europe." His views are not sanguine, but they are not cynical or despairing. He realizes that racial ambitions and antipathies have not as yet been subdued, although Europe is weary of war. He sees the possibilities of a revived Germany, and of a new combination against a League of Nations dominated by Britain and France. It is well for serious-minded readers to look all the facts in the face. It has been our undeviating opinion in this periodical that, for some time in the future, world peace must be maintained by the group of powers that have won the victory, ended the war, and imposed terms upon Germany. There seems no practicable way by which the United States can avoid taking a large share of responsibility for future conditions in Europe and Asia. Most of us are steeped in the old American traditions, and do not like embroilments in the affairs of other continents; but the best results will come from an attitude of confidence and vigor, rather than one of timidity and hesitation. To face danger is, often, to avert it.

The Mexican Situation

There are particular situations that require, upon the part of the people and Government of the United States, a much more efficient treatment than we have recently employed. Our relations with Mexico constitute the foremost of these situations. The Carranza Government seems to be drifting upon the rocks. Perhaps half of the Mexican territory is now dominated by military chieftains who are in rebellion against Carranza. Obviously the Carranza regime has owed its very existence to Mr. Wilson's policies; yet it has been curiously disagreeable in its attitude towards the United States. Mexico, of all the Latin-American countries, should have been the first to support the United States in breaking with Germany. Yet, as a matter of fact, the Carranza Government was probably more unfriendly to us through the war period than any other in the world, except the German and Austrian.

Time to Protect Americans

American interests in Mexico are entitled to protection, and this should now be demanded and secured. The virtual confiscation by the Carranza Government (under pretext of Constitution and laws), of great properties in the oil regions, the utter failure to protect American citizens, and the damage to railroads, mines, and other American investments, ought no longer to be viewed with patient tolerance. The inhabitants of Mexico are themselves the victims of the political and military chaos that has become an international nuisance. We are not suggesting intervention, or proposing any particular remedies. We are merely expressing the view that the Mexican situation calls for careful attention at Washington with a definite policy and a firm course of procedure. Fair words to-day cannot alter hard facts.

China's Grievances at Paris

The Chinese delegates did not sign the Peace Treaty at Versailles, because they objected to concessions that the Conference had granted to Japan as against China's sovereignty, and because they were waiting for instructions from Pekin that failed to arrive. Some of the leading Republican Senators have been taking a very bold and challenging tone as against Japan in the matter of the Shantung Peninsula. It would, perhaps, have been better to accept the President's offer and to confer with him about the China-Japanese dispute before making sensational speeches. It is the earnest desire of the American people to hold the friendship of both Japan and China, and to be influential in helping these two great peoples to reconcile their differences and to work together. Japan has informed the world that her occupation of the Chinese territory from which her army and navy expelled the Germans is to be only temporary, and is not in denial of Chinese sovereignty. It would seem eminently wise for Japan to lose no time in fixing and announcing a date when she will withdraw. This would be a small price for Japan to pay for Chinese friendship and good will. China's misfortunes, meanwhile, have been due principally to her own internal divisions and disputes. With some encouragement and help from the United States, Japan, and Great Britain, China could hold her own and go forward.



SENATOR SWANSON OF VIRGINIA — SENATOR HITCHCOCK OF NEBRASKA

TWO FOREMOST CHAMPIONS OF THE PEACE TREATY IN THE GREAT SENATE DEBATE

Mr. Polk and Our Diplomacy

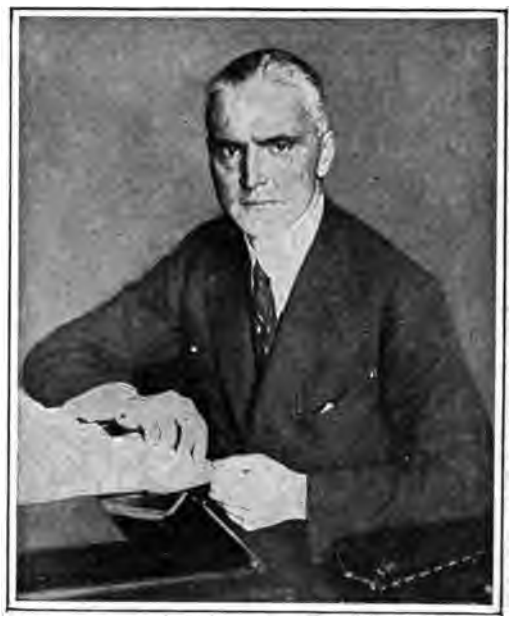
Secretary Lansing, who had been at Paris continuously as a member of the American Peace Delegation, returned last month and it was reported from Washington that he would be succeeded at Paris by Mr. Frank L. Polk, who has been Acting Secretary of State for more than half a year. Mr. Polk had been Counsellor of the Department and his designation had recently changed to that of "Under-Secretary." He has shown great tact and skill in holding the chief place at the State Department during the absence of the President and Secretary. Mr. Polk, like Ambassador John W. Davis at London, is an excellent representative of his country in diplomacy. The enhanced importance of our foreign relationships will give a wholly new significance to the diplomatic service, and we shall find that men of brains and force, as well as of honor and good manners, will be far more ready than formerly to accept foreign posts. Next month we shall allude to changes and appointments in the diplomatic service. In former times the average American diplomat was not taken seriously either at home or abroad, but there has been a big change.



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EPITACIO PESSOA, PRESIDENT-ELECT OF BRAZIL

(Dr. Pessoa visited the United States last month on his way home from Europe. His brief stay resulted in the establishment of firm foundations for friendly relations during his term as President. He was taken to Brazil on an American battleship)



HON. FRANK L. POLK, OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

(Mr. Polk had made a high reputation as a lawyer and as Corporation Counsel in New York City before succeeding Mr. Lansing as Counsellor of the State Department)

Entertaining National Guests

One of the international affairs of an agreeable kind that Mr. Polk has had to supervise recently has been the visit of the newly chosen head of our great sister republic, Brazil. Dr. Pessoa, in the interval between his election and his inauguration as President, has spent some time at Paris in touch with the work of the Peace Conference, and in conference with President Wilson and the American delegation. His brief visit in the United States on his way back home was made an official matter and gave opportunity for many pleasant expressions of friendship. It has always been Brazilian policy to maintain especially close relationships with the United States, and Dr. Pessoa's visit is an example of the sort of interchange that ought to become much more frequent. It is expected that a very popular and manly young Englishman, who bears the title of the Prince of Wales, will visit Canada within a few weeks, and before returning home will see something of the United States. His father, the present King, crossed the Lake to Buffalo many years ago, but otherwise has not been in this country. A visit from this capable and democratic head of the British Empire would be highly agreeable to Americans. Perhaps he may be persuaded to come as a national guest next year, when we celebrate the Tercentenary of British settlement in America.



Ireland Looking the Wrong Way

Apparently there are millions of Americans who think we shall soon be sending an Ambassador to the Irish Republic." The avowed head of the Irish government, Professor Eamon De Valera (who, by the way, was born in New York) has been received with high honor and tremendous ovations wherever he has gone in America. As it happens, he has found men of Irish birth or ancestry serving as mayors and judges, not to mention the lesser offices, in most of the large cities he has visited. His reception here has not been admired by Englishmen of any party or group; and in a strict and technical sense the government of Ireland is no affair of ours. It is obvious, however, that there are immense numbers of plain people here who think they have as much right to express an opinion about the government of Ireland as about affairs in any of the numerous countries that President Wilson has been setting to right, during these long months at Paris. Apparently the present British Cabinet is wholly baffled and has no idea what to do. Sir Horace Plunkett has come out with a plan for setting up a so-called "Dominion"

[illegible]

Germany Wants a New Start

While German statesmen for the most part denounce the terms of the peace treaty as brutal and unbearable, it is doubtless true that the German people are profoundly glad to find themselves at peace. It is not easy to sustain the mood of arrogance under such conditions of disaster as Germany has faced during the past year. The only sane way to meet these misfortunes is to become absorbed in normal occupations. Until five years ago, when the German armies were mobilized, the country was a great hive of industry. It will be a long time before the old momentum can be restored, but Germany's rivals are even worse handicapped. Belgium, France, and Poland have been physically wrecked to a great extent in their chief manufacturing districts. Germany seems to have put down the anarchists on the one hand, and to have thrown off on the other hand the control of the old ruling elements. If the extremists of the right and the left can be resisted, Germany ought to have a safe recovery. During the war period, heavy taxes were not paid, and large loans were floated, on the promise that conquered enemies would fully meet Germany's war costs. It was not to be expected that the great domestic war debt would be repudiated, but merely that it would be wiped out under forms of taxation. This has already been arranged by a tax on property to be paid in instalments over a period of thirty years. Germany can bear the financial burdens imposed by the treaty, provided the task is faced in good faith.

Public Business to be Faced

As Mr. Simonds points out, the work of the Peace Conference is very far from being finished. Austria and Hungary are yet to be disposed of; the Balkan problems have not been solved; and it will be particularly hard to secure agreement about Turkey. Many disputes affecting Central Europe are only partly settled as yet, and the League of Nations will have its work cut out for it from the start, with new matters arriving in almost every mail-bag. As for individual countries, their governments will be burdened with all kinds of difficult questions, many of them never faced by governments in earlier periods. The new countries, like Poland, are the creations of Allied victory and their recognition and independence are to be based upon conditions set forth in treaties. Thus the charter of the new Poland has been already written by the Peace Conference and accepted by the government of which Mr. Paderewski is the head. The League of Nations will have oversight of such arrangements.

Work at Washington

Our own country seems to be more prosperous and fortunate than any other; yet, so urgent and numerous are the public issues that all parts of the Government will be under severe pressure for an indefinite time to come. Congress will have to sit continuously with only brief recesses. The Army is being rapidly demobilized, but the military and naval systems for peace time have yet to be worked out. Every branch of the Administration has before it an unusual amount of important work. It is habitual for the partisan to belittle the leaders of the other side, and it is customary for the private citizen to have his fling at the men who carry on public affairs. Some of the debates in Congress as reported in the press are certainly far from edifying; but there are many able men at Washington rendering the country valuable service at personal sacrifice. Their labors are exacting; and continuous effort in the Washington climate through a long summer has undermined the health of more than one able statesman in times past. Fortunately, the President has learned to maintain his vigor by taking plenty of exercise; and he is seemingly in better average health than at the beginning of his work in the White House six years ago. The game of golf has many devotees among the judges, Cabinet officers, and members of Congress, and is helping to carry lawmakers through the ordeal of the extra summer session.



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SPEAKER GILLETT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON A GOLF COURSE AT WASHINGTON



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A SENATORIAL "THREESOME" RESTING ON THE GOLF COURSE

(From left to right: Senator Cummins, of Iowa, Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, and Senator Frederick Hale of Maine)

The Cost of the War

Our Treasury Department has now compiled figures of the gross and net costs of our participation through one year and seven months in the World War, and has presented these figures to Congress. Our entire expenditures during that period for war-making were $30,177,000,000. This total included, however, (1) loans to our allies aggregating $9,102,000,000; (2) investments in shipbuilding from which Secretary Glass expects to get back over one billion dollars through sale or charter of the Government fleet; and (3) advances to the War Finance Corporation, to the railroads, and for farm loan bonds, aggregating two billion dollars. Thus the net cost of the war in money to the United States was about $18,000,000,000. In his report to Congress, Secretary Glass is optimistic as to the program for taking care of the new obligations of our Government. This optimism, however, is based on the assumption that the present scale of taxation will not be importantly disturbed. It is notable that of the total war expenditures, no less than 29 per cent. was defrayed from taxes—a very much greater proportion of taxes than any other country participating in the war has shown. The war period has brought an increase in the public debt of the United States from $1,282,000,000 in April, 1917, to $25,485,000,000 to-day. Secretary Glass advises against further issues of Government bonds until the Victory notes mature or are redeemed. His belief is that such an interval between offerings from our Government will inevitably result in marked improvement in the market prices of the existing issues, and that the Government will, a few years from now, be able to borrow money at a very much lower rate of interest.

Ten Billions of Foreign Trade

The financial year of our Government runs from the first of July to the following June 30. In the year just ended all previous records in foreign trade have been surpassed. In this fiscal year of 1919, exports reached about seven billion dollars, and imports passed the three billion dollar mark. In the preceding year, the imports were nearly as large, but this year's export trade has grown by nearly 20 per cent. A brief analysis of this stupendous movement of American goods to foreign countries shows that whereas there has been an actual falling-off in partly manufactured goods, and scarcely any appreciabl gain in the completely manufactured artic the outward movement of foodstuffs and food animals has increased by nearly 60 per cent. and raw materials for use in manufacturing have increased about 25 per cent. over the year 1918. These extraordinary figures reflect, of course, the work of the United States in feeding starving Europe through the autumn and winter. The last months of the fiscal year already showed a trend away from the phenomenal shipment of foodstuffs and toward manufactured exports.

Americans Rebuilding French Cities

There are evidences that the much-talked-of demand for American products in the restoration of the devastated areas of France is becoming a reality. It was reported in July that a single contract with American firms for rebuilding the war-destroyed area in the Nancy district of France involves the expenditure of between $250,000,000 and $500,000,000. This work will call for the replacement of public buildings, factories, dwellings, roads, bridges, churches, and other structures destroyed or injured by the Germans. The material to be used will naturally be bought in the cheapest markets; it is stated that contractors can at present buy many classes of building material in the United States more advantageously than in any other country, and this is notably true of structural steel.

Our Huge Stock of Gold

Early in July the Federal Reserve Bank removed the barriers against the free exportation of gold, except to enemy countries and to Bolshevik Russia. The embargo was raised several weeks earlier, except that licenses were required. Since the embargo was lifted some eighty million dollars of gold has been shipped abroad, chiefly to Spain, Japan, and South American countries. Such a sum is a mere bagatelle compared with our present American supply of the metal. Not only is this the greatest stock of gold ever held by a country in history; the United States could claim at the present juncture practically all of the remaining gold in the world in payment for the merchandise debts due us. This favorable balance approximated nine billion dollars in the last three years, and continues to mount up. In fact, our international trade position is attended with an embarrassment of riches owing to the difficult problem of arranging payments r excess of shipments abroad without ii ations to which we sold,

and without still further raising the cost of living in America by the importation of further stocks of gold.

At Work on the Railroad Problem

While no definite announcement has been made of the date on which the railroads will be returned to their private owners, it is generally understood that the transfer will be made sometime near the end of this calendar year. In the meantime, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce—from whose Chairman, Senator Cummins, readers of the REVIEWS OF REVIEWS heard last month—is hard at work on the complicated problem of returning the roads with such legislation as will save them from bankruptcy and give the public its transportation service as cheaply as possible. New plans for solving this most formidable problem are being presented to Congress almost daily. Two that were made public in July came from Mr. C. A. Prouty, formerly of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and from President Loree of the Delaware & Hudson Company, respectively. The main features of Mr. Prouty's program provided for the return of the roads on January 1 next with the Government retaining certain phases of control for another year. On the all-important financial side of the problem, Mr. Prouty suggests that rates should be made that would guarantee a fair return upon the value of the roads, as determined by the Commission on Physical Valuation created under the act of 1913. In Mr. Prouty's plan, railroads which were able, under this rate basis, to give stockholders a certain return (say 6 or 7 per cent.), would apply any surplus earnings as follows: (1) probably 2 or 3 per cent. should be invested in the property, but this investment not to be made on the basis of claims for additional rates; (2) a further allowance for a guarantee against lean years and for the regular payment of interest and dividends; (3) any balance remaining to be divided between the railway and the Government, the Government to get more as the earnings increased. The accumulations from this last source Mr. Prouty would use in assisting the weaker roads.

Mr. Loree's Temporary Guaranty

The plan proposed by Mr. Loree, who has for forty years been active in railroad management, is simpler than most of the suggested programs. It restricts the Government guaranty of returns to the period ending with new rate adjustments by the Interstate Commerce Commission. That body is to fix a certain percentage by which existing rates are to be increased in order to meet expenses and provide proper revenue. Until these new tariffs are effective, the Federal Government is to pay each system surrendered to the Federal control the difference between the actual income and the standard return under the present Federal Control Act. Mr. Loree advises that the Commerce Commission become an adjudicating body, and that its executive and administrative functions be taken over by a new Board of Interstate Transportation. He would give jurisdiction over wages and employment conditions to the Commission, and forbid employees to strike until the controversy has been submitted to the Commission and a decision made, or until six months have passed without a decision. After a decision or a six months' interval, a vote of the employees must be had on the question of striking.

Railroad Expenses Still Mounting

While these many plans are being proposed for putting the transportation industry of the country on its feet again, the operating results of the roads continue poor almost beyond belief. It was reported from Washington in July that the expenses of the American railroads were then running five million dollars a day more than they showed under private control. The month of May alone brought a difference between the net income of the roads and the standard return the Government must pay of no less than $39,000,000. The result of such operating conditions, in discouraging investors and in driving capital away from the transportation industry and into other businesses, is clearly seen in the course of the security markets during the past three months. With a really amazing advance in the prices of securities of concerns dealing in motor cars, steel, copper, agricultural supplies, oil, railroad equipment; with new issues of stocks and bonds in these industrial fields quickly snapped up by investors—the bonds and shares of railways have made scarcely any progress toward regaining their former, and their proper, place as a standard channel of investment. The simple and obvious truth is that with "industrials" making large profits and the railroads making no profits, and generally losing money, thrifty Americans will not put their money into railroads.



(c) International Film Service

THE BRITISH DIRIGIBLE WHICH LAST MONTH CROSSED AND RECROSSED THE ATLANTIC WITHIN ELEVEN DAYS

Greatest of Air-Craft

The period of sixty days beginning in mid-May of the current year will always be memorable for pioneer achievement in transatlantic flight. After the feats of our own naval seaplanes, of Alcock and Brown, of Hawker and Grieve—one thrill pursuing and sometimes overtaking another, week after week—it was left to the British Government to stage and carry through to a successful finish one of the most spectacular attempts yet made by man to cope with fog and wind as bars to his conquest of the air. In the early morning hours of the second of July the great dirigible R-34 left her moorings at East Fortune, Scotland, manned by a personnel of thirty men, including officers, observers, engineers, riggers, and wireless operators. Such a force was required for the handling of this giant among the aircraft of our time, with a length nearly one hundred feet greater than the height of the Washington Monument, a diameter equal to the beam of an ocean liner, and a capacity of 2,000,000 cubic feet of hydrogen gas. The ship was commanded by Major G. H. Scott.

Crosses the Ocean

The westward progress of the great airship, encountering heavy head winds and thick fogs, was comparatively slow and a large quantity of gasoline was consumed, although the combined horsepower of the five motors is considerably less than that employed on the NC-4. For most of the voyage to Newfoundland the crew could not see even the ocean itself, yet the passage was safely made and from Newfoundland a course was laid to Nova Scotia, the New England coast, and Long Island. A landing was made at Roosevelt Field, about twenty-five miles from New York City, on Sunday morning, July 6. The only danger that occasioned real concern arose in the last hours of the trip from the diminishing supply of gasoline. The ship carried 4900 gallons of that useful commodity and 2000 pounds of oil.

Back Home in Three Days

Thus was completed the first Atlantic crossing by a lighter-than-air craft. It was done against the prevailing west winds of the season and was certainly a fair test of the dirigible's capacity in heavy weather. The total time consumed in covering 3130 nautical miles was 108 hours and 12 minutes. From land to land the time was 59 hours. The return journey began on July 9 and with favoring winds a speed of fifty miles an hour was kept up for a great part of the course. Ireland was crossed and a landing made in England within 75 hours. Certain students of aviation, among whom Lieut.-Commander Read, of the NC-4, may be named, are convinced that the dirigible has great commercial possibilities and that long-distance schedules for the transportation of passengers and freight will be established between important cities in the near future. The flight of the R-34 went far to confirm such expectations.



SCENE BEFORE THE GATE TO JERUSALEM IN THE PAGEANT "THE WAYFARER," PRESENTED AT THE METHODIST CENTENARY CELEBRATION, HELD AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

("The Wayfarer" is a dramatic story of the conquest of Christ. It was written by Dr. J. E. Crowther, of Seattle, with musical features by Professor Kraft, of Columbia University)

The Methodist Centenary

American Methodism is celebrating its centenary in a way that would once have been thought impossible. It has actually raised a fund of $162,000,000—more than $19 for each man, woman, and child in its membership—to show that it is in earnest when it declares that the world is its field and that Methodist missionaries will respond to the Macedonian cry, from whatever distant quarter it may come. Furthermore, men of vision in the leadership of the church saw in the centenary celebration an opportunity to bring home to the American membership a sense of the vastness of the church's world enterprise. At Columbus, Ohio, there was arranged an exhibit of missionary activities in every land. From June 20 to July 10 this great missionary bazaar was attended by a million persons. A remarkable pageant, "The Wayfarer," was enacted by 2500 performers. On July Fourth the gate receipts of the exposition were said to have exceeded those of the prize fight at Toledo! Altogether the Methodists provided a new kind of show and one that was popular as well as edifying. It helped our Middle West to visualize the needs of far-distant peoples. One gratifying feature of the whole centenary effort is the fact that Northern and Southern Methodists have worked for a common cause. Since the division concerning slavery, such instances have been rare.

Some National Tasks and Problems

Our readers will find in this number of the REVIEW several articles of exceptional interest and value relating to world-wide economic and social conditions, each of them by an expert authority. Mr. Atwood's comprehensive account of the new growth of the oil industry touches the most significant of our recent American business developments. Mr. Baxter's story of Porto Rico in the war period is gratifying as showing how that island is progressing under good leadership as an American community. Dr. Veditz, who is an accomplished American economist and who knows his subject well, tells us of the physical and business requirements of France for reconstruction; while Mr. Elbert Baldwin, writing from abroad with exceptional sources of information tells us of forest losses and of forestry plans for England and France. The discussion of our own immigration problems will be aided by Mr. McGillicuddy's account of the new and striking policies that have been adopted by our Canadian neighbors. Mr. Wade, who has been one of the Army's statistical and historical experts during the war period, summarizes America's war effort with facts, figures, and charts, in a way that must astonish even those who are well informed. The huge totals of economic output for war purposes that are officially disclosed can hardly be comprehended.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From June 16 to July 15, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

June 16.—The revised terms offered to Germany are handed to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, who leaves Versailles to present them to the National Assembly.

June 22.—The German National Assembly at Weimar, by vote of 237 to 138, authorizes the signing of the peace treaty.

June 23.—The German Government formally communicates its readiness to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed, after applying for and failing to receive a two-day extension of time because of a political crisis at home.

A mob of officers and sailors in Berlin seizes French battle flags of 1871 in the War Museum and burns them, to thwart the treaty agreement which provided for their return to France.

June 25.—Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg informs the Peace Conference that as German Chancellor at the beginning of the war he bears sole responsibility for the acts of the Kaiser, and he urgently requests that he and not the Kaiser be placed on trial.

June 26.—The Allied Council—replying to a Turkish note pleading for mild peace terms—declares that the circumstances under which Turkey entered the war and waged war have thrown upon the victors the duty of determining her destiny.

June 28.—The peace treaty is signed at Versailles by representatives of Germany and the Allied and associated powers; the Chinese delegates refused to sign, in protest against the Shantung settlement; for Germany the treaty is signed by Dr. Hermann Müller,. Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell.

June 29.—President Wilson sails from France, the other members of the American peace delegation remaining.

June 30.—The text of the treaty accepted by Poland, framed by the Allied and associated powers, is made public at Paris.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 16.—The Senate Committee on Military Affairs is urged by the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, and the Chief of Staff, General March, to provide for an army of 500,000 men.

The House passes the Naval Appropriation bill; $15,000,000 is provided for naval aviation, only one-third of the Department's recommendation.

June 17.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) speaks in support of his resolution to separate the covenant of the League of Nations from the peace treaty, demanding more time for consideration of the covenant and opportunity for deliberate decision on the wisdom of the United States joining the League.

The House Committee investigating the Administration's conduct of the war forms five subcommittees—on aviation, camps and cantonments, expenditures abroad, quartermaster corps and ordnance.

June 18.—Both branches vote for repeal of the "daylight-saving" law, to take effect at the end of the present summer.

In the Senate, Mr. McCumber (Rep. N. D.) speaks at length in defense of the covenant of the League of Nations.

June 19.—The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs is urged by Secretary Daniels to increase the House provision for aviation.

In the Senate, Mr. Thomas (Dem., Colo.) speaks at length in criticism of the Knox resolution and charges the Republicans with playing politics.

The House, without roll-call, passes the bill to restore telephone and telegraph lines to their owners.

June 21.—The Senate Republicans opposing the covenant of the League of Nations are advised by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State (in a letter to Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts), to register their objections by a qualifying resolution, adopted with the ratification of the treaty.

June 23.—The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs completes consideration of the annual appropriation bill, carrying $646,272,000.

June 24.—The Senate votes to provide for an army of 400,000 men; the House had made provision for only 300,000.

Senate and House conferees on the bill turning back the "wire" systems to their owners agree upon August 1 as the date when the transfer should be made.

June 25.—The Senate passes the Army appropriation bill, carrying $880,000,000.

June 26.—The Senate passes the Naval appropriation bill, after increasing the amount available for aviation.

In the House, the Judiciary Committee completes its draft of a bill for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution (effective January, 1920) and of the war-time prohibition act (effective July 1, 1919).

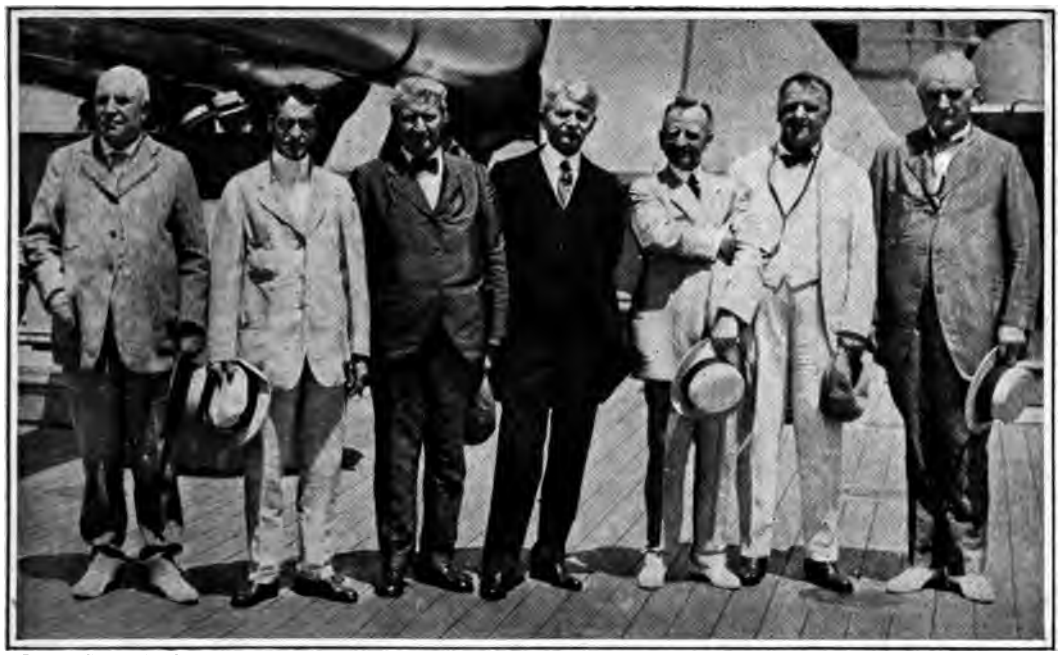
June 27.—Senate and House conferees agree upon an army strength of 325,000.

June 28.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, last of the supply measures.

June 30.—In the Senate Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) asserts that financial and business interests are back of propaganda to force the Senate to accept the covenant of the League of Nations.

Both branches adjourn until July 8, having passed all appropriation measures for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

July 9.—In the House, the chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. Campbell (Rep., Kan.) offers a resolution making it unlawful for the President to absent himself from the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.



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ADMINISTRATION LEADERS WHO MET PRESIDENT WILSON IN NEW YORK BAY, LAST MONTH, ON HIS RETURN FROM EUROPE

(This snapshot gives summer portraits of the Vice-President, five members of the Cabinet, and the former Speaker of the House. From left to right, are: Secretary Lane, Secretary Baker, Secretary Wilson, Vice-President Marshall, Secretary Glass, Secretary Daniels, and Congressman Champ Clark)

July 10.—In the Senate, President Wilson presents the peace treaty and explains the atmosphere in which the peace delegates worked.

July 14.—In the Senate, Mr. Swanson (Dem., Va.) delivers an address in support of the peace treaty and the League of Nations which is understood to represent the President's views.

The House fails to pass the Agricultural Appropriation bill (carrying repeal of the Daylight Saving law) over the President's veto, although the measure receives 247 votes to 135; in considering the prohibition enforcement bill, the House rejects an amendment permitting the sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

July 15.—In the Senate debate on the peace treaty, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) declares that the Shantung provision was a bribe to Japan; Mr. Norris (Rep., Neb.) also assails the "outrage perpetuated on China."

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 16.—The Secretary of the Navy announces that the Pacific Fleet will be made equal in strength to the Atlantic Fleet, with the Asiatic Fleet a third main division.

The President nominates Norman Hapgood to be Minister to Denmark, Richard Crane to be Minister to Czecho-Slovakia, and Hugh S. Gibson to be Minister to Poland.

The woman-suffrage amendment is ratified unanimously by the New York legislature in special session; the legislatures of Ohio and Kansas also approved the amendment.

June 17.—The Illinois legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment a second time, to correct an error.

June 19.—The Wisconsin Assembly rejects a bill radically increasing income and corporation taxes, after widespread opposition throughout the State.

June 20.—The Secretary of War announces that 26,450 men will be enlisted for special patrol duty along the Mexican border.

June 24.—The Pennsylvania Senate (following similar action in the House) passes a bill permitting the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol; Governor Sproul announces that he will veto the measure.

The woman-suffrage amendment is ratified by the Pennsylvania House, completing legislative action.

June 25.—The Massachusetts legislature completes ratification of the woman-suffrage amendment.

June 26.—At a referendum election, the voters of North Dakota ratify by small pluralities seven radical measures fathered by the Non-Partisan League and passed by the legislature.

June 28.—A cable message from President Wilson intimates that when demobilization is terminated he will remove war-time prohibition so far as it applies to wines and beers.

June 30.—President Wilson, on board the *George Washington* in the Atlantic, signs the Railroad Deficiency appropriation bill and the



GENERAL PERSHING ARRIVING AT VERSAILLES TO WITNESS THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE TREATY

(With the end of war and the withdrawal of American troops from Germany and France, General Pershing is expected soon to return to the United States, where plans are already on foot to welcome him)

annual Indian appropriation bill, carried to him by the east-bound *Great Northern;* the measures become effective immediately by "wireless" notification to Washington, at the beginning of the Government's fiscal year.

July 1.—Prohibition goes into effect throughout the United States, with saloons in some sections continuing to sell beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

The Post Office Department announces the inauguration of airplane mail service between New York and Chicago, with changes of planes at Belfont (Pa.) and Cleveland.

July 2.—The Iowa Legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment.

July 3.—The War Department orders a reduction of the army to its peace strength by September 30—from 965,000 to 233,000.

The Missouri legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment, being the eleventh State to adopt it.

July 4.—The acting Secretary of Agriculture, Clarence Ousley, calls attention to unwarranted high retail prices for beef products, while wholesale prices have decreased 25 per cent. in four months owing to lack of demand.

July 5.—Treasury statistics for the fiscal year ending June 30 show disbursements of nearly $35,000,000,000, compared with $20,000,000,000 in the previous year.

July 6.—United States Senator Phelan declares that the Japanese are violating the "gentlemen's agreement" regarding immigration, and that the rural birth rate in a Southern California county is one-third Japanese.

July 8.—President Wilson returns to the United States, after an absence of seven months in Europe (with the exception of a hasty visit home at the end of February).

July 9.—The Secretary of War reports to the finance committees of Congress on America's war revenues and expenses; he estimates the cost of the war at $30,000,000,000, including $9,000,000,000 loaned to the Allies; 29 per cent. of the cost of war was met out of tax receipts.

July 10.—The President nominates H. Percival Dodge, of Massachusetts, to be Minister to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Edward N. Hurley resigns the office of chairman of the United States Shipping Board.

July 11.—The Federal Trade Commission reports to the President on the growth of power of the five packers in the meat industry, which "threatens the freedom of the market of the country's food industries."

July 12.—The President vetoes the Agricultural Appropriation bill, disapproving of the "rider" repealing the daylight-saving law; he also vetoes the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill because of its small provision for rehabilitation of wounded war veterans.

July 15.—It is announced that American troops remaining overseas aggregate 337,339.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 18.—The Russian Government fails to provide funds to meet the maturing $50,000,000 three-year notes floated in the United States in 1916.

June 19.—The ministry of Premier Orlando in Italy is unexpectedly overthrown in the Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 259 to 78, after the Premier explains the Government's policy and asks for discussion in secret session.

June 20.—The German cabinet resigns, Chancellor Scheidemann holding to his announced determination not to accept the peace terms offered by the Allies.

June 21.—Francesco Nitti, former Minister of Finance, becomes Premier of Italy, with Tommaso Tittoni as Foreign Minister.

Gustav Adolf Bauer, former Minister of Labor, forms a cabinet in Germany, with Herman Müller, the Majority Socialist leader, as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

June 22.—The Coal Commission which investigated the mining situation in Great Britain, submits four reports; the main reports, signed by Justice Sir John Sankey, recommends immediate acquisition of the mines by the Government.

June 24.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes a bill establishing an eight-hour work day on all public and private vessels.

June 26.—The municipality of Berlin acquires the street-railway lines, paying with bonds.

June 28.—A new Portuguese ministry is formed, with Senhor Cardoso as Premier.

June 30.—Premier Clemenceau presents the peace treaty to the French Chamber of Deputies.

July 2.—In the French Chamber the Government's reconstruction program is outlined, involving expenditures of $8,000,000,000 and including work on railroads, canals, harbors, and buildings.

July 3.—Rioting in Florence, Italy, in protest against the high cost of living, results in the looting of food stores.

July 4.—Peruvian troops and police in the capital take President Pardo prisoner and proclaim Augusto B. Leguia President, as a method of settling the disputed election of May 18.

In the British House of Commons the Woman's Emancipation bill (backed by the Labor Party) is defeated after announcement is made that a Government measure will be introduced placing the men and women on equal terms in civil and judicial matters.

July 5.—The popular movement in protest against the high cost of living spreads throughout Italy and results in price reductions in many cities.

July 8.—The Crimea is officially reported by the British War Office to have been cleared of Bolshevist elements by the advancing troops under General Denekin.

The German Minister of Finance, Mathias Erzberger, addresses the National Assembly on the financial situation, warning of "terrible" taxes to remove the floating debt of 72,000,000,000 marks and hinting at a levy on fortunes and capital.

July 9.—Premier Nitti addresses the Italian Chamber, pleading for and promising maintenance of friendly relations with the Allies, and reminding the Deputies that the present state of unrest is not peculiar to Italy.

President Ebert of Germany signs the bill ratifying the peace treaty.

July 11.—A Turkish court martial investigating the Government's war acts condemns to death Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemel Pasha—all of whom have fled.

July 12.—The first chamber of the Dutch Parliament votes to introduce woman suffrage in Holland.

The headquarters of the Presbyterian church in America makes public a report from missionaries on Japanese atrocities in Korea, involving religious and political persecution.

José Pardo, deposed President of Peru, is permitted to leave the country in exile.

July 14.—Bastile Day, France's national holiday, is celebrated by a triumphal victory parade in Paris, in which General Pershing and American troops play a conspicuous part.

July 15.—A national council of French Socialists decides overwhelmingly to vote against the peace treaty.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 16.—American troops which crossed the border into Mexico return to the American side; a Villa camp was broken up and forty-five Mexican bandits killed, the loss of American lives being two.

June 18.—A British submarine sinks the Russian cruiser *Oleg* near Kronstadt.

June 19.—The Carranza government informs the United States that steps have been taken to protect American citizens in the state of Chihuahua.

President Wilson, guest of King Albert at a dinner in Brussels, pays warm tribute to the King as a democratic statesman and to the spirit of the Belgian people; he also addresses the members of the Belgian parliament.

June 20.—Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, president-elect of Brazil, arrives in the United States on his way home from Europe.

June 23.—The "President of the Irish Republic" Prof. Eamon de Valera of Dublin University, arrives in New York, his native city, and opens headquarters from which to seek moral and financial aid.

July 2.—It is reported from Warsaw that Polish forces have started a counter-offensive against the Ukrainians on the Galician-Volhynian front.

July 5.—The five youngest sons of the former German Emperor telegraph to the King of England their readiness to stand trial in place of their father.

July 7.—The republic of Salvador sends a note to Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, proposing mutual friendly action looking toward restoration of harmony in Costa Rica.

July 9.—The peace treaty is ratified by the German National Assembly, by vote of 208 to 115, with 99 members not voting.

July 12.—The French and British governments authorize resumption of commercial relations with Germany.

July 14.—The United States Government authorizes resumption of commercial relations with Germany.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 17.—Telephone operators in California quit work to enforce demands for higher wages and non-interference with union organization.

June 18.—The telephone strike spreads from California to Nevada.

June 21.—The German fleet interned in British waters, under the armistice, is scuttled by its German crews; twenty battleships and cruisers are sunk, besides many destroyers.

June 22.—Sixty persons are killed in a tornado which destroys the business section of Fergus Falls, Minn.

June 23.—Seven army airplanes arrive at Boston, completing a flight of 3276 miles from Dallas, Tex., begun on May 15.

June 25.—The general strike in Winnipeg, which had lasted for six weeks, is declared off.

June 29.—Earth shocks in Tuscany, Italy, cause the death of 127 persons; thousands are rendered homeless.

July 1.—The United States Navy dirigible airship *C-8* explodes on the ground near Baltimore.

July 2.—The giant British dirigible airship *R-34* starts from Edinburgh on a transatlantic flight to New York.

July 4.—The heavyweight championship of the world is won by Jack Dempsey, who defeats Jess Willard after three rounds of fighting at Toledo, Ohio, before 45,000 spectators.



Firemen, Engineers . . . John K. Stewart, a former Member of Congress from New York, 65.

June 28.—William Philip Schreiner, former High Commissioner for South Africa in England, 82.

June 3 —Read-Adm. William Swift, U. S. N., retired, [illegible] . . . Baron Rayleigh (John William Strutt), a distinguished British chemist, 76.

June 4.—Sir John Tomlinson Brunner, the British [illegible] magnate, 77.

June 5.—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915, 72. . . . Lemuel Ely Quigg, ex-Congressman from New York and former [illegible] in the Republican organization, 73.

June 6.—Nathaniel Bowditch Potter, a distinguished New York surgeon and editor of medical works, 81.

June 7.—George S. Webb, a Baltimore capitalist [illegible] of street railway and tele[illegible] systems, 71.

June 8.—[illegible] Fox, Jr., author of widely read [illegible] based on mountaineer life, 56.

June 9.—George Edward Ide, president of the [illegible] Fire Company, 59.

June 10.—[illegible] Wheeler, a widely known actor [illegible], 68.

June 11.—Abraham Jacobi, of New York, [illegible] of pediatrics and known as the [illegible] of the medical profession, 89. . . .

June 12.—Admiral Manney Marix, U. S. N., retired, [illegible] de Soto, recently acting as [illegible] High Commissioner to the United [illegible]

June 13.—[illegible], formerly head of a [illegible] industry, 81. . . .

June 14.—[illegible] of the University of Pennsylvania [illegible] on ancient [illegible]

June 15.—[illegible] Nunes, U. S. A., [illegible]

June 16.—[illegible], British Consul-[illegible], 77.



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW
(Who died on July 2, widely read [illegible] on mountaineer life. Born in Kentucky in 1868; died at Nashville, Tenn., on July 8, 1919)



JOHN FOX, JR.
(Author of widely read [illegible] on mountaineer life. Born in Kentucky in 1868; died at Nashville, Tenn., on July 8, 1919)

OBITUARY

[illegible] Melville King, of [illegible] Baptist clergy-

[illegible] Figueroa, president [illegible] 1911.

[illegible] Haiselden, the Chicago [illegible] to perform operations [illegible] defective children.

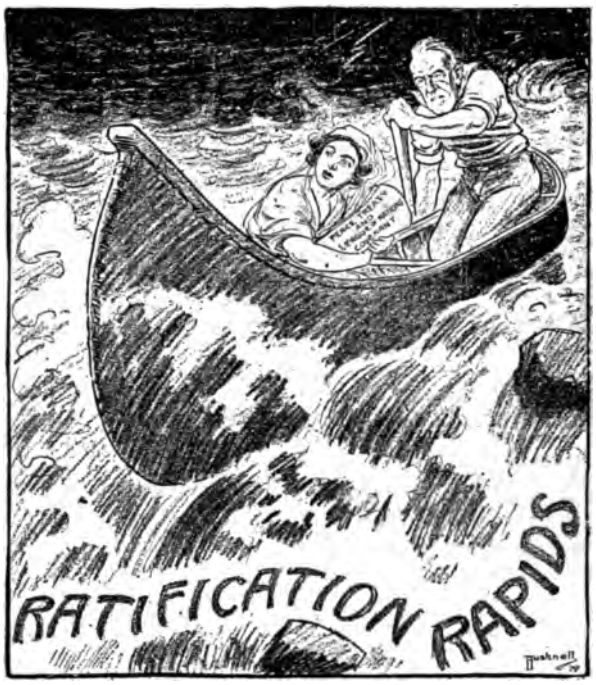
[illegible] P. Cain, former Premier of [illegible]

[illegible] A. Leach, first Grand Master [illegible] Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and

CARTOONS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL



OUR SENATORIAL HAMLET
"To ratify or not to ratify; that is the question."
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



SAFELY THROUGH THE FOG AND STORM—BUT NOW THE DANGEROUS RAPIDS TO SHOOT!
From *Central Press Association* (Cleveland)



USING THE BURNING GLASS ON THE SENATE OPPOSITION
From the *World* (New York)

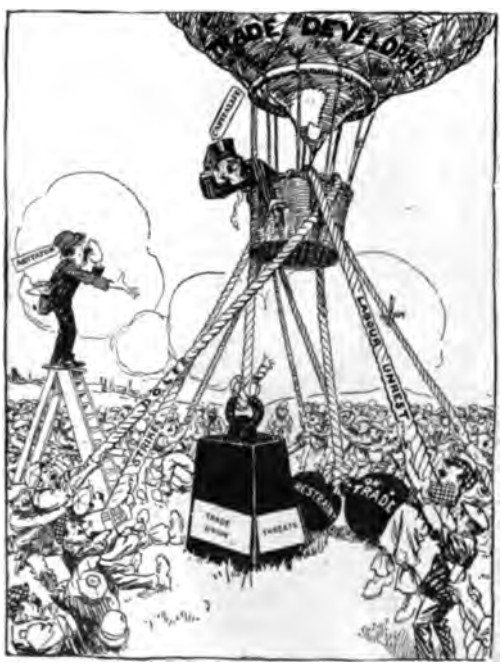


LOOKING A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH
From the *Beacon* (Wichita, Kansas)



THE PROFITEER BROTHERS—HIGH-CLASS BEEF MARKETEERS
From *Central Press Association* (Cleveland)

AS a relief from the Peace Conference and other disturbing topics the cartoon-makers turn with zest to domestic themes—profiteering, woman suffrage, trade expansion, national extravagance, and, last but not least, prohibition.



THE INCUBUS
AGITATOR: "Why don't you get a move on?"
CAPITALIST: "Why don't *you* call your men off and slip those weights?"
From the *Passing Show* (London)



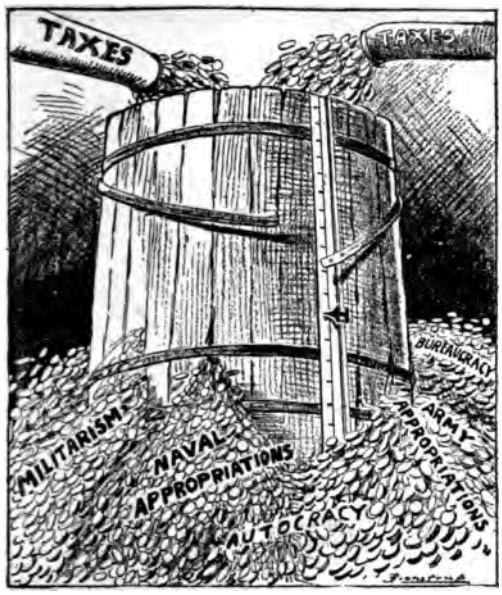
THE REST ARE EASY
From the *Journal* (Jersey City)



STRANGE BEDFELLOWS
From the *Times* (New York)



TWO'S COMPANY, THREE'S A CROWD
From the *Republic* (St. Louis)



THE LEAK OF NATIONS
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

There is plenty of "punch" in the Detroit *News* picture of the change in the Mexican border situation—a marked contrast with the New York *World's* rather subdued and saddened attitude towards the "dry" law. In "Declined with Thanks," the implication is that Congress and the President are equally eager to pass on the responsibility of wartime prohibition.



MAKING A BIG CUT
From the *Star* (Miles City, Mont.)



DECLINED WITH THANKS
From the *World* (New York)



HE'S A REGULAR GUY NOW
From the *News* (Detroit)





THE PEACE OF 1919
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)
[The inscription over the door is the familiar one from Dante, "All hope abandon, ye who enter here"]

On this page the reader will find cartoons reproduced from periodicals published in European countries which had remained neutral throughout the war. During the long months of peace negotiation there has been evident in this neutral press a tendency to criticize the Allies on the ground of undue severity towards the defeated Germany.



VICTORY
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



WORLD PEACE OF VERSAILLES—THE CHILD ENTERS
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



FOCH: "GUARANTEES! WE MUST HAVE GUARANTEES THAT HE WON'T ATTACK US AGAIN. I PROPOSE WE TAKE AWAY HIS CRUTCHES!"
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



Who was guilty is a question hard to unravel.

It is much easier to see who is responsible for the next war.

From *Exlex* (Christiania, Norway)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From June 16 to July 15, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

June 16.—The revised terms offered to Germany are handed to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, who leaves Versailles to present them to the National Assembly.

June 22.—The German National Assembly at Weimar, by vote of 237 to 138, authorizes the signing of the peace treaty.

June 23.—The German Government formally communicates its readiness to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed, after applying for and failing to receive a two-day extension of time because of a political crisis at home.

A mob of officers and sailors in Berlin seizes French battle flags of 1871 in the War Museum and burns them, to thwart the treaty agreement which provided for their return to France.

June 25.—Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg informs the Peace Conference that as German Chancellor at the beginning of the war he bears sole responsibility for the acts of the Kaiser, and he urgently requests that he and not the Kaiser be placed on trial.

June 26.—The Allied Council—replying to a Turkish note pleading for mild peace terms—declares that the circumstances under which Turkey entered the war and waged war have thrown upon the victors the duty of determining her destiny.

June 28.—The peace treaty is signed at Versailles by representatives of Germany and the Allied and associated powers; the Chinese delegates refused to sign, in protest against the Shantung settlement; for Germany the treaty is signed by Dr. Hermann Müller,. Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell.

June 29.—President Wilson sails from France, the other members of the American peace delegation remaining.

June 30.—The text of the treaty accepted by Poland, framed by the Allied and associated powers, is made public at Paris.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 16.—The Senate Committee on Military Affairs is urged by the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, and the Chief of Staff, General March, to provide for an army of 500,000 men.

The House passes the Naval Appropriation bill; $15,000,000 is provided for naval aviation, only one-third of the Department's recommendation.

June 17.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) speaks in support of his resolution to separate the covenant of the League of Nations from the peace treaty, demanding more time for consideration of the covenant and opportunity for deliberate decision on the wisdom of the United States joining the League.

The House Committee investigating the Administration's conduct of the war forms five subcommittees—on aviation, camps and cantonments, expenditures abroad, quartermaster corps and ordnance.

June 18.—Both branches vote for repeal of the "daylight-saving" law, to take effect at the end of the present summer.

In the Senate, Mr. McCumber (Rep. N. D.) speaks at length in defense of the covenant of the League of Nations.

June 19.—The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs is urged by Secretary Daniels to increase the House provision for aviation.

In the Senate, Mr. Thomas (Dem., Colo.) speaks at length in criticism of the Knox resolution and charges the Republicans with playing politics.

The House, without roll-call, passes the bill to restore telephone and telegraph lines to their owners.

June 21.—The Senate Republicans opposing the covenant of the League of Nations are advised by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State (in a letter to Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts), to register their objections by a qualifying resolution, adopted with the ratification of the treaty.

June 23.—The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs completes consideration of the annual appropriation bill, carrying $646,272,000.

June 24.—The Senate votes to provide for an army of 400,000 men; the House had made provision for only 300,000.

Senate and House conferees on the bill turning back the "wire" systems to their owners agree upon August 1 as the date when the transfer should be made.

June 25.—The Senate passes the Army appropriation bill, carrying $880,000,000.

June 26.—The Senate passes the Naval appropriation bill, after increasing the amount available for aviation.

In the House, the Judiciary Committee completes its draft of a bill for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution (effective January, 1920) and of the war-time prohibition act (effective July 1, 1919).

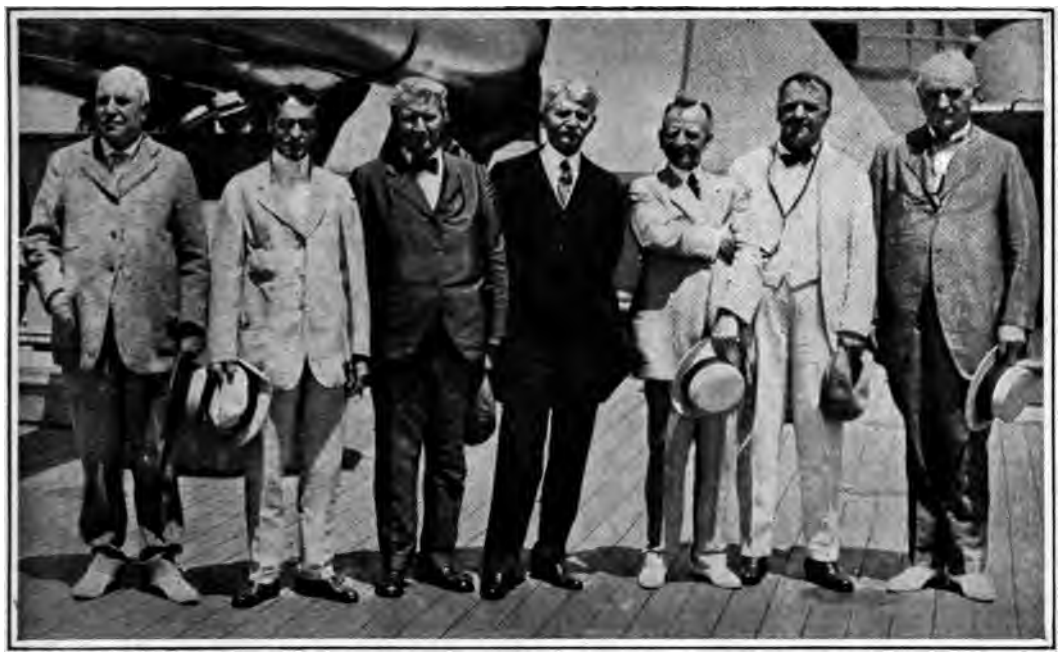
June 27.—Senate and House conferees agree upon an army strength of 325,000.

June 28.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, last of the supply measures.

June 30.—In the Senate Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) asserts that financial and business interests are back of propaganda to force the Senate to accept the covenant of the League of Nations.

Both branches adjourn until July 8, having passed all appropriation measures for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

July 9.—In the House, the chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. Campbell (Rep., Kan.) offers a resolution making it unlawful for the President to absent himself from the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.



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ADMINISTRATION LEADERS WHO MET PRESIDENT WILSON IN NEW YORK BAY, LAST MONTH, ON HIS RETURN FROM EUROPE

(This snapshot gives summer portraits of the Vice-President, five members of the Cabinet, and the former Speaker of the House. From left to right, are: Secretary Lane, Secretary Baker, Secretary Wilson, Vice-President Marshall, Secretary Glass, Secretary Daniels, and Congressman Champ Clark)

July 10.—In the Senate, President Wilson presents the peace treaty and explains the atmosphere in which the peace delegates worked.

July 14.—In the Senate, Mr. Swanson (Dem., Va.) delivers an address in support of the peace treaty and the League of Nations which is understood to represent the President's views.

The House fails to pass the Agricultural Appropriation bill (carrying repeal of the Daylight Saving law) over the President's veto, although the measure receives 247 votes to 135; in considering the prohibition enforcement bill, the House rejects an amendment permitting the sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

July 15.—In the Senate debate on the peace treaty, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) declares that the Shantung provision was a bribe to Japan; Mr. Norris (Rep., Neb.) also assails the "outrage perpetuated on China."

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 16.—The Secretary of the Navy announces that the Pacific Fleet will be made equal in strength to the Atlantic Fleet, with the Asiatic Fleet a third main division.

The President nominates Norman Hapgood to be Minister to Denmark, Richard Crane to be Minister to Czecho-Slovakia, and Hugh S. Gibson to be Minister to Poland.

The woman-suffrage amendment is ratified unanimously by the New York legislature in special session; the legislatures of Ohio and Kansas also approved the amendment.

June 17.—The Illinois legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment a second time, to correct an error.

June 19.—The Wisconsin Assembly rejects a bill radically increasing income and corporation taxes, after widespread opposition throughout the State.

June 20.—The Secretary of War announces that 26,450 men will be enlisted for special patrol duty along the Mexican border.

June 24.—The Pennsylvania Senate (following similar action in the House) passes a bill permitting the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol; Governor Sproul announces that he will veto the measure.

The woman-suffrage amendment is ratified by the Pennsylvania House, completing legislative action.

June 25.—The Massachusetts legislature completes ratification of the woman-suffrage amendment.

June 26.—At a referendum election, the voters of North Dakota ratify by small pluralities seven radical measures fathered by the Non-Partisan League and passed by the legislature.

June 28.—A cable message from President Wilson intimates that when demobilization is terminated he will remove war-time prohibition so far as it applies to wines and beers.

June 30.—President Wilson, on board the *George Washington* in the Atlantic, signs the Railroad Deficiency appropriation bill and the



GENERAL PERSHING ARRIVING AT VERSAILLES TO WITNESS THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE TREATY

(With the end of war and the withdrawal of American troops from Germany and France, General Pershing is expected soon to return to the United States, where plans are already on foot to welcome him)

annual Indian appropriation bill, carried to him by the east-bound *Great Northern;* the measures become effective immediately by "wireless" notification to Washington, at the beginning of the Government's fiscal year.

July 1.—Prohibition goes into effect throughout the United States, with saloons in some sections continuing to sell beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

The Post Office Department announces the inauguration of airplane mail service between New York and Chicago, with changes of planes at Belfont (Pa.) and Cleveland.

July 2.—The Iowa Legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment.

July 3.—The War Department orders a reduction of the army to its peace strength by September 30—from 965,000 to 233,000.

The Missouri legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment, being the eleventh State to adopt it.

July 4.—The acting Secretary of Agriculture, Clarence Ousley, calls attention to unwarranted high retail prices for beef products, while wholesale prices have decreased 25 per cent. in four months owing to lack of demand.

July 5.—Treasury statistics for the fiscal year ending June 30 show disbursements of nearly $35,000,000,000, compared with $20,000,000,000 in the previous year.

July 6.—United States Senator Phelan declares that the Japanese are violating the "gentlemen's agreement" regarding immigration, and that the rural birth rate in a Southern California county is one-third Japanese.

July 8.—President Wilson returns to the United States, after an absence of seven months in Europe (with the exception of a hasty visit home at the end of February).

July 9.—The Secretary of War reports to the finance committees of Congress on America's war revenues and expenses; he estimates the cost of the war at $30,000,000,000, including $9,000,000,000 loaned to the Allies; 29 per cent. of the cost of war was met out of tax receipts.

July 10.—The President nominates H. Percival Dodge, of Massachusetts, to be Minister to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Edward N. Hurley resigns the office of chairman of the United States Shipping Board.

July 11.—The Federal Trade Commission reports to the President on the growth of power of the five packers in the meat industry, which "threatens the freedom of the market of the country's food industries."

July 12.—The President vetoes the Agricultural Appropriation bill, disapproving of the "rider" repealing the daylight-saving law; he also vetoes the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill because of its small provision for rehabilitation of wounded war veterans.

July 15.—It is announced that American troops remaining overseas aggregate 337,339.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 18.—The Russian Government fails to provide funds to meet the maturing $50,000,000 three-year notes floated in the United States in 1916.

June 19.—The ministry of Premier Orlando in Italy is unexpectedly overthrown in the Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 259 to 78, after the Premier explains the Government's policy and asks for discussion in secret session.

June 20.—The German cabinet resigns, Chancellor Scheidemann holding to his announced determination not to accept the peace terms offered by the Allies.

June 21.—Francesco Nitti, former Minister of Finance, becomes Premier of Italy, with Tommaso Tittoni as Foreign Minister.

Gustav Adolf Bauer, former Minister of Labor, forms a cabinet in Germany, with Herman Muller, the Majority Socialist leader, as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

June 22.—The Coal Commission which investigated the mining situation in Great Britain, submits four reports; the main reports, signed by Justice Sir John Sankey, recommends immediate acquisition of the mines by the Government.

June 24.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes a bill establishing an eight-hour work day on all public and private vessels.

June 26.—The municipality of Berlin acquires the street-railway lines, paying with bonds.

June 28.—A new Portuguese ministry is formed, with Senhor Cardoso as Premier.

June 30.—Premier Clemenceau presents the peace treaty to the French Chamber of Deputies.

July 2.—In the French Chamber the Government's reconstruction program is outlined, involving expenditures of $8,000,000,000 and including work on railroads, canals, harbors, and buildings.

July 3.—Rioting in Florence, Italy, in protest against the high cost of living, results in the looting of food stores.

July 4.—Peruvian troops and police in the capital take President Pardo prisoner and proclaim Augusto B. Leguia President, as a method of settling the disputed election of May 18.

In the British House of Commons the Woman's Emancipation bill (backed by the Labor Party) is defeated after announcement is made that a Government measure will be introduced placing the men and women on equal terms in civil and judicial matters.

July 5.—The popular movement in protest against the high cost of living spreads throughout Italy and results in price reductions in many cities.

July 8.—The Crimea is officially reported by the British War Office to have been cleared of Bolshevist elements by the advancing troops under General Denekin.

The German Minister of Finance, Mathias Erzberger, addresses the National Assembly on the financial situation, warning of "terrible" taxes to remove the floating debt of 72,000,000,000 marks and hinting at a levy on fortunes and capital.

July 9.—Premier Nitti addresses the Italian Chamber, pleading for and promising maintenance of friendly relations with the Allies, and reminding the Deputies that the present state of unrest is not peculiar to Italy.

President Ebert of Germany signs the bill ratifying the peace treaty.

July 11.—A Turkish court martial investigating the Government's war acts condemns to death Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemel Pasha—all of whom have fled.

July 12.—The first chamber of the Dutch Parliament votes to introduce woman suffrage in Holland.

The headquarters of the Presbyterian church in America makes public a report from missionaries on Japanese atrocities in Korea, involving religious and political persecution.

José Pardo, deposed President of Peru, is permitted to leave the country in exile.

July 14.—Bastile Day, France's national holiday, is celebrated by a triumphal victory parade in Paris, in which General Pershing and American troops play a conspicuous part.

July 15.—A national council of French Socialists decides overwhelmingly to vote against the peace treaty.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 16.—American troops which crossed the border into Mexico return to the American side; a Villa camp was broken up and forty-five Mexican bandits killed, the loss of American lives being two.

June 18.—A British submarine sinks the Russian cruiser *Oleg* near Kronstadt.

June 19.—The Carranza government informs the United States that steps have been taken to protect American citizens in the state of Chihuahua.

President Wilson, guest of King Albert at a dinner in Brussels, pays warm tribute to the King as a democratic statesman and to the spirit of the Belgian people; he also addresses the members of the Belgian parliament.

June 20.—Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, president-elect of Brazil, arrives in the United States on his way home from Europe.

June 23.—The "President of the Irish Republic" Prof. Eamon de Valera of Dublin University, arrives in New York, his native city, and opens headquarters from which to seek moral and financial aid.

July 2.—It is reported from Warsaw that Polish forces have started a counter-offensive against the Ukrainians on the Galician-Volhynian front.

July 5.—The five youngest sons of the former German Emperor telegraph to the King of England their readiness to stand trial in place of their father.

July 7.—The republic of Salvador sends a note to Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, proposing mutual friendly action looking toward restoration of harmony in Costa Rica.

July 9.—The peace treaty is ratified by the German National Assembly, by vote of 208 to 115, with 99 members not voting.

July 12.—The French and British governments authorize resumption of commercial relations with Germany.

July 14.—The United States Government authorizes resumption of commercial relations with Germany.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 17.—Telephone operators in California quit work to enforce demands for higher wages and non-interference with union organization.

June 18.—The telephone strike spreads from California to Nevada.

June 21.—The German fleet interned in British waters, under the armistice, is scuttled by its German crews; twenty battleships and cruisers are sunk, besides many destroyers.

June 22.—Sixty persons are killed in a tornado which destroys the business section of Fergus Falls, Minn.

June 23.—Seven army airplanes arrive at Boston, completing a flight of 3276 miles from Dallas, Tex., begun on May 15.

June 25.—The general strike in Winnipeg, which had lasted for six weeks, is declared off.

June 29.—Earth shocks in Tuscany, Italy, cause the death of 127 persons; thousands are rendered homeless.

July 1.—The United States Navy dirigible airship *C-8* explodes on the ground near Baltimore.

July 2.—The giant British dirigible airship *R-34* starts from Edinburgh on a transatlantic flight to New York.

July 4.—The heavyweight championship of the world is won by Jack Dempsey, who defeats Jess Willard after three rounds of fighting at Toledo, Ohio, before 45,000 spectators.



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THE LATE DR. ABRAHAM JACOBI

(Dr. Jacobi had come to the United States in 1853, after detention in Germany for participation in the revolutionary movement. He began to practice in New York, and became a leading authority on children's diseases. Although eighty-nine years old at the time of his death, on July 11, he had kept abreast of his profession and was one of New York's foremost citizens)

July 6.—The British dirigible airship *R-34* arrives at Roosevelt Field, near New York City, having crossed the ocean from Scotland (3200 miles) in 4½ days, carrying 31 persons.

The United States Navy transport *Great Northern*, arriving at New York, establishes a new record for transatlantic round trip—12 days, 1 hour, and 35 minutes, remaining only five hours at Brest, France, while discharging cargo and receiving troops.

July 10.—The British airship *R-34* sails over New York in the early morning and starts for home.

A tie-up of coastwise shipping along the Atlantic seaboard is threatened by a strike of deckhands and enginemen in the port of New York, who demand higher wages.

July 13.—The airship *R34* arrives at an air station in England, completing her return trip across the Atlantic in 3 days and 3 hours.

OBITUARY

June 16.—Rev. Dr. Henry Melville King, of Providence, a widely known Baptist clergyman, 80.

June 18.—Gen. Fernando Figueroa, president of Salvador from 1907 to 1911.

June 19.—Dr. Harry J. Haiselden, the Chicago physician noted for his refusal to perform operations on hopelessly defective children.

June 25.—Pierre P. Carp, former Premier of Rumania, 82.

June 27.—John A. Leach, first Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, 76. . . . John K. Stewart, a former Member of Congress from New York, 65.

June 28.—William Philip Schreiner, former High Commissioner for South Africa in England, 62.

June 30.—Read-Adm. William Swift, U. S. N., retired, 71. . . . Baron Rayleigh (John William Strutt), a distinguished British chemist, 76.

July 1.—Sir John Tomlinson Brunner, the British alkali magnate, 77.

July 2.—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915, 72. . . . Lemuel Ely Quigg, ex-Congressman from New York and formerly prominent in the Republican organization, 56.

July 5.—Nathaniel Bowditch Potter, a distinguished New York surgeon and editor of medical books, 49.

July 7.—George R. Webb, a Baltimore capitalist noted as organizer of street railway and telegraph systems, 60.

July 8.—John Fox, Jr., author of widely read books of fiction based on mountaineer life, 56.

July 9.—George Edward Ide, president of the Home Life Insurance Company, 59.

July 10—Edward Abeles, a widely known actor in musical comedies, 48.

July 11.—Dr. Abraham Jacobi, of New York, noted authority on pediatrics and known as the dean of the American medical profession, 89. . . . Rear-Adm. Adolph Marix, U. S. N., retired, 71. . . . Edouard de Billy, recently acting as French High Commissioner to the United States, 54.

July 12.—Albert Vickers, formerly head of a great English steel and airplane industry, 81. . . . Dr. W. Max Muller, of the University of Pennsylvania, a foremost authority on ancient Egypt, 57.

July 13.—Brig.-Gen. Henry E. Noyes, U. S. A., retired, 79.

July 14.—Sir Percy Sanderson, British Consul-General at New York from 1894 to 1907, 77.





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ANNA HOWARD SHAW

(Woman-suffrage leader, ordained preacher, and graduate physician. Born February 14, 1847; died July 2, 1919)

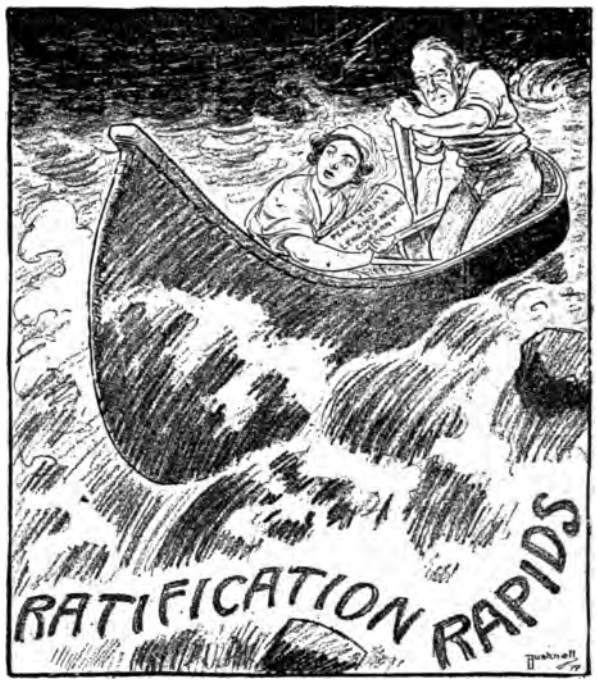
JOHN FOX, JR.

(Author of widely read books of fiction on mountaineer life. Born in Kentucky in 1863; died at Nashville, Tenn., on July 8, 1919)

CARTOONS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL



OUR SENATORIAL HAMLET
"To ratify or not to ratify; that is the question."
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



SAFELY THROUGH THE FOG AND STORM—BUT NOW THE DANGEROUS RAPIDS TO SHOOT!
From *Central Press Association* (Cleveland)



USING THE BURNING GLASS ON THE SENATE OPPOSITION
From the *World* (New York)



LOOKING A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH
From the *Beacon* (Wichita, Kansas)

countries, controlling the food supplies of the world and the raw materials, still possessing orderly government, may exercise an enormous influence in the world. It may well be that Italy, having to choose between Germany, on the one hand, and such a combination of the democratic nations, may little by little forget her present bitterness. And with Italy joined to the three western nations, the menace of a new German coalition will be greatly minimized.

Certainly until French men and women, American men and women, British men and women are willing to send their sons to the Danube, the Carpathians and the Vistula, to enforce decisions made by the League of Nations, it will not be possible for the League of Nations to prevent conflicts between the races of Central Europe, nor is it conceivable that the tribes which have been fighting for centuries for racial aspirations, will at once surrender them—bow to decisions which are made by a tribunal without power to enforce them.

Therefore to believe that we have made peace at Paris, up to the present moment, seems to me to encourage a very dangerous illusion and to believe that the League of Nations can preserve world peace, while itself relying upon moral suasion, is equally a dangerous dream. At Paris we have so far reached a basis for settling the accounts outstanding between Germany and her enemies. Not until Germany has paid those debts shall we have a real settlement, and Germany means to avoid payment if she can.

As to the League of Nations, it is, so far, only an association between three democracies, the French, British, and our own, to preserve world peace, to stand for certain ideas and ideals, to urge and to champion the idea of settlement of future differences between nations by peaceful rather than warlike methods, to prevent the recurrence of the recent world tragedy. But so far the League of Nations is no more than the association of these three nations, and it is nothing if there be any break between these three powers, any lessening of the ties which necessitate close coöperation and complete understanding.

As it stands to-day, the League of Nations means to France nothing more, in fact, than an Anglo-French guarantee against a new German attack. It means to Britain only the promise of a future Anglo-American association in the world, closer than any previous relation, an alliance based upon common purposes and common ideals. There are those in both countries who hope that it may be the foundation of a new order in the world, yet even for them, there is a clear perception that this can only be after years, and there are few in either country who do not believe that if America now refuses this coöperation and association, then the outlook for world peace and for civilization is dark, indeed.

Meantime, and this is the thing I set out to discuss in the present article, the task which remains to be performed at Paris is not merely the larger fraction of the general task, which confronted the Allied countries on the morning of the Armistice eight months ago, but it is also the most momentous and difficult task any body of statesmen have ever had to undertake. Beside it the Congress of Vienna was child's play. So far we have only made a beginning, and a very modest beginning. The main work is still to be done.

VI. The Amended Treaty

And now I desire very briefly to refer to the amended treaty, or rather to the treaty in its final form. The amendments are in the main minor, although they materially improve the German situation. One change excludes Southern Schleswig from the list of territories in which a plebiscite is to be had to determine the future allegiance of the inhabitants. As the people are almost without exception German, this is a mere act of justice, but it leaves Germany in possession of both banks of the Kiel Canal.

A second change provides that the people of Upper Silesia shall vote on the question of whether they shall remain German or become Polish citizens. The people are in very large majority Polish by race and language, but Upper Silesia has been separated from Poland for many centuries, was acquired by Prussia in the first of its predatory wars of Frederick the Great. Presumably, but not certainly, the people will choose to join Poland, but the Germans have at least a chance of retaining one of their most valuable mineral districts.

As to the Sarre Basin, the treaty has been changed in such fashion that if, when the plebiscite is held, fifteen years hence, the people vote to rejoin Germany, failure of Germany to buy the mines, which pass to France now, will not invalidate the popular decision. This, too, is an act of obvious jus-

tice. These are the main territorial changes.

The other changes are largely on the financial side, although Germany is permitted to keep an army of 200,000 for a certain time and there is a tacit understanding that the size of her bill to the allies will be fixed promptly and the period of occupation of German territory by French and Belgian armies shortened, provided she performs the tasks imposed by the Versailles document.

In the larger sense, then, the original treaty stands. The terms fixed at Versailles in the first draft of the treaty are the terms of the final version. Now there has been and there is continuing criticism of this document. The peace, as written, is described as imperialistic and as capitalistic. To support the charge of imperialism, French occupation of the Sarre Valley is cited. To support the charge that it is capitalistic, all sorts of charges are made, most of them merely ridiculous.

So far as Europe is concerned, the present treaty is certainly the least imperialistic in history, save only the treaty which ended the Seven Weeks War between Austria and Prussia and then Prussia was deliberately seeking to preserve Austria as an ally, after excluding her from Germany. France receives back Alsace-Lorraine, which was her right, but her sole further territorial gain is a wholly limited tenure of the Sarre Basin, which has an area of little more than seven hundred square miles and a population of approximately six hundred thousand. She gets this, too, not in the furtherance of territorial aspirations, but in return for German destruction of her own coal districts. Her warrant for a plebiscite lies in the fact that nearly half of the territory was once French and was taken by Prussia after Napoleon fell, against the will of the people.

In my judgment all of the Sarre Basin, save perhaps Sarrelouis, Ney's birthplace, which has preserved a real French sentiment, will ultimately return to Germany. I do not believe any French Government would be strong enough to hold it against the will of the inhabitants, at the end of the allotted time, for I am certain that the French people would prefer to see it German again rather than to create a new Alsace-Lorraine—a tiny one to be sure, but not less undesirable.

But France is entitled to the coal. There could be no certainty of getting the coal on any other conditions than ownership of the mines and occupation of the territory. To call such an operation imperialistic, is to exaggerate deliberately. It is also to ascribe to the French a sentiment which certainly does not exist among the masses of the people.

As to Danzig, a great deal of criticism is to be heard, but here again the criticism seems unwarranted. Danzig was once a Polish city. It was stolen by the Germans and thereafter colonized by them, that is, by the Prussians. Without the fullest opportunity to use Danzig, Poland would be strangled. To my mind the criticism of the Danzig affair lies in the fact that a dubious situation was created by not giving the town back to the Poles instead of putting it under the control of the League of Nations and thus perpetuating German aspirations and Polish ambitions. Both will continue to desire absolute ownership, if the League of Nations scheme does not work, and here is the material out of which a new war can arise. But unless Prussia were to be confirmed in her title, acquired by violence, merely because she had kept the city long and brought many of her people to settle in it, deliberately driving the Poles out, it seems to me that the decision to deprive her of Danzig was just, while the decision to withhold it from Poland was far less warranted.

Outside of Europe a great deal is being said about the taking of German colonies, but how could they be returned? For example, the natives in several welcomed the invaders and joined them. Should these natives be turned back to the Germans to massacre as they massacred the Herreros? The more one knows of what Germany actually did in Africa, the less one regrets the extinction of her colonial empire.

From Southwest Africa she organized a rebellion in British South Africa. The Boers and British of the Union of South Africa conquered it together and both were as fully resolved that it should not return to Germany as the American Colonials were determined that Canada should not go back to France, when at last Quebec and Montreal had been taken. The voice of Australia on the subject of Guinea was no less clear.

The German used his colonies as bases for attack upon his neighbors, not in war merely but in peace. They were centers of agitation and of propaganda. In insisting that they shall not return to Germany the British both of the United Kingdom and the Colonies are following the course made inevitable by German procedure before the war.

VII. Conclusion

tion is something not tolerable, would be to misunderstand human nature.

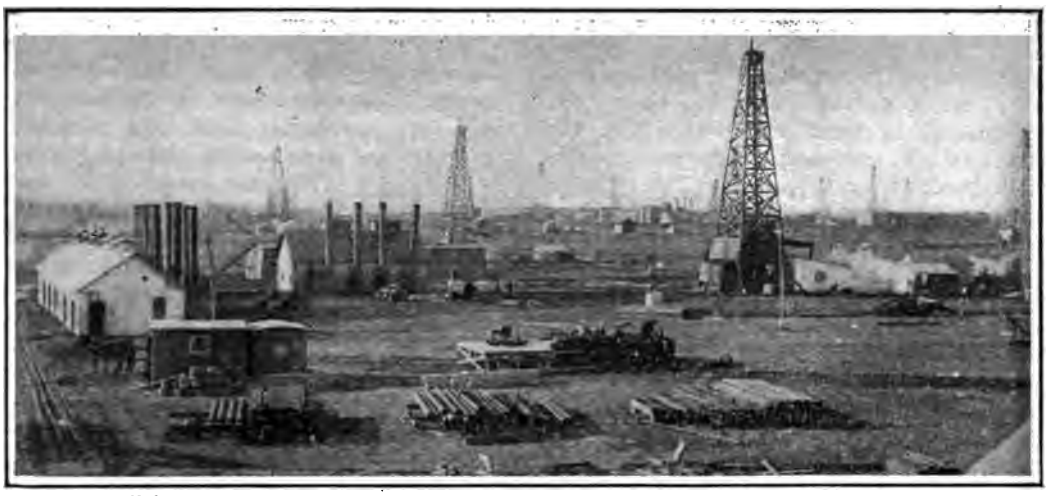
There was always the unmistakable dilemma: If Germany emerged would be a Germany seeking payment at the expense of the nations she had sought to ruin. A Germany permitted to pay would be a Germany unregenerate. The Paris Conference must end in failure open to it. As a consequence we have not a peace of conciliation, but a peace of justice, and the Germans remain as hostile as before the armistice.

But would they have been less hostile to any peace we can conceive of, which left unpunished the French, the Belgians and the Poles? In point of fact it is the Polish settlement which, on the territorial side, the French and Belgians chose on the ground that it most angers the Germans. Poland has not been treated generously by the Allies. Far more Poles have been under German rule than there will be under Polish domination, but Germany is losing Posen, West Prussia, and portions of Upper Silesia and Polish-speaking East Prussia suffers what seems to the Germans a fatal mutilation.

Is there in there a German alive, who would regard the restoration to Poland of the provinces taken by Prussia in successive partitions as a just preface to a peace of conciliation? Nowhere would it be easier to find a German who would be reconciled to repaying to France and Belgium losses incident to German destruction. Yet how can anyone justly contemplate these measures of restoration?

We have made peace with Germany based upon the facts of the German conduct of the war. It is not a peace of vengeance. It is not a peace of violence. It takes from Germany no territory to which she had a clear title, so far as Europe is concerned, and no territory outside of Europe in which the substitution of another sovereignty is not a palpable gain for the natives.

We have made Germany pay, but not the costs of the war—only sums which everyone concedes will be insufficient to restore Northern France and Belgium. Indemnity, in the sense that Germany levied indemnity upon France after the war of 1870, has not been exacted. As for the vast debts piled up by France and Britain, to say nothing of the United States, in defending themselves against German attacks, they remain for the French, British and American taxpayers to liquidate.



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AN OIL FIELD IN THE KANSAS-OKLAHOMA-TEXAS REGION

OIL—THE NEW FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL GIANT

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

IT is doubtful if there has ever been such a great movement of investors and speculators into any class of stocks as that which is now pouring into the petroleum industry. This is especially true of the shares of new companies formed for the purpose of producing oil.

Within the last six months Wall Street and the public throughout the country generally have turned to oil stocks with a simply amazing fervor. The "oils" have become the favorites not only of speculators, but of many who consider themselves conservative investors, and of brokers and apparently of the most solid bankers. The name of oil has become magic, and the financial community which a few years ago knew nothing and cared less about the oil industry is now working overtime gathering information and compiling statistics regarding the position and wonderful possibilities of the new industrial and financial giant—Oil.

The completeness of the change is well illustrated by a brief conversation which the writer had a short time ago with the vice-president of one of the richest and most conservative banks in New York City. This bank is synonymous with all that is supposed to typify the best and most solid traditions of Wall Street. I had just told the vice-president that I had recently visited the new oil fields of Texas, Ranger and Burkburnett.

"I am going down there in a few days myself," he replied. "We expect to invest down there. It's absurd that we should have waited so long to get into the oil game. Think of all the years' handicap those people at 26 Broadway (Standard Oil) have had over us," and he looked out of the window regretfully as if he could not forgive the older men in the powerful group of capitalists to which he belongs for not having sooner followed in the paths of John D. Rockefeller.

What are the reasons for this almost tidal movement of investment money into the oil industry? A very moderate estimate places the capitalization of new oil companies in this country from the beginning of the year down to the end of April at $300,000,000. Another estimate places the total number of new companies down to July 1 at 5000 and their capitalization at $1,500,000,000. It is impossible to obtain exact figures, but the organization and "flotation" of $100,000,000 companies does not at present cause a ripple of surprise in Wall Street. Yet the combined capitalization of all the Standard Oil group of companies is only $550,000,000.

Competition with "The Standard"

The attitude of Wall Street and the public toward oil stocks in recent years would certainly furnish an interesting subject for

PEACE WITH GERMANY

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. Armistice Conditions

THE month which has passed since I wrote my last article for this magazine has seen the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany. We are now, save for the formality of ratification, at the end of five years of war, seven months and a half of which have been consumed by the negotiations which have ended in the Treaty of Versailles. By an odd coincidence, the date of the signing of the document was the anniversary of the assassination at Serajevo which set in motion the series of events which led to the World War itself.

Now, at the outset of this article I should like to suggest a comparison between the Europe that existed at the time of the armistice and the Europe which exists at the present moment, when the statesmen and diplomats in Paris have completed approximately one-tenth of their gigantic task of reorganizing the boundaries and readjusting the relations between nations.

On November 11, when the armistice was signed, two of the great nations which had played commanding parts in the opening of the struggle had collapsed, one into mere chaos, the other into a welter of separate nationalities, while a third, the greatest of the enemy nations, was in the throes of a revolution, which had produced a cascade of thrones and a flight of royalties. Russia was in the hands of Bolshevists, Austria-Hungary was crumbling to complete ruin, Germany was taking the first step in the direction of revolution.

Meantime in all central and eastern Europe, subject nationalities were clamoring for recognition, new nations were arising. There was a sense in all the world of the arrival of a great day of liberation. Poles, Rumanians, Czechoslovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Greeks, the people of the "lost Provinces" of France and of the Italia Irredenta were rising to freedom. The old tyranny was ending. The old masters were in flight or helpless. With the strain of the long struggle removed, there was a sense of jubilation and of happiness all over the face of the world, save only among the people of the Central Empires.

In that momentary jubilation little or nothing was seen of the difficulties that lay before the peacemakers. Little or nothing was realized of the extent of the task to restore the ordinary machinery of life, to replace the fallen systems of government by new systems, to meet and vanquish the perils of Bolshevism, the dangers of anarchy, to put the world on its feet again. Once the actual fighting was over, the German foe defeated and disarmed, there was a profound conviction that peace would return as naturally as day after night.

It was in this mood that the people of Britain, France, and the United States looked upon the assembling of the Peace Conference. It was in the conviction that he came to perform miracles that the people of Britain, of France, of Italy, welcomed President Wilson. In some mysterious fashion the suffering millions of Europe conceived that the President of the one western nation unexhausted by the war would unwind all the tangle of problems which had confronted and bested three centuries and more of European statesmen.

The truth, the unmistakable truth, is that in this time when the armistice had just been signed, no one perceived the extent of the destruction the war had wrought, in institutions as in men, in systems of government quite as much as in the economic systems of the world. The ruined cities, the devastated fields, the destroyed communications, the almost complete paralysis of the machinery of production and distribution, the overturn of much that had represented order and method—these things were forgotten by those who cheered the coming of the end of the fighting.

At the same time, men and women expected that the Peace Conference would make a prompt end of their tasks, that the new frontiers would be speedily drawn, that the terms of the peace treaty would be accepted by the defeated enemy, and four

years and a half of the most gigantic upheaval known to history swiftly and completely liquidated. It was in this mood that mankind turned to the Paris Conference. The subject people expected liberty, the hungry people food, the masses a guarantee against a repetition of the recent tragedy. A peace of conciliation was demanded by those who with equal firmness demanded that compensation for wanton injuries without which their own countries were ruined. In a word, eight months ago the world hailed the end of the fighting as the prelude to the millennium.

II. THE FACT

We are now able to see how unfounded was much of the optimism of that time. After eight months, peace with Germany, just signed and still unratified, sees Europe not actually at peace, but engaged, not in one great war, but in something like twenty small ones. Bolshevism, after long and gravely threatening all Western civilization, seems declining in power, but it reigns in Moscow and in Budapest, while even in Germany domestic strife continues. Britain and France are still afflicted by endless strikes. Even in the United States we have unpleasant echoes of the Red Terror, which still rules in lands inhabited by not less than two hundred millions of human beings.

Again, those subject races whose liberation we cheered in November have already become embroiled in the old, familiar rivalries over territories. Poland and Czechoslovakia are watching each other with arms in hands. The Rumanians and the Czechoslovaks are fighting the Hungarians. The Serbs are on the point of conflict with the Rumanians, are actually fighting the Albanians, are only momentarily restrained from assailing the Italians. As for the Turks, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Lithuanians, the Esthonians, the Letts, the Ukrainians, merely to mention the names of the races is to indicate new areas of actual conflict or regions of present danger.

As for Germany, she has signed the treaty of peace, but she has signed it with the frank statement that she yields to force but does no more than put her name upon another "scrap of paper." A peace of conciliation, never possible unless we were prepared to forgive Germany her debts, let France and Belgium go bankrupt to ruin and revolution, has not been made. Even more disturbing, that peace which has been made demands the presence of Allied troops on the Rhine to enforce. We have not reached a settlement, but only a basis of settlement with Germany, provided we, her conquerors, stand united for the next fifteen years, provided we agree to use force, if necessary, to compel German compliance with her promises, made under duress, repudiated in advance.

In the meantime the alliance against Germany has not stood the test of the Paris Conference unshaken. The Italians have all but left the conference. Italy has shown in every conceivable fashion her dissatisfaction with the results so far reached. French and Italian soldiers have clashed in Fiume. Italian journals have united in the most savage criticism of President Wilson, welcomed in Italy a few months ago as no man has been welcomed since Italy became a nation.

Those of us who were in Paris saw develop the Italian dissatisfaction and the equally bitter Japanese resentment against the three nations which were dominating the Peace Conference. Of the five great powers until recently united in the common struggle against the German, two have already drifted very far away from their old allies. As a matter of fact the old alliance has ceased to exist. There are left now only the United States, Britain, and France.

Nor is it less plain that forces are at work still further to extend the disintegration. In the United States public opinion is being deliberately and successfully stirred against Great Britain, against France, and even more successfully in the direction of a return to the old policy of isolation, which, if adopted, would leave France and Britain substantially alone in the presence of a vengeful Germany, a hostile Italy, a Russia whose ultimate reintegration is almost certain, but whose future alignment must remain problematical.

Not only will Russia's alignment be a matter of conjecture, but it is at least certain that most of the influential Russians, the anti-Bolshevistic leaders, whom one saw or knew about in Paris, were even more hostile to the Western powers than to Germany, regarded what they termed Allied betrayal as more intolerable than Germany brutality. Meantime, Russia herself is the scene of half a dozen wars, the site of at least as many struggling states. From the Baltic to the Black Sea chaos and contest endure and we have become hardened to the reports of the murder of hundreds and the death from star-

vation and disease of thousands and even millions.

Such, then, is the Europe that exists at the moment the treaty with Germany is signed. Two hundred millions of people are still in the agonizing torture of Bolshevism, which has proclaimed its hostility to Western civilization and demonstrated it. Seventy million Germans in the old Germany and the present Austria are sullen and hoping for revenge. Nearly forty millions of Italians hate France and Britain with a hatred as intense as that they felt for Austria only five years ago. Upwards of fifty millions of people of the recently liberated races are fighting with each other and with at least one of the Great Powers for their respective "places in the sun."

III. The Danger Spots

It is still the greatest of the uncompleted tasks of the Paris Conference, then, to deal with the Russian problem. There can be no general peace in the world as long as a nation of the size of Russia is dominated by Bolshevism, which is not a domestic disease, simply, but, in its nature a frank attack upon all Western civilization. Hardly less considerable is the duty to resolve the Hapsburg monarchy into its component parts in such fashion as to dole substantial justice to the rights of the various races and abolish the danger of conflict between them. Nor is it a small labor to create a new Poland, which shall be a viable state, without so offending Russian nationalism that when Russia returns she will join hands with Germany, still unreconciled to the loss of her Eastern provinces, in a new partition.

Something must be done to satisfy Italy, that she may not be permanently lost to the Western powers, that she will not inevitably drift back to a German alliance. Rumanian claims must be judged, but in judging them there is the obvious peril that if Rumania gets too much there will be no hope of an ultimate winning of the Magyars away from the German alliance—in reality there is little or none—but if Rumania gets too little, then this great new state will, like Italy, with whom she has close ties, make her bar-



THE "DANGER SPOTS" WHICH REMAIN FOR PEACE CONFERENCES TO REMOVE



PREMIER CLEMENCEAU (AT THE RIGHT) PRESENTING THE PEACE TREATY TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES

gain with Berlin. Moreover, if Rumania receives Bessarabia, Russian nationalism will be wounded; if she does not, Rumania will refuse to accept the peace arrangement and continue to hold Bessarabia. Italy promises a similar policy if she is not awarded Fiume, while no conceivable way exists to prevent a war between the Southern Slavs and the Italians if Dalmatia and Fiume go to the Latins.

The Banat is claimed by Rumanians and Magyars as a whole, by the Serbs as to the western portion. The Rumanians are—or were very recently—fighting the Magyars and are threatening to drive the Serbs out of the Banat. Between the Serbs and the Bulgars there is the old quarrel over Macedonia, between the Rumanians and the Bulgars a dispute as to the Dobrudja. The Austrians and the Serbs are at daggers drawn over certain frontier regions north of the Drave, where the Serbs are advocating the claims of their Jugo-Slav brethren, the Slovenians. The Greek and the Italians contest Northern Epirus and the Egean Islands and Italy views with anger the recent Greek landing in Smyrna, which she covets.

There are many other danger spots. The Poles and the Czechoslovaks are rival claimants for Teschen. The Poles and the Ukrainians are actually fighting in Eastern Galicia. The Ukrainians and the Rumanians are on the verge of hostilities in the Bukovina. The Ukrainians and the Czechoslovaks claim the Eastern Carpathian highlands, with Hungary as a third claimant.

Now it is essential to recognize that in dealing with these problems there are several phases which must be considered. It is not merely the justice of the claim that must weigh with British and French statesmen. Only America, with three thousand miles of sea for a frontier, can afford to consider merely the justice of the case. If, for example, the final treaty of peace in the East of Europe offends the Russians and the Italians, then France first, Britain ultimately, will have to face the possibility of a new hostile alliance of Russia, Italy and Germany.

Further than this, if Britain and France disappoint Polish hopes, Poland may collapse or go over to Bolshevism, while, if Poland is a strong state in the future, it will be of great value to the French in the event of another war. If the Jugo-Slavs, as well as the Italians, are dissatisfied with the result of the settlement, they will not be ready to stand with the Western powers in any new struggle, and to preserve any balance of power in Europe the Poles and the Jugo-Slavs must stand with the Western powers.

There will be, in any event, a natural sympathy and common attitude so far as the Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Bul-

garians are concerned. Each has lost so much by the war and the settlement that the idea that anything but force will reconcile them to the new frontiers is patently absurd. Russia may go with Germany in the future. Rumania and Italy may be permanently lost. Czechoslovakia will resent any bestowal of Teschen upon Poland, and Czechoslovakia is a very important factor in the new Europe.

If one recalls that the occasion of the recent world catastrophe was the collision between Serb aspirations and Austro-Hungarian interests, if one remembers how gravely the old Eastern Question imperilled the peace of the world, before it finally led to war, it will be seen what a menace the newly created Eastern Question, tenfold, twentyfold as great, may prove.

IV. Rights and Wrongs

As to the rights and wrongs of the several disputes, it must be said, at the outset, that unfortunately there are very few of the questions which are simple. We have seen that the town of Fiume, Italian in its population, but a mere enclave in a Slavonic region and the single sufficient commercial outlet for the new Jugo-Slav state, has been the cause of a tremendous struggle at Paris, a pronouncement of President Wilson, a cabinet crisis and a change of ministry in Italy, a very real breach between Italy and her own allies. Yet it is clear that in this instance there is much justice on each side of the controversy and real injury will be done to the Italians or to the Jugo-Slavs, as the decision favors one or the other.

Take the Banat, for example: It has a million and a half of people, but no race has a clear majority. The Rumanians are the most numerous, but the Germans outnumber the Magyars and the Serbs, who claim it also. If it be divided according to race, Serbia and Hungary will get all the outlets commercially speaking, by which the Rumanian regions can export their products, and there will be created one more of those impossible frontiers which are the base of European jealousies. It is not possible to make a separate state out of the Banat because each of its three rival races desire to join with their neighboring relatives.

If you give all the Banat to Rumania, which geographically and commercially is the logical thing to do, you violate the principle of self-determination and dissatisfy both the Serbs and the Magyars. But if you divide it between Serbia, Hungary, and Rumania, you dissatisfy Rumania and Hungary, both of which claim all of it, and you supply a basis for a common policy between Italy and Rumania—a common policy of hostility to the Serbs, an incentive to attack Serbia jointly, and in such an attack Bulgaria, with her Macedonian appetite still unsatisfied after three bloody wars, would certainly join. Even Hungary might be placated as to the Banat if she were promised her old provinces of Croatia and Slavonia as the price of joining in a war against Serbia.

As to Poland, the Paris Conference has already made Germany her permanent enemy by giving the Poles West Prussia and Posen, to which they were entitled. Now Poland claims Lithuania, once joined with her, East Galicia, hers until the Last Partition, and in addition White Russian territory. But the Lithuanians, the White Russians and the Ukrainians oppose such an arrangement and are ready to fight. The Ukrainians are already fighting. Moreover, if Russia comes to her old stature again, she will certainly attempt to undo such a partition of her old territories and probably join with Germany in a new attack upon Poland. And Russia will be equally resentful if Paris follows the principle of self determination, difficult enough to follow anyway, since the frontiers of all the states are an inextricable tangle of races, and sets up two or three Baltic States, cutting the Slav off from the salt waters.

Yet for France it is essential to have Poland strong and unless Poland is strong she can hardly defend herself. The territories Poland desires were Polish once, have no separate history, and contain many Poles. For the Western Powers it is essential to have Jugo-Slavia strong, and if Jugo-Slavia has no seaport on the Adriatic, with good rail communications behind, she will be at the mercy of Italy. For the Western Powers a strong Rumania is a bulwark against Bolshevistic Russia, as is Poland, yet, if Russia turns from Bolshevism, she is bound to claim her old lands and hate those nations, her old allies, responsible for bestowing them upon the Pole and the Rumanian, even though the claims of the Poles and the Rumanians are as sound as those of the Jugo-Slavs.

In sum, it is essential to perceive, first of all, that there is no absolute right or wrong on one side or the other of the most complicated of the questions which still remain to be settled. The decisions, when made, must in a sense be arbitrary and will in-

evitably work injustice, however fairly made. Secondly, it is equally necessary to see that behind the decisions, behind the rights and wrongs, lies the question of the effect of each decision upon the future interests, the future safety of great powers. How far, for example, can a Frenchman, however sympathetic with the aspirations of the Poles or the Serbs, afford to champion these claims and risk the subsequent alliance of the Russians and the Italians with his age-long foe the German, who has invaded him four times in a century and now threatens a new attack? Italian neutrality in 1914 gave France just enough army corps to win the Battle of the Marne, but it would be a bad investment for France if support of the Jugo-Slav hopes and rights in the Adriatic made Italy an enemy next time, and France must think of next time.

V. The League of Nations

But on this side of the water one hears always that the League of Nations will be able to deal with just these problems which I have outlined. Perhaps, but only on condition that the nations affected, the peoples affected, accept the decision. Up to the present moment Europe has found no way to reconcile her races to alien rule. We have, for example, promised to bestow upon Italy a quarter of a million Germans in the Tyrol and nearly half a million Jugo-Slavs in the hinterlands of Istria and Trieste. But these same Germans, these Tyrolese, successfully fought Napoleon when he divided them between Italy and Bavaria, and we have recent knowledge of the failure of Europe to make the Serbs accept the cession of the Bosnian Serbs to Austria-Hungary.

Precisely as long as the Great Powers preserved a common policy as to the Balkans, that is, as long as the Great Powers were agreed that the Balkan peoples should accept the situation, as they had created it, the Serbs, the Bulgars and the Greeks were helpless. But when the Great Powers were divided into two camps, then they were paralyzed and we had the two Balkan Wars, with the swift advent of the World conflagration as a consequence.

Now it is plain that Europe is divided again. The Germans, the Hungarians, the Bulgarians have all been called upon to give up vast territories long held by them, some of them containing many of their own races. It is clear that they have accepted the situation, so far as they have accepted it, only because they are for the moment unable to resist. They have yielded, but their yielding has been accompanied with threats which cannot be treated idly.

In addition the Italians and the Rumanians—and Rumania has become a very considerable power—are totally dissatisfied with the peace terms already sketched, and have a very clear basis for coming to an understanding with the Germans. Then, behind all there is the Russian, nearly two hundred millions of him of one sort and another. Today his rulers are at war with all western civilization, while those Russians who challenge Lenine and Trotzky frankly assert that they have more to hope for from an understanding with Germany than with their old allies, who have at least exchanged notes with the Bolshevists and planned the bestowal of Russian territory upon the Poles.

It is true that the League of Nations has provided much machinery for dealing with the disputes between nations, but the worst of the difficulties in the Near East grow out of the disputes of peoples. The theory of the League of Nations is that wars are accidental, that the people are led into wars against their wills, either through the mistakes or the sins of their rulers, and that, if there were an obvious pathway for their rulers and statesmen to take to avoid war, public sentiment would assuredly compel them to take it.

But a Serb would prefer war to peace under Bulgar rule. A Slovenian would rather go to war than accept Italian rule. The Poles have endured centuries of misery without losing their race aspirations. We have had in the case of President Wilson's appeal to the Italian people over the heads of their rulers a clear example of the fallacy which supposes that the masses of a country prefer peace at all times, or are ready to sacrifice national aspirations on the altar of conciliation. Greek, Serb, Bulgar in the Balkans; the Poles, the Czechs and the Germans in Central Europe, have been struggling for a thousand years.

It seems to me, then, plain that the League of Nations cannot immediately, at all events, whatever its machinery is or may be, deal with the problems of Europe directly. On the other hand, an association between the United States, France and Great Britain, based upon the principles of the League of Nations, destitute of any imperialistic ambitions to be satisfied at the expense of other

countries, controlling the food supplies of the world and the raw materials, still possessing orderly government, may exercise an enormous influence in the world. It may well be that Italy, having to choose between Germany, on the one hand, and such a combination of the democratic nations, may little by little forget her present bitterness. And with Italy joined to the three western nations, the menace of a new German coalition will be greatly minimized.

Certainly until French men and women, American men and women, British men and women are willing to send their sons to the Danube, the Carpathians and the Vistula, to enforce decisions made by the League of Nations, it will not be possible for the League of Nations to prevent conflicts between the races of Central Europe, nor is it conceivable that the tribes which have been fighting for centuries for racial aspirations, will at once surrender them—bow to decisions which are made by a tribunal without power to enforce them.

Therefore to believe that we have made peace at Paris, up to the present moment, seems to me to encourage a very dangerous illusion and to believe that the League of Nations can preserve world peace, while itself relying upon moral suasion, is equally a dangerous dream. At Paris we have so far reached a basis for settling the accounts outstanding between Germany and her enemies. Not until Germany has paid those debts shall we have a real settlement, and Germany means to avoid payment if she can.

As to the League of Nations, it is, so far, only an association between three democracies, the French, British, and our own, to preserve world peace, to stand for certain ideas and ideals, to urge and to champion the idea of settlement of future differences between nations by peaceful rather than warlike methods, to prevent the recurrence of the recent world tragedy. But so far the League of Nations is no more than the association of these three nations, and it is nothing if there be any break between these three powers, any lessening of the ties which necessitate close coöperation and complete understanding.

As it stands to-day, the League of Nations means to France nothing more, in fact, than an Anglo-French guarantee against a new German attack. It means to Britain only the promise of a future Anglo-American association in the world, closer than any previous relation, an alliance based upon common purposes and common ideals. There are those in both countries who hope that it may be the foundation of a new order in the world, yet even for them, there is a clear perception that this can only be after years, and there are few in either country who do not believe that if America now refuses this coöperation and association, then the outlook for world peace and for civilization is dark, indeed.

Meantime, and this is the thing I set out to discuss in the present article, the task which remains to be performed at Paris is not merely the larger fraction of the general task, which confronted the Allied countries on the morning of the Armistice eight months ago, but it is also the most momentous and difficult task any body of statesmen have ever had to undertake. Beside it the Congress of Vienna was child's play. So far we have only made a beginning, and a very modest beginning. The main work is still to be done.

VI. The Amended Treaty

And now I desire very briefly to refer to the amended treaty, or rather to the treaty in its final form. The amendments are in the main minor, although they materially improve the German situation. One change excludes Southern Schleswig from the list of territories in which a plebiscite is to be had to determine the future allegiance of the inhabitants. As the people are almost without exception German, this is a mere act of justice, but it leaves Germany in possession of both banks of the Kiel Canal.

A second change provides that the people of Upper Silesia shall vote on the question of whether they shall remain German or become Polish citizens. The people are in very large majority Polish by race and language, but Upper Silesia has been separated from Poland for many centuries, was acquired by Prussia in the first of its predatory wars of Frederick the Great. Presumably, but not certainly, the people will choose to join Poland, but the Germans have at least a chance of retaining one of their most valuable mineral districts.

As to the Sarre Basin, the treaty has been changed in such fashion that if, when the plebiscite is held, fifteen years hence, the people vote to rejoin Germany, failure of Germany to buy the mines, which pass to France now, will not invalidate the popular decision. This, too, is an act of obvious jus-

tice. These are the main territorial changes.

The other changes are largely on the financial side, although Germany is permitted to keep an army of 200,000 for a certain time and there is a tacit understanding that the size of her bill to the allies will be fixed promptly and the period of occupation of German territory by French and Belgian armies shortened, provided she performs the tasks imposed by the Versailles document.

In the larger sense, then, the original treaty stands. The terms fixed at Versailles in the first draft of the treaty are the terms of the final version. Now there has been and there is continuing criticism of this document. The peace, as written, is described as imperialistic and as capitalistic. To support the charge of imperialism, French occupation of the Sarre Valley is cited. To support the charge that it is capitalistic, all sorts of charges are made, most of them merely ridiculous.

So far as Europe is concerned, the present treaty is certainly the least imperialistic in history, save only the treaty which ended the Seven Weeks War between Austria and Prussia and then Prussia was deliberately seeking to preserve Austria as an ally, after excluding her from Germany. France receives back Alsace-Lorraine, which was her right, but her sole further territorial gain is a wholly limited tenure of the Sarre Basin, which has an area of little more than seven hundred square miles and a population of approximately six hundred thousand. She gets this, too, not in the furtherance of territorial aspirations, but in return for German destruction of her own coal districts. Her warrant for a plebiscite lies in the fact that nearly half of the territory was once French and was taken by Prussia after Napoleon fell, against the will of the people.

In my judgment all of the Sarre Basin, save perhaps Sarrelouis, Ney's birthplace, which has preserved a real French sentiment, will ultimately return to Germany. I do not believe any French Government would be strong enough to hold it against the will of the inhabitants, at the end of the allotted time, for I am certain that the French people would prefer to see it German again rather than to create a new Alsace-Lorraine—a tiny one to be sure, but not less undesirable.

But France is entitled to the coal. There could be no certainty of getting the coal on any other conditions than ownership of the mines and occupation of the territory. To call such an operation imperialistic, is to exaggerate deliberately. It is also to ascribe to the French a sentiment which certainly does not exist among the masses of the people.

As to Danzig, a great deal of criticism is to be heard, but here again the criticism seems unwarranted. Danzig was once a Polish city. It was stolen by the Germans and thereafter colonized by them, that is, by the Prussians. Without the fullest opportunity to use Danzig, Poland would be strangled. To my mind the criticism of the Danzig affair lies in the fact that a dubious situation was created by not giving the town back to the Poles instead of putting it under the control of the League of Nations and thus perpetuating German aspirations and Polish ambitions. Both will continue to desire absolute ownership, if the League of Nations scheme does not work, and here is the material out of which a new war can arise. But unless Prussia were to be confirmed in her title, acquired by violence, merely because she had kept the city long and brought many of her people to settle in it, deliberately driving the Poles out, it seems to me that the decision to deprive her of Danzig was just, while the decision to withhold it from Poland was far less warranted.

Outside of Europe a great deal is being said about the taking of German colonies, but how could they be returned? For example, the natives in several welcomed the invaders and joined them. Should these natives be turned back to the Germans to massacre as they massacred the Herreros? The more one knows of what Germany actually did in Africa, the less one regrets the extinction of her colonial empire.

From Southwest Africa she organized a rebellion in British South Africa. The Boers and British of the Union of South Africa conquered it together and both were as fully resolved that it should not return to Germany as the American Colonials were determined that Canada should not go back to France, when at last Quebec and Montreal had been taken. The voice of Australia on the subject of Guinea was no less clear.

The German used his colonies as bases for attack upon his neighbors, not in war merely but in peace. They were centers of agitation and of propaganda. In insisting that they shall not return to Germany the British both of the United Kingdom and the Colonies are following the course made inevitable by German procedure before the war.

To me the terms, so far as Germany is concerned, seem just. They are weak where they create conditions like those which will exist in the Sarre Basin and Danzig, because in both cases they leave to the future the settlement of questions which, unless we are on the threshold of a new age, may precipitate new conflicts. The terms combined do not permit anyone to deceive himself into believing that a peace of conciliation has been made, but how could such a peace be made?

Certainly there was only one way to make such a peace and that was to let Germany go scot free. This would have meant a bankrupt France and a ruined Belgium. It would have meant that Germany, by destroying her neighbor's machinery and cities, had disposed of competition and, with her factories intact, her fields unravaged, could proceed to harvest prosperity at home, having sown destruction abroad. There never was any middle ground—either Germany had to pay, and this meant a sullen, bitter, vengeful Germany, or she must be placated, and this meant a ruined France.

VII. CRITICISM

I wish I could make clear to my readers the actual situation in Europe. The German set out five years ago to dominate the world. He undertook to conquer France and Russia by arms and as his troops advanced they deliberately and systematically destroyed the factories and the industrial towns through which they passed. There was no accident about the destruction; it was not mere wastage of war; it was coldly calculated destruction to benefit German industry.

The war to attain world power cost France nearly three millions of lives, only half of which were soldiers. It turned Northern France into a desert. It wrecked the economic life both of France and of Belgium. The situation which exists in both countries is unmistakable. If there is no German indemnity, then there will be bankruptcy and after bankruptcy revolution.

But to make Germany pay for her destruction was to bring to Germany no small part of the ruin she had attempted to inflict on France. To imagine that any nation called upon to make the financial contributions to another which are demanded of Germany—contributions, to be sure, to make good the destruction she has wrought—would view the terms of peace which carried this obligation as anything but intolerable, would be to misunderstand human nature.

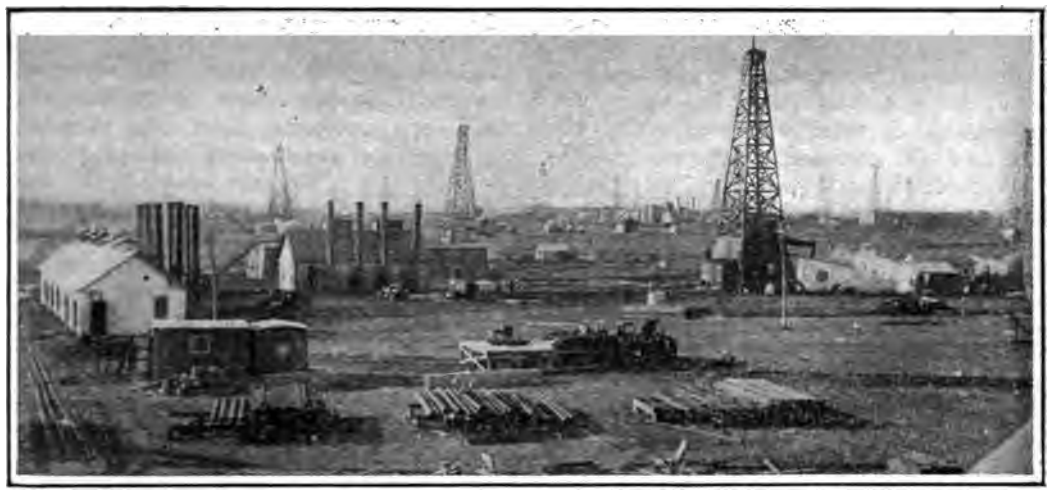
There was always the unmistakable dilemma: A Germany conciliated would be a Germany escaping payment at the expense of the nations she had sought to ruin. A Germany compelled to pay would be a Germany unreconciled. The Paris Conference chose the only course open to it. As a consequence we have, not a peace of conciliation, but a peace of justice, and the Germans remain as hostile as before the armistice.

But would they have been less hostile to any treaty that one can conceive of, which did justice to the French, the Belgians and the Poles? In point of fact it is the Polish phase of the treaty, on the territorial side, and the French and Belgian phase on the financial side, which most anger the Germans. Poland has not been treated generously by the Allies. Far more Poles have been left under German rule than there will be Germans under Polish domination, but Germany, in losing Posen, West Prussia, and perhaps Upper Silesia and Polish-speaking portions of East Prussia, suffers what seems to all Germans a fatal mutilation.

I doubt if there is a German alive, who would regard the restoration to Poland of the lands stolen by Prussia in successive partitions as a possible preface to a peace of conciliation. Nor would it be easier to find a German who could be reconciled to repaying to France and Belgium losses incident to German destruction. Yet how can anyone justly criticize these two acts of restoration?

We have made peace with Germany based upon the facts of the German conduct of the war. It is not a peace of vengeance. It is not a peace of violence. It takes from Germany no territory to which she had a clear title, so far as Europe is concerned, and no territory outside of Europe in which the substitution of another sovereignty is not a palpable gain for the natives.

We have made Germany pay, but not the costs of the war—only sums which everyone concedes will be insufficient to restore Northern France and Belgium. Indemnity, in the sense that Germany levied indemnity upon France after the war of 1870, has not been exacted. As for the vast debts piled up by France and Britain, to say nothing of the United States, in defending themselves against German attacks, they remain for the French, British and American taxpayers to liquidate.



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AN OIL FIELD IN THE KANSAS-OKLAHOMA-TEXAS REGION

OIL—THE NEW FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL GIANT

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

IT is doubtful if there has ever been such a great movement of investors and speculators into any class of stocks as that which is now pouring into the petroleum industry. This is especially true of the shares of new companies formed for the purpose of producing oil.

Within the last six months Wall Street and the public throughout the country generally have turned to oil stocks with a simply amazing fervor. The "oils" have become the favorites not only of speculators, but of many who consider themselves conservative investors, and of brokers and apparently of the most solid bankers. The name of oil has become magic, and the financial community which a few years ago knew nothing and cared less about the oil industry is now working overtime gathering information and compiling statistics regarding the position and wonderful possibilities of the new industrial and financial giant—Oil.

The completeness of the change is well illustrated by a brief conversation which the writer had a short time ago with the vice-president of one of the richest and most conservative banks in New York City. This bank is synonymous with all that is supposed to typify the best and most solid traditions of Wall Street. I had just told the vice-president that I had recently visited the new oil fields of Texas, Ranger and Burkburnett.

"I am going down there in a few days myself," he replied. "We expect to invest down there. It's absurd that we should have waited so long to get into the oil game. Think of all the years' handicap those people at 26 Broadway (Standard Oil) have had over us," and he looked out of the window regretfully as if he could not forgive the older men in the powerful group of capitalists to which he belongs for not having sooner followed in the paths of John D. Rockefeller.

What are the reasons for this almost tidal movement of investment money into the oil industry? A very moderate estimate places the capitalization of new oil companies in this country from the beginning of the year down to the end of April at $300,000,000. Another estimate places the total number of new companies down to July 1 at 5000 and their capitalization at $1,500,000,000. It is impossible to obtain exact figures, but the organization and "flotation" of $100,000,000 companies does not at present cause a ripple of surprise in Wall Street. Yet the combined capitalization of all the Standard Oil group of companies is only $550,000,000.

Competition with "The Standard"

The attitude of Wall Street and the public toward oil stocks in recent years would certainly furnish an interesting subject for

a study in psychology. A few years ago both Wall Street and the public had no interest in oil. They were well aware that the Standard Oil companies had been remarkably successful and that their stockholders had received handsome profits, especially in the years subsequent to the dissolution of 1911. But this success of Standard Oil was linked up in large measure with John D. Rockefeller's wonderful business ability and foresight, and prior to 1911 with the monopoly which he and his associates were supposed to have.

Furthermore it was felt that the Standard Oil group so completely controlled the oil industry that there was little room for outside participation. Mr. Rockefeller did not need or want either Wall Street or the general public in the work of oil development. The Standard Oil Company never had to call upon outsiders for financial aid, being almost a bank or "money trust" in itself. Then too it was felt that all the really worth while things in the industry would be taken by the Standard, that anything else was risky in the extreme. The little fellows who went into the game for the most part did not receive much encouragement financially, and eventually many of them were taken over by the Standard. People were almost afraid to invest with competitors of the Standard.



A "GUSHER"

(Due to the presence of natural gas, or to explosives dropped into the drilled hole, a well will sometimes emit large quantities of oil without pumping)

But this situation has been radically changed by three developments; dissolution of the old Standard Oil combination, the almost startling increase in the consumption of oil, and, finally, by the war. All these events have combined, so to speak, to take the lid off the industry and open it up wide for public participation.

It is true that the Standard companies have been even more profitable since the dissolution of the old combine than before, and in certain important respects their power is almost if not fully as great. But nevertheless the old absoluteness of control and dominance was removed, perhaps as much by the natural expansion of the industry as by the courts. At any rate enough time has now elapsed since the days of Rockefeller dominance for various ambitious and energetic men to get well started on extensive independent projects.

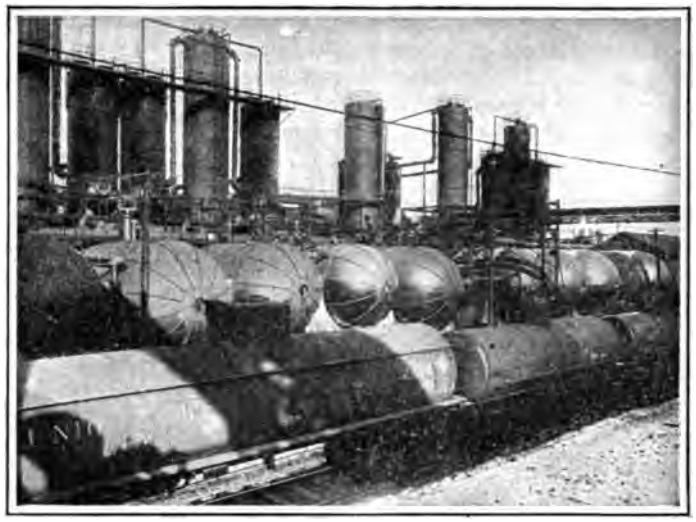
Now these independents, not having the resources of the Standard companies, were obliged to obtain funds from Wall Street, and they set about to acquaint the big bankers and capitalists with the possibilities of the industry. Experts say that this acquaintanceship of the last few years is among the most important factors in making for the present activity in oil. Harry F. Sinclair and J. S. Cosden were among the first to induce Wall Street to take an interest in independent oils, and they have more recently been followed by many others. There had been one or two very large independent companies, such as the Texas Company and the Gulf Refining, but they didn't buy money "down east" the way Sinclair and Cosden did.

Petroleum's New Uses

But the mere persuasiveness of even the spectacular Sinclair was not enough in itself to win the interest and support of the leaders of finance and the army of investors and speculators. The new uses for petroleum, and for several years past the steadily threatened shortage of the product, have drawn everyone's attention to the industry. At first petroleum was used largely for lighting purposes, and much of John D. Rockefeller's fame will rest upon his achievements in lighting the world. Then it became apparent that the development of machine production depended upon lubrication, and petroleum loomed up as of tremendous im-

portance as a lubricant. Nothing has yet appeared to take its place, and the use of lubricants continually increases. The whole mechanical world depends upon grease and lubricating oil.

But perhaps the most rapidly developing use of petroleum has been for fuel purposes. Here the possibilities are so dizzying that it is no wonder investors should lose their heads. First of all came the automobile, passenger and truck, then the tractor and now the aeroplane. The internal-combustion engine, using gasoline, has already revolutionized the world and threatens to turn it over again by means of traffic through the air. Gasoline, once thrown away in connection with the manufacture of kerosene, is the motive power in this country alone for automobiles, motor-boats, tractors, motor-cycles, and aeroplanes whose aggregate number begins to run up not far below ten million.

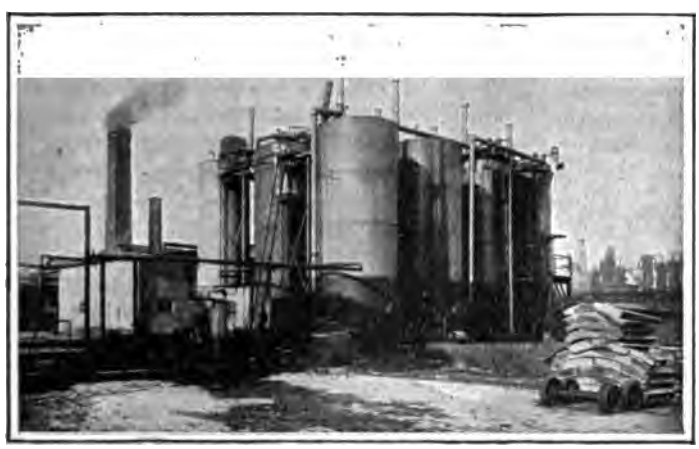


STILLS WHERE CRUDE OIL IS HEATED TO PRODUCE, AT VARYING TEMPERATURES, KEROSENE, GASOLINE, BENZINE, NAPHTHA AND OTHER REFINED OILS

Oil as Fuel for Ships

These uses, however, are only for the lighter or refined parts of petroleum. The greatest possibilities of all, perhaps, lie in the employment of a heavy or fuel oil for bunker purposes, that is, for steamships. Its use for locomotives may extend, and possibly stationary engines may depend on it. The immediate consideration is the increasing use of bunker oil. Most of this heavy oil comes from Mexico, and recently the National Coal Association appointed a committee to consider the danger to the coal industry. So grave does it appear that the committee reported in favor of asking Congress to put a duty upon Mexican oil.

The navies of the world seem headed for oil as a fuel, several of them already using it. The British Navy was a vast consumer of oil during the war and Earl Curzon said that the Allies had "floated to victory upon a sea of oil." But a more important consideration is the merchant marine of the world. The advantages of oil are obvious. It takes up less room on the ship, it reduces labor expenses and is more quickly and easily loaded. One of the many factors which probably led to the present boom in oil stocks was an article by Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, in which he estimated the amount of oil which might be used by the new merchant marine now building in this country. If our shipping plans are entirely carried out and all the ships should burn oil, more than one-third the world's entire production would be required.



A MODERN PLANT FOR CONTINUOUS TREATING OF OIL—REPLACING OLDER AND MORE COMPLICATED SYSTEMS

Indeed, if all the shipping of the world should

go on an oil basis the world's production of petroleum at present would fall short by nearly a half, without even considering other uses of the product. Of course all the shipping of the world is still far from being entirely on an oil basis, and the figures given are merely for the purpose of getting a perspective on the subject. But the eagerness with which such a great commercial nation as England is trying to provide for its future oil requirements is a clear indication of what the future has in store. This country produces the lion's share of the world's oil, but England is searching its various dominions for the product, and drilling has even been going on in England itself where oil had never been found before.

Growing Consumption

Figures are tiresome things but a very few of them are necessary to give an idea of the increasing consumption of oil. Since 1898 the use of petroleum in this country has increased between seven and eight fold. Since 1878 it has increased nearly thirty fold. It has jumped enormously since the war started. The figures are significant:

	Production	Consumption
1914	296,000,000 bbls.	276,000,000 bbls.
1915	303,000,000 "	340,000,000 "
1916	308,000,000 "	333,000,000 "
1917	328,000,000 "	351,000,000 "
1918	344,000,000 "	360,000,000 "

The oil refiners usually have large stocks of oil on hand and in each year since 1914 there has been a large decrease in these stocks as the above figures show plainly enough. Another indication of the enormous drain upon the oil production of the world which the war effected are contained in the shipments of crude oil from Mexico to this country:

Shipments in 1914	15,000,000 bbls.
" " 1915	18,000,000 "
" " 1916	21,000,000 "
" " 1917	35,000,000 "
" " 1918	42,000,000 "

Now the remarkable fact is that in spite of the sensational discoveries of oil in North Texas within the last year or two the production is still barely keeping pace with consumption. It might be supposed that the end of the war would bring an end to the monster demand, and to some extent the cessation of naval operations did for a time reduce the demand for the heavy fuel oils. But the demand from European countries which were denuded of petroleum products in general during the war and are now restocking their supplies has prevented the total consumption from falling off.

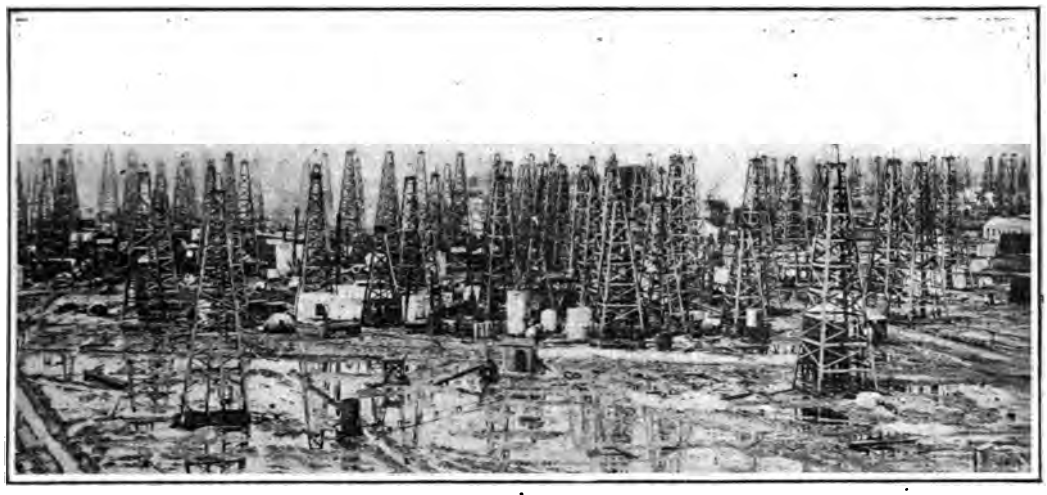
Even with the big Texas discoveries the daily average production late in June of 1919 was running at only about 1,025,000 barrels, which is but a trifle more than last year and compares with 812,500 barrels in 1914.

Why Did the Public Turn to Oil Stocks?

Thus the boom in oil stocks which has taken hold of the entire country is the result of a combination of circumstances. Following the ending of the war there existed a real and substantial basis for a rise in the market value of oil securities. The close of hostilities found the petroleum industry in probably a more favorable position than any other of our basic industries. It needed no particular liquidation or readjustment. Prices of petroleum products had not soared to the dizzy and artificial heights which characterized certain other important commodities.

Moreover, stocks of petroleum had been depleted to a low point and because of the denuded state of European neutrals and enemy countries and the certainty of a revival of activity in the automobile industry there was every reason to look for a continued large demand for most oil products. At the same time war conditions had caused a shrinkage in market values of oil securities and they had not reflected the favorable conditions prevailing within the industry. These factors furnished the incentives for the beginning of the boom.

But the public had little interest in the shares of the substantial oil companies and did not enter the market until later on. It is hard to explain exactly what caused the public to turn to the oil stocks. Perhaps it was partly because of the record of oil in the war, already referred to. People who had never given a thought to the oil industry could not help being impressed with the widespread newspaper and magazine stories of the remarkable war work of the motor lorries in France. The installation of gasless Sundays last summer brought home to motorists the enormous demands upon the oil industry and called to the country's at-



A "BOOM" SCENE IN THE TEXAS OIL REGIONS
(Sometimes one drilled hole will reach oil when another a few feet away has failed. In other places dozens of wells will yield oil simultaneously—until the field is pumped dry)

tention the fact that the United States was supplying the bulk of the world's oil requirements.

Then too just as the public attention was turned to oil the speculative forces of the nation were released from their long war-time restraint. Several years of pent up speculation were turned loose, as it were, just as the imagination was being fired for the first time by oil. The orgy of speculation in stocks, especially in oils, has been akin to the spirit of celebration on the day the armistice was first reported signed.

Finally, the last six months has been an especially propitious time for a boom in oil stocks because it has witnessed the development of one of the greatest oil districts ever found, in the fields of North Texas. This has made it easy to supply a new array of companies, some of them with valuable properties and others with nothing more than a chance of discovering oil. Both speculators and investors are inclined to prefer new things, feeling, often mistakenly enough, that the new has more possibilities than the old.

The Oil Fields of America

Before we inquire into what chances of success the public has in its new and popular form of speculation and investment it may be well to sketch briefly the location of the more important sources of petroleum in this country and Mexico. The production late in June was running about 1,025.000 barrels a day, distributed as follows:

The Appalachian field, which takes in a small portion of New York State and also Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, is producing about 80,000 barrels.

The Lima-Indiana and the fields of the State of Illinois make about 45,000.

The fields of Kansas-Oklahoma, of which Healdton, Cushing and the various pools of the Osage (Indians) in Oklahoma and the El Dorado field in Kansas are the most important, produce approximately 290,000.

The most interesting fields in the United States at the present time are those in North Central Texas. The Burkburnett field in Wichita County, the Ranger field of Eastland County, and the Stephens county fields, all developed within the last year and a half, are the leading producing areas of the State. North Central Texas fields are producing over 190,000.

The Caddo, De Soto and Red River fields in the northwestern corner of the State of Louisiana produce about 40,000.

Coastal Texas and Louisiana, which district takes in all the pools bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and in the States of Texas and Louisiana, make together 65,000.

The State of California produces almost all of its oil from the fields in the San Joaquin Valley although there are a few small fields along the Pacific Coast, 275,000.

Wyoming production, the majority of which is produced in the Salt Creek, Big Muddy and Grass Creek fields, is running at about 40,000.

The potential production of Mexico is now over 1,500,000 barrels per day. The



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OPERATING A ROTARY DRILL AT THE BASE OF A "DERRICK" IN THE TEXAS REGION

daily average actual production of the Mexican fields for 1918 was about 180,000 bbls., the very great majority of which was shipped to the United States.

Practically all of Mexico's oil producing fields are located in the state of Vera Cruz; the most productive part of which is a strip about twenty-five miles wide running south of Tampico, the administrative center of oil affairs, for a distance of about 100 miles to the town of Tuxpam.

Now it is a rather curious fact that although Wall Street and the public for years held aloof from oil stocks, partly because of the speculative nature of the producing end of the business, the present enthusiasm is almost entirely centered upon the stocks of companies engaged in prospecting or producing. This, of course, is due to the large profits which are possible; to the stories, true in many many cases, of a $100 investment quickly becoming worth $30,000, and the like.

The profits in the refining and marketing end of the business are very close, compared with the risk and cost of doing business. It is the companies which produce, or expect to produce, oil which have captured public interest, and to a considerable extent these are in the new Texas fields. Oil apparently can get people excited and anxious to buy stocks faster than gold, silver and copper, because an oil field, when tapped, comes quicker and faster than do ores. One pay well may make a whole countryside rich and enable a small stock company to sell out for a fabulous sum. Wealth is scattered so suddenly, promiscuously and spectacularly that all sense of proportion is lost. The writer has met in the oil fields dozens of men who were in moderate means or in a few cases even poor a few weeks before, but now had incomes exceeding those of many millionaires.

Fortunes Quickly Made

The fortunes made in producing oil, especially in the Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas fields, have been much advertised in the last three or four years. In many respects fortune has been no respecter of persons. There is the Texas & Pacific Coal & Oil Company, which until a few years ago mined only coal in the sun-baked plains of Texas and paid a moderate dividend upon stock which sold at a moderate price. It was controlled by Wall Street bankers. Suddenly oil was found in vast quantities and the stock has risen at times to nearly $2500 a share.

On the other hand needy adventurers, even men with criminal records, became suddenly rich by rushing into the newly opened Texas fields. Land-owners all the way from cattle kings down to worthless, shiftless proprietors of a small patch of dirt, and ignorant half-breed Indians, suddenly made millions. One man at Ranger in hardly more than a year changed from the poorest of the poor to the owner of $7,000,000. Business men and professional oil operators also rose in a few years to dizzy opulence. There are scores of such, of which the McMan and Humble companies are examples. In numerous cases operators previously worth not more than a couple of hundred thousand dollars at the most have sold out to Standard Oil interests for millions.

Fraud in Oil Promotions

But this does not mean that all one has to do to get rich is to buy oil stocks. Far from it. To begin with, the country to-day swarms with promoters who are selling practically worthless oil stocks. The disclosures of fraudulent oil promotions on the New York City Curb Market and the activities of the District Attorney in rooting them out are but slight indications of what has been going on. Almost every doubtful promoter in the country is selling oil stocks and it is

stated by a high authority in the industry that more than 80 per cent. of these men know absolutely nothing about the oil game.

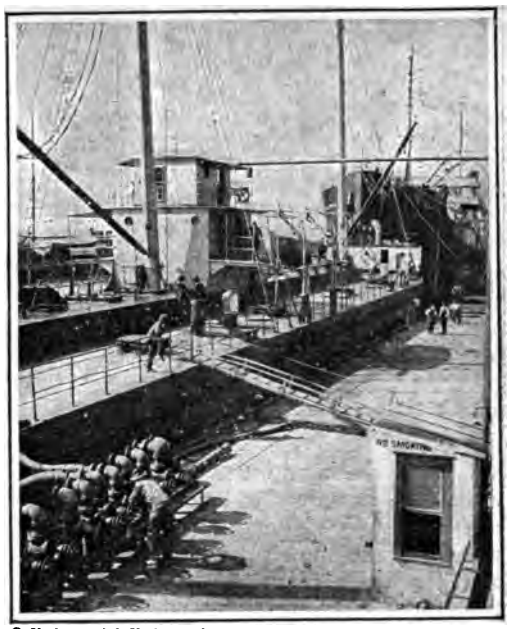
In many cases efforts have been made to surround a new promotion with an air of mystery, so that the public would suppose the Standard Oil group of companies were behind it. Promoters have even gone so far as to form a company with the name Standard Oil, although it had absolutely no connection with the well-known concerns entitled to that name. Judging from the number of prospectuses of essentially stock-jobbing and in all probability worthless oil companies which have come to the writer's personal attention, it is a conservative estimate that more than a thousand doubtful oil companies have sought and generally obtained funds from the public within the last year.

Average Production

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey's magazine, *The Lamp,* recently stated that the average production of the 225,000 producing wells of the country is four and a half barrels a day. Thousands of wells produce less than one-quarter of a barrel daily, while four-fifths of the total do not yield even a barrel a day. Even in the new "gusher" fields of Texas, where only the big wells receive publicity, the average output of the wells, most of which are less than a year old, is not much over fifty barrels. Often it is necessary to drill nearly a mile in depth and the cost sometimes runs up to $100,000. In only a few sections does a single well cost much less than $50,000. It takes a good many barrels even at the high price of $2.25 a barrel to pay for such a cost.

Very few of the new companies in offering shares to the public are modest enough to lead their stockholders to look for fifty-barrel wells. Even if many of the new companies are successful in obtaining the average production, their securities will not be worth anything like the prices at which they have been sold, while a few failures in drilling would result in bankruptcy in many cases.

In April there were nearly 500 dry holes out of 2238 wells completed in this country. Even in the legitimate production of oil the life of a well is not long as a rule. According to figures furnished by the *National Petroleum News* it appears that even in the new Texas fields production gradually falls



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LOADING A TANK STEAMER AT GALVESTON
(The man in the lower left corner is doing all the "work" of loading, merely by turning valves)

off. A well which began at 1200 barrels a day less than two years ago has now fallen off to fifteen barrels a day.

Most of the new, small companies which sell stock to the public expect to drill in unproven, or "wildcat" territory. This is expensive because the work is done far from the source of oil-well supplies, and no drilling contractor ever has the tools that will be necessary in case of trouble with the hole. While waiting for tools the expense of the crew goes on. Expense also is increased because the geological strata are less well understood than in developed territory.

Wasteful and Vicious Methods

Unfortunately many of the oil-stock promoters are really more interested in selling stock than in getting out oil. Some of their common practises which the investor should be on the lookout for are these:

(1) Raising just enough money to complete a well in a producing field under the most favorable circumstances, although the company really intends to prospect in "wildcat" territory and has no chance to get into developed territory.

(2) Purchasing a small interest in a producing property and advertising its initial heavy production instead of the much smaller present yield.



SWEETENING STILLS, WHERE THE SULPHUR IS REMOVED FROM THE CRUDE OIL

(3) Purchasing a lot of worn-out or junk wells whose production has almost run out, or been "stripped," with the idea of being able to state truthfully that the company has in addition to possibly one really good producer, the production of which is named, so many other wells.

(4) Purchasing a microscopic lease in the heart of a new gusher pool, such as a town lot or a three to five acre lease in the new Burkburnett pool in Texas. On this the wells are drilled to obtain a quick, large production and no regard is given to how long the production will hold. These wells result in drilling many offsets on adjoining leases and in waste that is inevitable when several wells are drilled where one would eventually drain all the territory.

(5) Backing up any of the above with a large acreage scattered often over many counties and even States. This acreage is not usually taken on the advice of geologists, and the price paid for leases may not be higher than a few cents an acre. Some of it is often acquired on territory which has been condemned yet adjacent to a pool of importance, while still other leases are taken up in States that have never at best produced more than a show of oil. Mixed in with these doubtful leases there may be an occasional lease in fairly good prospective territory.

The chief harm these companies do outside of swindling the public is the excessive price they pay for a few acres of good territory, a price that a well-managed oil company could not afford to pay, but one which the stock-selling company can afford on account of the favorable light it sheds on the other leases held; the waste of money caused through drilling a well on each acre or two instead of one to each eight or ten acres; the sudden flooding of the market with oil produced from their few wells and those offsetting which their neighbors must drill to protect themselves, and the bad light in which other small but honest concerns are placed when efforts are made to obtain financial assistance.

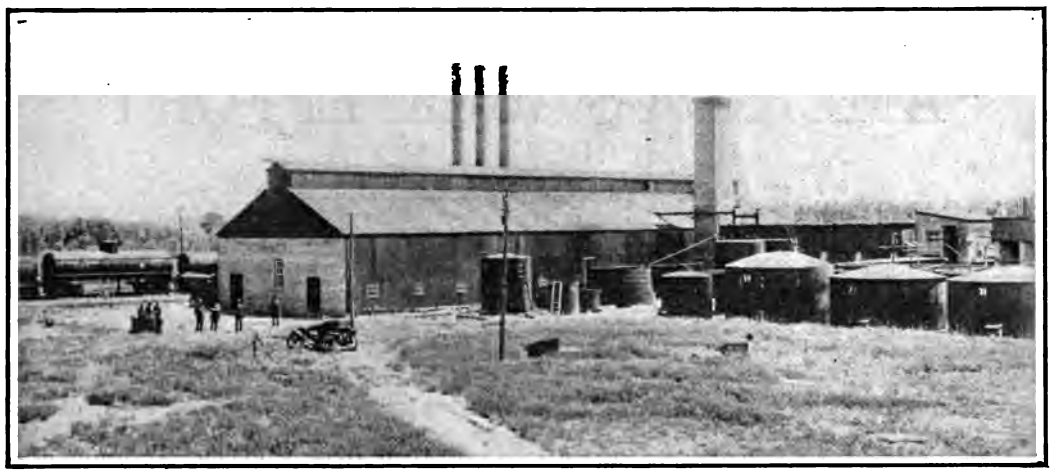
Of course, one or two such companies would have little or no effect on the oil business, but the combined work of hundreds, such as those in Texas especially and in Kentucky, Wyoming and other places, does the damage.

It is better to warn the investor of these practises and to put him on his guard rather than to attempt to keep him out of oil stocks altogether. It is significant that the marketing and refining of the bulk of the oil which will be produced by the new concerns which are rushing into wildcatting and producing will be done by the Standard and a few of the larger and older independents. One-third of the country's total refining capacity is controlled by the Standard companies, and this proportion is more important than is indicated because most of the Standard Oil plants are completely equipped refineries, while a large number of the independent plants are merely "skimmers," and are comparatively inexpensive to build. The grip of the Standard on the refining industry is strengthened by its control of the Burton system for the extraction of gasoline from low-grade oils, which it leases to other companies, including independents.

Profits of the Standard Companies

It has long been known in the oil industry that each branch taken separately was hazardous, but where production, refining, transportation and marketing were combined, as the Standard and a few of the largest independents have done, the element of hazard was fairly well eliminated and profits quite certain to be large.

The stocks of the Standard group of companies have increased in market value more than $2,000,000,000, or 525 per cent., since the combination was dissolved by the courts in 1911. This has taken place in eight years, and in addition the dividends have been from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000 a year, or from



A REFINERY ESTABLISHED AT AN OIL FIELD
(Usually the crude oil is transported by pipe lines or tank cars to refineries hundreds of miles from the fields)

50 to 60 per cent. on the par value of the capital stock of the old company.

These enormous profits of the Standard Oil companies have gone steadily on despite the invasion of the producing field by innumerable independents, many of whom have grown to great size and strength, but which do not seem to prevent the Standard companies from doing as well as ever. While sweeping statements are unwise and while no doubt many of the new independents will succeed, yet not a few experts feel that either the stocks of numerous new companies are selling above their actual values or that the shares of the old, established companies, both Standard and independent, may be selling below their real values.

Unfortunately not a few bankers and brokers of supposedly good standing in the financial community have lent their names to rather ambitious but none the less reckless oil flotations. The danger to the investor is by no means solely confined to promotions by men of no standing whatever. More responsible persons have been led into sponsoring what may possibly prove ill-advised promotions. Oil properties to-day are selling at the highest prices ever reached. Should the prices for oil products continue at their present levels or go higher, the new companies may be able to show a fair return on their capitalization, but should prices decline as a result of a temporary oversupply of oil, it is likely that a day of reckoning will come.



AN OIL "LAKE"—A TEMPORARY STORAGE RESERVOIR

AMERICA'S WAR EFFORT

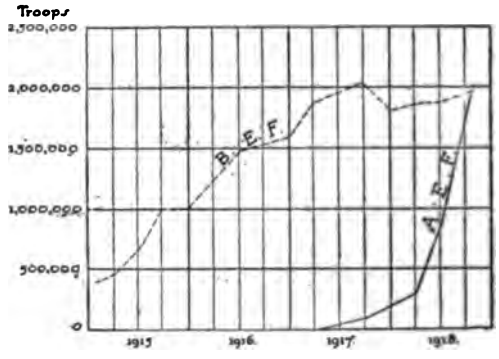
BY HERBERT T. WADE
(Late Captain, Ordnance Department, U. S. Army)

ALTHOUGH the complete history of the recent war may be delayed in its preparation, and although there may be many undercurrents long unknown as regards their sources, general flow, or their results, yet there is one phase of the story which now is an open book. The statistics assembled by the General Staff of the United States Army, and released for publication, indeed tell the story of America's effort in the great struggle, and if one can think of war in terms of mere figures and tables apart from tales of patriotic fervor and heroism, the same lessons will be indicated no less clearly.

These statistics, however, must be read with the essential element of time always in mind, for while the Allies were over four years in the great conflict, the participation of the United States was but nineteen months. The American republic rose to its full strength in an incredibly short space of time, yet its men and resources had not been spent in the life and death struggle as were its allies. Furthermore, the United States enjoyed the great advantage of the full coöperation of its allies, and of the lessons learned during their bitter experience. Accordingly, like other statistics, those of the General Staff, some of which are presented herewith as forming an interesting summary of the part taken by America in the war, should be considered with a due appreciation of antecedent and collateral circumstances.

In the last analysis man power counts, and the strength of the American Army operating in Europe and available at home for early transport overseas was an important element in bringing about the ultimate military superiority and triumph. Therefore the first consideration is the strength of the American Expeditionary Force on November 11, when the armistice was signed, and the other forces of the United States Army wherever located, as indicated in the accompanying table. This does not include the drafted strength about to be mobilized but only those under arms.

Bearing in mind that the Declaration of War on Germany was made on April 6, 1917, and that there had been but little preparation therefor, it is desirable to call attention not only to the rapidity with which this American Army was organized, but the speed with which the two million men were moved overseas to the Western Front. The accompanying chart shows this graphically, and also in comparison



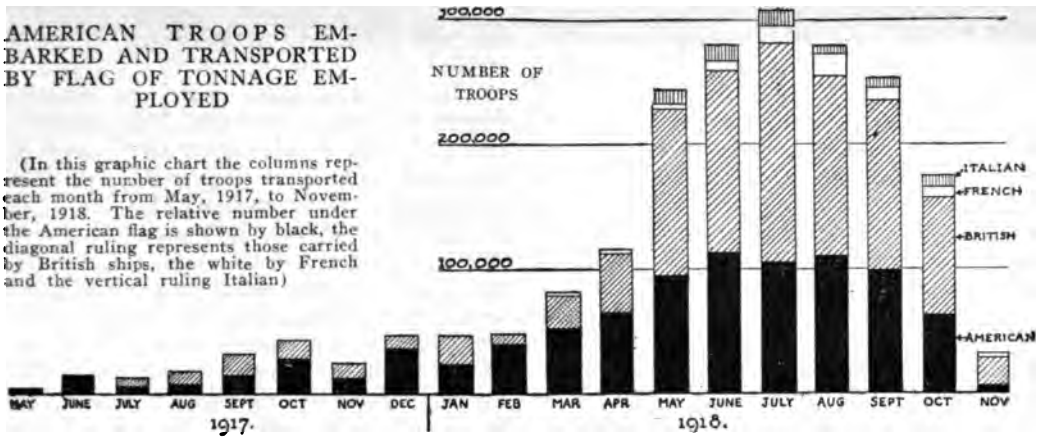
BRITISH AND AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES ON THE WESTERN FRONT

SUMMARY OF ALL FORCES IN THE U. S. ARMY AT TIME OF ITS GREATEST STRENGTH, NOVEMBER 11, 1918

	Officers	Men	Total
Army personnel in Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea, en route to Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,546	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with Army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total including Marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,935
Siberian Expedition	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In Insular possessions, Alaska, etc.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand Total in Army excluding Marines	**188,434**	**3,482,454**	**3,670,888**
Grand Total in Army including Marines	**189,436**	**3,513,837**	**3,703,273**

AMERICAN TROOPS EMBARKED AND TRANSPORTED BY FLAG OF TONNAGE EMPLOYED

(In this graphic chart the columns represent the number of troops transported each month from May, 1917, to November, 1918. The relative number under the American flag is shown by black, the diagonal ruling represents those carried by British ships, the white by French and the vertical ruling Italian)



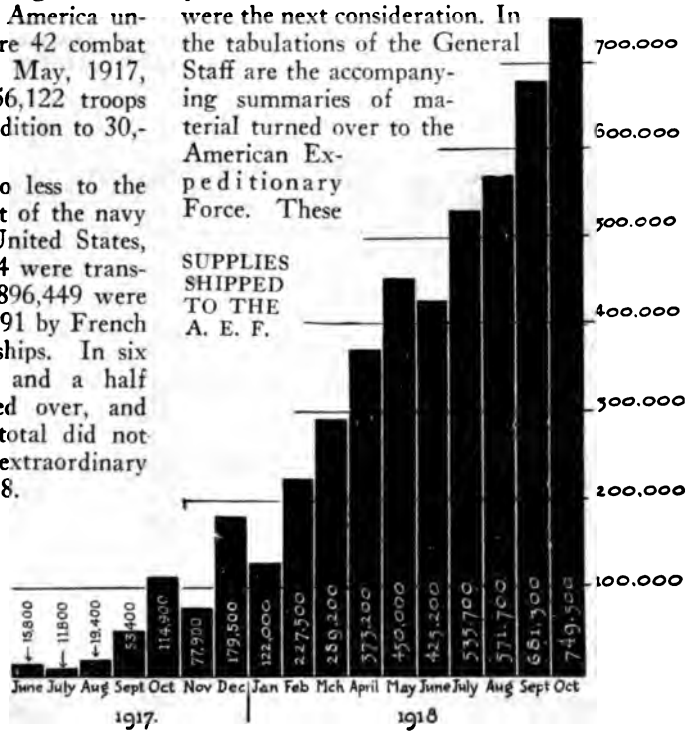
the similar development of the British Expeditionary Force. In ever increasing numbers the tide flowed eastward from America until by October, 1918, there were 42 combat divisions in Europe. Between May, 1917, and November 21, 1918, 2,056,122 troops were transported overseas in addition to 30,600 marines and 9,677 nurses.

Such an achievement was no less to the credit of the Allies than to that of the navy and merchant marine of the United States, for of the above total 1,047,374 were transported under the British flag, 896,449 were carried on American ships, 48,691 by French vessels and 61,608 by Italian ships. In six months practically a million and a half American soldiers were ferried over, and for five months the monthly total did not fall below 240,000, with an extraordinary record of 306,350 in July, 1918.

Supplies for the American Expeditionary Force were hardly less important than men. From 15,800 short tons of United States Army cargo transported in June, 1917, a vast traffic developed that reached 749,500 tons in October, 1918, with a gross total of 4,897,600 tons for the full period thus limited. The distribution among the army departments is of interest and is as follows:

Quartermaster	2,149,400
Engineer	1,314,300
Ordnance	989,900
Signal	115,500
Medical	88,900
Motor Transport	113,300
Aviation	51,400
Red Cross	31,900
Miscellaneous	43,000
Total	4,897,600

With men, subsistence, and equipment provided as indicated, arms and munitions were the next consideration. In the tabulations of the General Staff are the accompanying summaries of material turned over to the American Expeditionary Force. These figures are indeed significant as showing the comparative resources of the three great allies. The British and French in order to supply adequate artillery for their armies in an attempt to meet Germany and Austria on an even footing, had provided manufacturing capacity that once it had met the great crisis was in excess of their current needs, great as these were.



CARGO TRANSPORTED TO A. E. F., APRIL, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 1 1918, BY SUPPLY SERVICE (SHORT TONS)

Whereas in 1915 France and Great Britain had men, but not enough guns, in

1917-18 they had guns, but needed men. Accordingly soon after America entered the war, France, at its own initiative, agreed to supply to the forces as they arrived cannon of various calibers from highly organized and well-developed ordnance plants. Likewise Great Britain made similar offers, especially in the case of the heavier howitzers, as both countries realized not only the importance of the time element but that the carrying capacity of the trans-atlantic transports should be used to the greatest common advantage. This did not relieve the United States from the manufacture of ordnance, and it early proceeded to the manufacture of all the types of artillery and ammunition in the program adopted for its armies.

In regard to ammunition the United States was in a much better position than as regards cannon, inasmuch as from the early days of the European war it had been engaged commercially on such production and its facilities could be developed with considerable speed. With small arms and machine guns there was no question of foreign dependence. Save at first in the case of the much-needed machine guns and the ammunition for these weapons, there was hardly a time that the flow of American production was not adequate for the forces organized and sent overseas. The hand grenades first used came from the Allies, but American production was coming along and satisfactory manufacturing capacity had developed. Likewise the tank program was advancing by rapid strides.

The material listed below as actually floated was by no means all. Much in addition had been completed but not loaded on shipboard. The actual American production from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918, included 932 75-mm. field guns, 97 3-inch and 75-mm. anti-aircraft guns, 157 4.7-inch guns, 121 155-mm. 5-inch, and 6-inch guns, 144 155-mm. howitzers, 20 sets of railway artillery, and 176 heavy howitzers, all of the above being complete units. For this artillery 17,203,000 complete rounds of ammunition were produced, and in addition there were other ordnance supplies as listed on the following page:

ORDNANCE DELIVERED TO AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

	Floated from U. S. to Nov. 15	British & French Deliveries to Nov. 11	Total
ARTILLERY (COMPLETE UNITS)			
75 mm guns	143	1,888	2,031
4.7″ guns	64	0	64
155 mm howitzers	0	747	747
5″ seacoast guns	26	0	26
6″ seacoast guns	72	0	72
155 mm guns	16[1]	226	242
8″ howitzers	96	141	237
9.2″ howitzers	0	37	37
8″ seacoast guns, r'wy mts	3	0	3
14″ navy guns	8	0	8
75 mm anti-aircraft guns	26	52	78
Total	454	3,091	3,545
ARTILLERY AMMUNITION (COMPLETE ROUNDS)			
75 mm gun	8,595,000	2,614,000	11,209,000
4.7″ gun	242,000	0	242,000
155 mm howitzer	199,000	1,126,000	1,325,000
155 mm gun	0	39,000	39,000
5″ and 6″ seacoast gun	19,420	0	19,420
8″ howitzer	0	311,000	311,000
9.2″ howitzer	10,000	104,000	114,000
8″ seacoast gun	0	0	0
14″ gun	1,000	0	1,000
	9,066,420	4,194,000	13,260,420
OTHER ORDNANCE			
Rifles	1,800,000	0	1,800,000
Pistols and revolvers	615,000	0	615,000
Machine guns	49,350	4,158	53,508
Machine rifles	38,000	33,915	71,915
Rifle and M. G. ammunition	1,629,300,000	95,900,000	1,725,200,000
Pistol and revolver ammunition	233,848,000	0	233,848,000
Grenades	1,745,000	5,508,000	7,253,000
Caissons (75 mm and 155 mm)	5,000	2,676	7,676
Tractors	1,547	348	1,895
Tanks	25	341	366

[1]Without recuperators.

Total floated include quantities later sunk.

British and French deliveries exclude guns lent temporarily to the United States and ammunition furnished direct by the French and British to troops in the field. They also exclude guns shipped to United States for training purposes or turned over from British orders in the United States.

ORDNANCE SUPPLIES PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE U. S. ARMY, APRIL 6, 1917 TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918

Helmets		1,975,000
Machine guns		130,000
Machine rifles		52,000
Rifles		2,507,000
Pistols and revolvers		666,000
Rifle and M. G. ammunition	(rounds)	2,879,000,000
Pistol ammunition	(rounds)	328,000,000
Tractors		3,249
Tanks		69
Smokeless powder	(pounds)[1]	198,000,000
T. N. T.	(pounds)[1]	101,000,000
Ammonium nitrate	(pounds)[1]	91,000,000
Picric acid	(pounds)[1]	37,000,000

[1]Large quantities also manufactured for France and England.

That the United States was not robbing the arsenals of her allies for arming her forces, but was supplying material for them is indicated in the accompanying table showing the production of artillery and artillery ammunition for the allies from April 1, 1917, to November 11, 1918. While the United States was not in a position to turn out complete units on a large scale, yet it could and did supply in large numbers forgings for tubes and jackets of cannon and for recuperators or recoil cylinders, which the French at their ordnance shops could machine and finish. And the same held true for ammunition, as 3,568,001 forgings for various shell were supplied to Great Britain, along with 2,888,840 machinings and 57,300 complete rounds, while 3,519,740 complete rounds of 37-mm. shell were sent to the French.

What the United States did in the production of artillery as compared with Great Britain and France during the period that America was in the war is indicated by the accompanying tabulation of total production. What it could do and was ready to do had the war lasted longer is shown in the tables of monthly rate of production at the end of the war as compared with that of the Allies.

PRODUCTION OF ARTILLERY AND ARTILLERY AMMUNITION IN THE UNITED STATES FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, APRIL 1, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918

ARTILLERY (a)

	Complete Units	Extra Guns	Extra Carriages	Limbers and Vehicles	Forgings: Tubes	Forgings: Recuperators	Forgings: Sets of Jackets	Forgings: Extra Jackets
Great Britain								
18 pounder field guns	38	200	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.5" howitzers	97	4	0	44	0	0	0	0
8" howitzers	92	0	0	100b	0	0	0	0
9.2" howitzers	134	12	0	134	0	0	0	0
Total	361	216	0	276	0	0	0	0
For France								
37 mm infantry guns	70	0	0	70	0	0	0	0
75 mm field guns	0	0	0	0	10,020	575	3,432	0
120 mm guns	0	100	0	0	312	0	326	72
145 mm guns M1916	0	0c	0	0	148	0	33	275
155 mm howitzers	0	275	0	0	2,259	0	2,244	167
155 Schneider guns	0	100c	0c	0	1,189	0	356	1,652
155 Filloux guns	0	50	50	0	326	0	55	0
220 mm howitzers	0	0	0	0	290	0	242	0
220 mm guns	0	0	0	0	79	0	110	18
Total	70	525	50	70	14,623	575	6,798	2,184
Grand Total	431	741	50	348	14,623	575	6,798	2,184

ARTILLERY AMMUNITION

	Forgings	Machinings	Complete Rounds
For Great Britain			
18-pounder shell	0	0	57,300
4.5" howitzer shell	100,310	0	0
6" howitzer shell	2,000,491	2,599,371	0
8" howitzer shell	856,228	167,712	0
9.2" howitzer shell	610,972	121,290	0
12" shell	0	467	0
For France			
37 mm gunshell	0	0	3,519,740
Total	3,568,001d	2,888,640d	3,577,040

(a) Excluding naval guns.
(b) Sets, plus 16 extra transport wagons.
(c) Allotted to France from Ordnance Department orders.
(d) In addition to rounds fully completed.

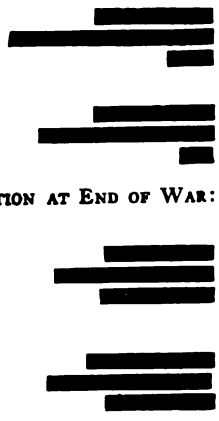
PRODUCTION OF
ARTILLERY BY GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE,
AND THE UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 1, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Gun Bodies (new):	
Great Britain	11,852
France	19,492
United States	4,275
Complete Units:	
Great Britain	8,065
France	11,056
United States	2,005

AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE OF PRODUCTION AT END OF WAR:

Gun Bodies (new):	
Great Britain	802
France	1,138
United States	832
Complete Units:	
Great Britain	486
France	659
United States	392



Even better was the record for artillery ammunition, as it indicates how the supplies expended against the German with ever-increasing volume of fire could be replenished and the available resources. While the output of the United States over the full period was small as compared with that of its allies, yet the monthly capacity established indicated a ready and ample supply during 1919, which with the men and guns available would have put beyond any possible doubt the termination of the struggle.

As reference has been made to the numbers of men sent over it is quite appropriate to refer to the fact that with the exception of machine guns and machine rifles they were adequately armed with rifles, pistols, and revolvers before they left America. For the first troops machine guns and machine rifles of the necessary types were supplied by the Allies, but soon these were developed and manufactured in the United States of such quality and in such quantities that the later American types were in demand by the French Army. Ammunition for small arms and machine guns went forward from the United States in a steady flow with a manufacturing capacity in excess of that of Great Britain. Here again the figures on the following page are significant as increasing amounts of small arms and machine gun ammunition were required by all the armies, so that it stands on a somewhat different basis from rifles and guns which had been in large measure supplied to the European armies as they were organized but which were needed in large numbers by the troops being raised and organized in America.

In the production of propellants, principally smokeless powder, and high explosives, the United States, whose commercial industry in this field had undergone expansion from 1914, with the provisions made by the Government both for national plants and for the encouragement of private manufacturers, was in an excellent position not only to meet its own needs but to assist the Allies. Taking into consideration the time the United States was actually engaged in the war its output favorably compared with that of the Allies, while at the end of hostilities its production capacity was considerably in excess of either that of Great Britain or France as indicated at the foot of the next page.

In the whole munition program there was no greater center of criticism than the production of airplanes, and while many more could have been used with advantage, yet the actual output was not altogether meager. Between April 6, 1917, and November 11,

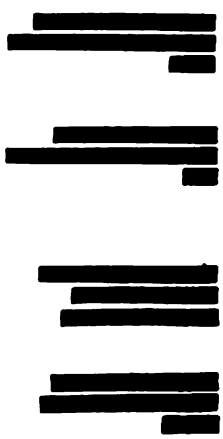
PRODUCTION OF
ARTILLERY AMMUNITION BY GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 1, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Unfilled Rounds:	
Great Britain	138,357,000
France	156,170,000
United States	38,623,000
Complete Rounds:	
Great Britain	121,739,000
France	149,827,000
United States	17,260,000

MONTHLY RATE AT END OF WAR:

Unfilled Rounds:	
Great Britain	7,748,000
France	6,661,000
United States	7,044,000
Complete Rounds:	
Great Britain	7,347,000
France	7,638,000
United States	2,429,000



PRODUCTION OF
RIFLES, MACHINE GUNS AND AMMUNITION BY GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 6, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Machine Guns and Machine Rifles:

Great Britain	181,404
France	229,238
United States	181,662

Rifles:

Great Britain	1,971,764
France	1,416,056
United States	2,506,742

Rifle and Machine Gun Ammunition:

Great Britain	3,486,127,000
France	2,983,675,000
United States	2,879,148,000.

AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1918:

Machine Guns and Machine Rifles:

Great Britain	10,947
France	12,126
United States	27,270

Rifles:

Great Britain	112,821
France	40,522
United States	233,562

Rifle and Machine Gun Ammunition:

Great Britain	259,769,000
France	139,845,000
United States	277,894,000

British and French production of rifles during 1918 was at a lower rate than had been attained because there was no longer need for original equipment of troops.

1918, 11,148 airplanes were produced in the United States, of which 3227 were De Haviland combat planes and 101 were Handley-Page combat planes parts; and of this number 1985 were shipped overseas. In addition 2676 combat planes equipped with engines were received from the Allied governments. Engines to the number of 29,832 were made, of which 13,574 were Liberty engines for combat planes and 469 Hispano-Suiza engines for combat planes, of which numbers, 4383 of the Liberty engines were shipped overseas and 245 of the Hispano-Suiza. With this equipment the three United States air service squadrons at the front on April 30, 1918, increased to 45 on November 11, 1918, and while 271 United States planes were lost to the enemy 491 enemy planes were brought down according to confirmed statistics with 354 in addition unconfirmed.

Were there any doubts that America's equipment for the war was on a large scale, one has but to read the summary of railway rolling stock supplied. There were shipped overseas 1141 standard-gauge locomotives, to which were added 350 purchased abroad; 406 narrow-gauge locomotives, 16,372 standard-gauge cars (791 standard-gauge cars were purchased in Europe) and 3651 narrow-gauge cars. In addition considerable additional equipment was produced and available for shipment to Europe.

For highway transportation 37,607 motor trucks and 6981 ambulances were shipped overseas, while a substantial number were ready to be floated and in process of manufacture.

The production of clothing and equipage for the United States armies was on so large a scale that it is hard to realize until examined in the calm light of a statistical table, such as is given herewith, where not only the production but the

PRODUCTION OF
PROPELLANTS AND HIGH EXPLOSIVES BY GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 6, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Propellants:

Great Britain	294,290,000 lbs.
France	343,950,000 "
United States	632,504,000 "

High Explosives:

Great Britain	771,122,000 "
France	701,438,000 "
United States	379,762,000 "

AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1918:

Propellants:

Great Britain	10,824,000 lbs.
France	17,084,000 "
United States	43,046,000 "

High Explosives:

Great Britain	29,122,000 "
France	23,154,000 "
United States	39,121,000 "

shipments overseas during the war period are shown:

CLOTHING AND EQUIPAGE PRODUCED AND SHIPPED TO THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONAY FORCE, APRIL 6, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918

	Produced	Shipped Overseas
Blankets	19,419,000	3,127,000
Coats, Denin	10,238,000	3,423,000
Coats, wool	12,365,000	3,871,000
Drawers, summer	38,118,000	3,889,000
Drawers, winter	33,766,000	10,812,000
Overcoats	7,748,000	1,780,000
Shirts, flannel	22,198,000	6,401,000
Shoes, marching and field	26,423,000	9,136,000
Stockings, wool, light and heavy	89,871,000	29,733,000
Trousers and breeches, wool.	17,342,000	6,191,000
Undershirts, summer	40,895,000	4,567,000
Undershirts, winter	28,869,000	11,126,000

While the army was able to vanquish the foe it was not so successful with the universal adversary, the High Cost of Living, and judged either collectively or by items the cost of subsistence for the overseas Army is rather appalling. From April 1, 1917, to December 1, 1918, the cost of subsistence shipped to the American Expeditionary Force totalled $327,059,997 of which, as will appear from the table in the adjoining column, bacon and beef were the most serious items. But after cost, the quantities themselves were no less stupendous, and food was a large part of the cargoes crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

The statistics that have been outlined and summarized above could be extended almost indefinitely from the wealth of material compiled by the Statistical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army, but they have been selected as expressing the effort of the whole American people rather than that of its army alone, or any group, or individuals. This military and industrial effort leading to the final victory involved almost a tribal migration, more hurried and hardly on a less extensive scale than those epoch-making invasions of history. Furthermore, there were required the means for a more complicated existence and for waging war where new and special implements on an unheard-of scale were de anded. But the test was met and along th a high purpose went organized industry and the unselfish and unrestrained effort of an aroused and united nation.

SUBSISTENCE SHIPPED TO AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, APRIL 1, 1917, TO DECEMBER 1, 1918

(Not including Y. M. C. A. and Civilian Relief Supplies)

	Quantity Lbs. except as noted	Unit Cost	Total Cost
Bacon	147,956,223	$.44	$65,722,154
Beef, frozen	250,584,692	.23	58,536,584
Beef, tinned	140,843,476	.32	45,517,792
Flour	542,874,797	.05	28,500,927
Tobacco	27,449,645	.67	18,407,732
Cigarettes, each	2,439,260,097	.006	15,123,412
Reserve rations, each	15,623,150	.76	11,873,594
Sugar	106,169,345	.07	7,888,382
Cigars, each	160,180,225	.05	7,768,741
Butter and substitutes	16,200,799	.40	6,433,337
Tomatoes	100,081,789	.06	3,024,924
Beans, baked	54,731,786	.10	5,226,886
Jam	26,029,028	.10	4,877,840
Coffee	39,185,167	.12	4,729,650
Milk, evaporated.	42,922,743	.11	4,498,303
Fish, salmon	30,961,801	.14	4,408,960
Beans, dry	39,646,677	.11	4,297,700
Vegetables, dehydrated	12,971,935	.30	3,924,010
Lard and substitutes	15,781,228	.25	3,861,666
Syrup, gals.	6,171,808	.59	3,654,945
Hard bread	27,978,830	.13	3,614,865
Candy	7,895,053	.28	2,191,667
Rice	25,466,547	.08	2,029,684
Prunes	15,748,931	.10	1,630,014
Fruit, evaporated.	8,976,848	.13	1,191,228
Cornmeal	16,074,678	.05	736,221
Pickles, gals.	1,333,210	.47	625,909
Ham	1,772,917	.34	610,238
Corn, sweet	7,639,786	.06	431,648
Emergency rations, each	765,400	.53	401,835
Vinegar, gals.	1,319,877	.28	367,586
Oatmeal	4,661,732	.06	296,820
Peas, green	4,689,425	.06	262,608
Peaches, canned	2,415,182	.11	255,043
Hominy	1,826,269	.09	155,963
Beans, stringless	2,148,759	.06	127,207
Salt	13,707,276	.009	120,624
Pears, canned	1,150,120	.10	117,542
Apples, canned	1,831,096	.06	117,007
Cheese	314,203	.28	87,191
Pineapples, canned	899,258	.09	82,012
Apricots, canned	863,414	.09	78,748
Cherries, canned	423,444	.12	51,708
Total			$327,059,997



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THE CITY OF RHEIMS—IN RUINS, YET IMMACULATE

THE RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS OF FRANCE

BY C. W. A. VEDITZ, PH.D.
(Former Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Paris)

THE first problem that France has to meet after the signing of peace, next to the demobilization of her troops, will of course be the reconstruction and reëquipment of her devastated regions—the task of putting her productive machinery into normal working order. The mere replacing of damaged and destroyed plants, the rebuilding of wrecked dwellings, the resuming of farming operations upon the shell-torn soil, will call for large expenditures of money, for a generous supply of labor both skilled and unskilled, for materials of all sorts, and for a high order of organizing genius and of financial ingenuity.

It must not be overlooked that France has in most respects been the greatest sufferer from the war. In her loss of population, in the drain upon her financial resources, in the decline of her export trade, and in the wholesale and wanton destruction, by the enemy, of her material wealth and her productive agencies, the burdens which over four years of war have imposed upon France far exceed those which any of her allies has been called upon to bear.

The Human Wastage of the War

Of the great European nations France is the only one which for years has had a stationary population (approximately forty million) and her shortage of labor has for years been such that hundreds of thousands of foreign workers have been attracted across her frontiers by the lure of higher wages. In direct loss of human material the war has cost France about two million men. Figures given by the Under Secretary for War, as of November 1, 1918, are as follows:

Killed:	Officers... 31,300	Men... 1,010,000
Disappeared:	Officers... 3,000	Men... 311,000
Prisoners living in enemy countries or in Switzerland:	Officers... 8,300	Men... 438,000
Now receiving pensions:		76,000
Réformés No. 1 (incapacitated):		113,000
Réformés No. 2 (released from service)		2,374,000
Temporary réformés (temporarily unfit for service):		131,000



SWEETENING STILLS, WHERE THE SULPHUR IS REMOVED FROM THE CRUDE OIL

(3) Purchasing a lot of worn-out or junk wells whose production has almost run out, or been "stripped," with the idea of being able to state truthfully that the company has in addition to possibly one really good producer, the production of which is named, so many other wells.

(4) Purchasing a microscopic lease in the heart of a new gusher pool, such as a town lot or a three to five acre lease in the new Burkburnett pool in Texas. On this the wells are drilled to obtain a quick, large production and no regard is given to how long the production will hold. These wells result in drilling many offsets on adjoining leases and in waste that is inevitable when several wells are drilled where one would eventually drain all the territory.

(5) Backing up any of the above with a large acreage scattered often over many counties and even States. This acreage is not usually taken on the advice of geologists, and the price paid for leases may not be higher than a few cents an acre. Some of it is often acquired on territory which has been condemned yet adjacent to a pool of importance, while still other leases are taken up in States that have never at best produced more than a show of oil. Mixed in with these doubtful leases there may be an occasional lease in fairly good prospective territory.

The chief harm these companies do outside of swindling the public is the excessive price they pay for a few acres of good territory, a price that a well-managed oil company could not afford to pay, but one which the stock-selling company can afford on account of the favorable light it sheds on the other leases held; the waste of money caused through drilling a well on each acre or two instead of one to each eight or ten acres; the sudden flooding of the market with oil produced from their few wells and those offsetting which their neighbors must drill to protect themselves, and the bad light in which other small but honest concerns are placed when efforts are made to obtain financial assistance.

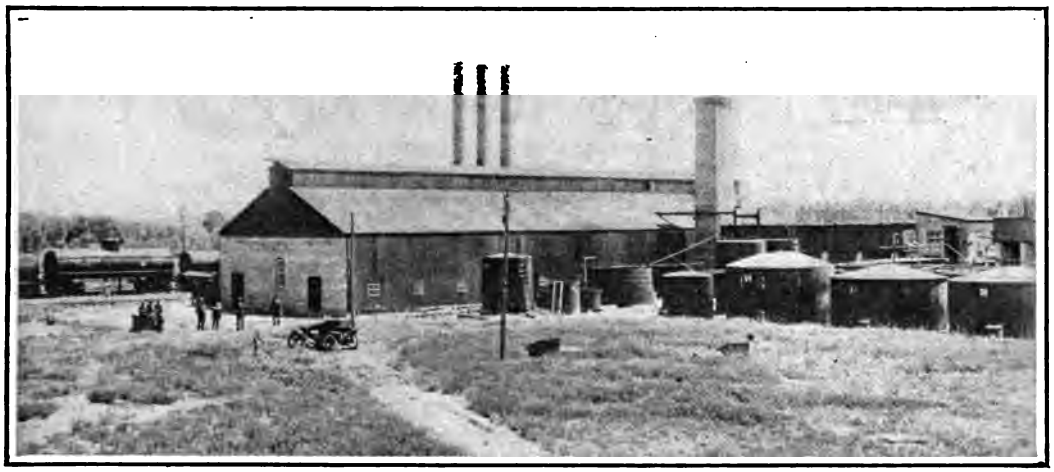
Of course, one or two such companies would have little or no effect on the oil business, but the combined work of hundreds, such as those in Texas especially and in Kentucky, Wyoming and other places, does the damage.

It is better to warn the investor of these practises and to put him on his guard rather than to attempt to keep him out of oil stocks altogether. It is significant that the marketing and refining of the bulk of the oil which will be produced by the new concerns which are rushing into wildcatting and producing will be done by the Standard and a few of the larger and older independents. One-third of the country's total refining capacity is controlled by the Standard companies, and this proportion is more important than is indicated because most of the Standard Oil plants are completely equipped refineries, while a large number of the independent plants are merely "skimmers," and are comparatively inexpensive to build. The grip of the Standard on the refining industry is strengthened by its control of the Burton system for the extraction of gasoline from low-grade oils, which it leases to other companies, including independents.

Profits of the Standard Companies

It has long been known in the oil industry that each branch taken separately was hazardous, but where production, refining, transportation and marketing were combined, as the Standard and a few of the largest independents have done, the element of hazard was fairly well eliminated and profits quite certain to be large.

The stocks of the Standard group of companies have increased in market value more than $2,000,000,000, or 525 per cent., since the combination was dissolved by the courts in 1911. This has taken place in eight years, and in addition the dividends have been from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000 a year, or from



A REFINERY ESTABLISHED AT AN OIL FIELD
(Usually the crude oil is transported by pipe lines or tank cars to refineries hundreds of miles from the fields)

50 to 60 per cent. on the par value of the capital stock of the old company.

These enormous profits of the Standard Oil companies have gone steadily on despite the invasion of the producing field by innumerable independents, many of whom have grown to great size and strength, but which do not seem to prevent the Standard companies from doing as well as ever. While sweeping statements are unwise and while no doubt many of the new independents will succeed, yet not a few experts feel that either the stocks of numerous new companies are selling above their actual values or that the shares of the old, established companies, both Standard and independent, may be selling below their real values.

Unfortunately not a few bankers and brokers of supposedly good standing in the financial community have lent their names to rather ambitious but none the less reckless oil flotations. The danger to the investor is by no means solely confined to promotions by men of no standing whatever. More responsible persons have been led into sponsoring what may possibly prove ill-advised promotions. Oil properties to-day are selling at the highest prices ever reached. Should the prices for oil products continue at their present levels or go higher, the new companies may be able to show a fair return on their capitalization, But should prices decline as a result of a temporary oversupply of oil, it is likely that a day of reckoning will come.



AN OIL "LAKE"—A TEMPORARY STORAGE RESERVOIR

AMERICA'S WAR EFFORT

BY HERBERT T. WADE

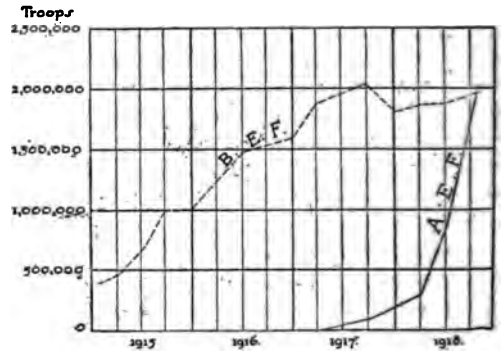
(Late Captain, Ordnance Department, U. S. Army)

ALTHOUGH the complete history of the recent war may be delayed in its preparation, and although there may be many undercurrents long unknown as regards their sources, general flow, or their results, yet there is one phase of the story which now is an open book. The statistics assembled by the General Staff of the United States Army, and released for publication, indeed tell the story of America's effort in the great struggle, and if one can think of war in terms of mere figures and tables apart from tales of patriotic fervor and heroism, the same lessons will be indicated no less clearly.

These statistics, however, must be read with the essential element of time always in mind, for while the Allies were over four years in the great conflict, the participation of the United States was but nineteen months. The American republic rose to its full strength in an incredibly short space of time, yet its men and resources had not been spent in the life and death struggle as were its allies. Furthermore, the United States enjoyed the great advantage of the full coöperation of its allies, and of the lessons learned during their bitter experience. Accordingly, like other statistics, those of the General Staff, some of which are presented herewith as forming an interesting summary of the part taken by America in the war, should be considered with a due appreciation of antecedent and collateral circumstances.

In the last analysis man power counts, and the strength of the American Army operating in Europe and available at home for early transport overseas was an important element in bringing about the ultimate military superiority and triumph. Therefore the first consideration is the strength of the American Expeditionary Force on November 11, when the armistice was signed, and the other forces of the United States Army wherever located, as indicated in the accompanying table. This does not include the drafted strength about to be mobilized but only those under arms.

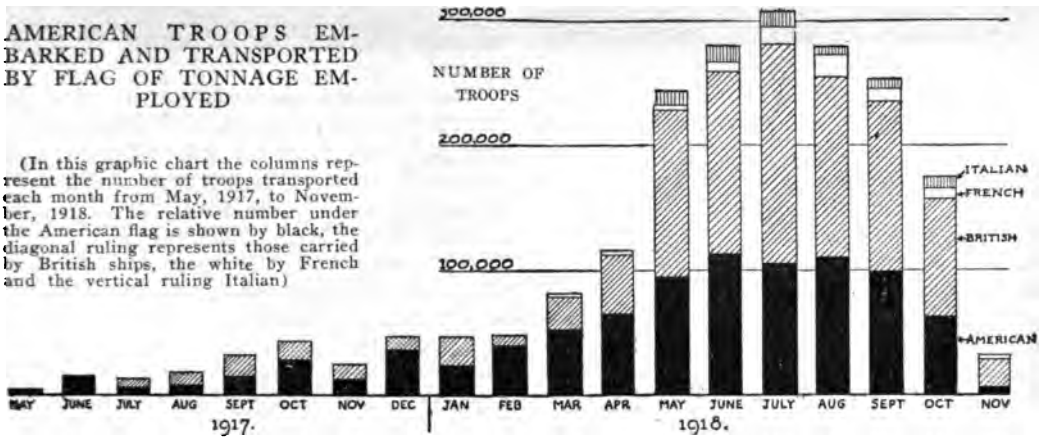
Bearing in mind that the Declaration of War on Germany was made on April 6, 1917, and that there had been but little preparation therefor, it is desirable to call attention not only to the rapidity with which this American Army was organized, but the speed with which the two million men were moved overseas to the Western Front. The accompanying chart shows this graphically, and also in comparison



BRITISH AND AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES ON THE WESTERN FRONT

SUMMARY OF ALL FORCES IN THE U. S. ARMY AT TIME OF ITS GREATEST STRENGTH, NOVEMBER 11, 1918

	Officers	Men	Total
Army personnel in Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea, en route to Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,546	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with Army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total including Marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,935
Siberian Expedition	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In Insular possessions, Alaska, etc.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand Total in Army excluding Marines	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand Total in Army including Marines	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273



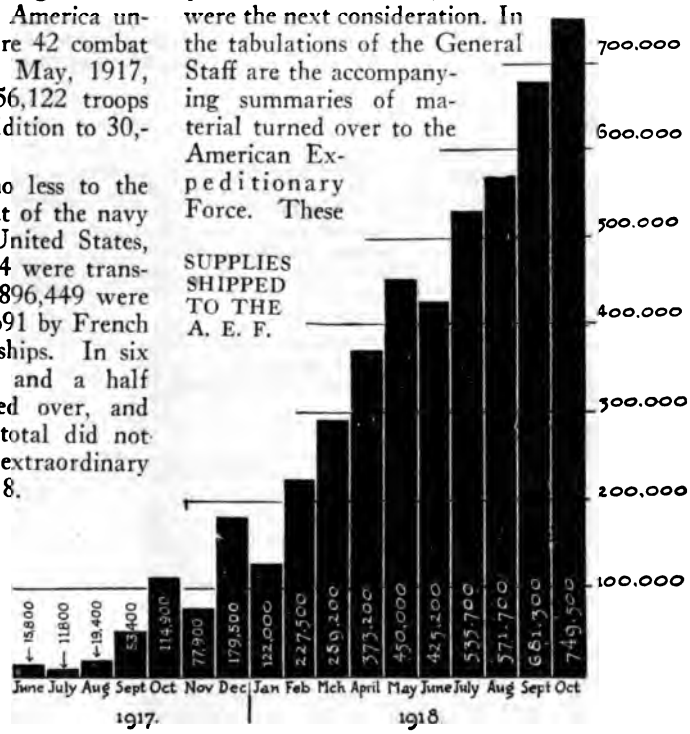
the similar development of the British Expeditionary Force. In ever increasing numbers the tide flowed eastward from America until by October, 1918, there were 42 combat divisions in Europe. Between May, 1917, and November 21, 1918, 2,056,122 troops were transported overseas in addition to 30,600 marines and 9,677 nurses.

Such an achievement was no less to the credit of the Allies than to that of the navy and merchant marine of the United States, for of the above total 1,047,374 were transported under the British flag, 896,449 were carried on American ships, 48,691 by French vessels and 61,608 by Italian ships. In six months practically a million and a half American soldiers were ferried over, and for five months the monthly total did not fall below 240,000, with an extraordinary record of 306,350 in July, 1918.

Supplies for the American Expeditionary Force were hardly less important than men. From 15,800 short tons of United States Army cargo transported in June, 1917, a vast traffic developed that reached 749,500 tons in October, 1918, with a gross total of 4,897,600 tons for the full period thus limited. The distribution among the army departments is of interest and is as follows:

Quartermaster	2,149,400
Engineer	1,314,300
Ordnance	989,900
Signal	115,500
Medical	88,900
Motor Transport	113,300
Aviation	51,400
Red Cross	31,900
Miscellaneous	43,000
Total	4,897,600

With men, subsistence, and equipment provided as indicated, arms and munitions were the next consideration. In the tabulations of the General Staff are the accompanying summaries of material turned over to the American Expeditionary Force. These



CARGO TRANSPORTED TO A. E. F., APRIL, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 1 1918, BY SUPPLY SERVICE (SHORT TONS)

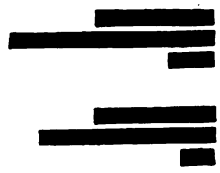
figures are indeed significant as showing the comparative resources of the three great allies. The British and French in order to supply adequate artillery for their armies in an attempt to meet Germany and Austria on an even footing, had provided manufacturing capacity that once it had met the great crisis was in excess of their current needs, great as these were.

Whereas in 1915 France and Great Britain had men, but not enough guns, in

PRODUCTION OF
ARTILLERY BY GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE,
AND THE UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 1, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Gun Bodies (new):	
Great Britain	11,852
France	19,492
United States	4,275
Complete Units:	
Great Britain	8,065
France	11,056
United States	2,005



AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE OF PRODUCTION AT END OF WAR:

Gun Bodies (new):	
Great Britain	802
France	1,138
United States	832
Complete Units:	
Great Britain	486
France	659
United States	392



Even better was the record for artillery ammunition, as it indicates how the supplies expended against the German with ever-increasing volume of fire could be replenished and the available resources. While the output of the United States over the full period was small as compared with that of its allies, yet the monthly capacity established indicated a ready and ample supply during 1919, which with the men and guns available would have put beyond any possible doubt the termination of the struggle.

As reference has been made to the numbers of men sent over it is quite appropriate to refer to the fact that with the exception of machine guns and machine rifles they were adequately armed with rifles, pistols, and revolvers before they left America. For the first troops machine guns and machine rifles of the necessary types were supplied by the Allies, but soon these were developed and manufactured in the United States of such quality and in such quantities that the later American types were in demand by the French Army. Ammunition for small arms and machine guns went forward from the United States in a steady flow with a manufacturing capacity in excess of that of Great Britain. Here again the figures on the following page are significant as increasing amounts of small arms and machine gun ammunition were required by all the armies, so that it stands on a somewhat different basis from rifles and guns which had been in large measure supplied to the European armies as they were organized but which were needed in large numbers by the troops being raised and organized in America.

In the production of propellants, principally smokeless powder, and high explosives, the United States, whose commercial industry in this field had undergone expansion from 1914, with the provisions made by the Government both for national plants and for the encouragement of private manufacturers, was in an excellent position not only to meet its own needs but to assist the Allies. Taking into consideration the time the United States was actually engaged in the war its output favorably compared with that of the Allies, while at the end of hostilities its production capacity was considerably in excess of either that of Great Britain or France as indicated at the foot of the next page.

In the whole munition program there was no greater center of criticism than the production of airplanes, and while many more could have been used with advantage, yet the actual output was not altogether meager. Between April 6, 1917, and November 11,

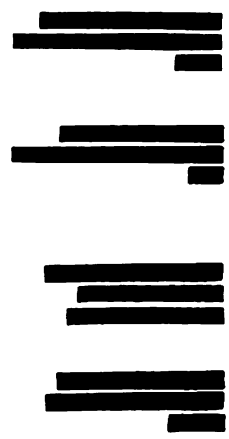
PRODUCTION OF
ARTILLERY AMMUNITION BY GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 1, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Unfilled Rounds:	
Great Britain	138,357,000
France	156,170,000
United States	38,623,000
Complete Rounds:	
Great Britain	121,739,000
France	149,827,000
United States	17,260,000

MONTHLY RATE AT END OF WAR:

Unfilled Rounds:	
Great Britain	7,748,000
France	6,661,000
United States	7,044,000
Complete Rounds:	
Great Britain	7,347,000
France	7,638,000
United States	2,429,000



PRODUCTION OF
RIFLES, MACHINE GUNS AND AMMUNITION BY
GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 6, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Machine Guns and Machine Rifles:

Great Britain	181,404
France	229,238
United States	181,662

Rifles:

Great Britain	1,971,764
France	1,416,056
United States	2,506,742

Rifle and Machine Gun Ammunition:

Great Britain	3,486,127,000
France	2,983,675,000
United States	2,879,148,000.

AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1918:

Machine Guns and Machine Rifles:

Great Britain	10,947
France	12,126
United States	27,270

Rifles:

Great Britain	112,821
France	40,522
United States	233,562

Rifle and Machine Gun Ammunition:

Great Britain	259,769,000
France	139,845,000
United States	277,894,000

British and French production of rifles during 1918 was at a lower rate than had been attained because there was no longer need for original equipment of troops.

while 271 United States planes were lost to the enemy 491 enemy planes were brought down according to confirmed statistics with 354 in addition unconfirmed.

Were there any doubts that America's equipment for the war was on a large scale, one has but to read the summary of railway rolling stock supplied. There were shipped overseas 1141 standard-gauge locomotives, to which were added 350 purchased abroad; 406 narrow-gauge locomotives, 16,372 standard-gauge cars (791 standard-gauge cars were purchased in Europe) and 3651 narrow-gauge cars. In addition considerable additional equipment was produced and available for shipment to Europe.

For highway transportation 37,607 motor trucks and 6981 ambulances were shipped overseas, while a substantial number were ready to be floated and in process of manufacture.

The production of clothing and equipage for the United States armies was on so large a scale that it is hard to realize until examined in the calm light of a statistical table, such as is given herewith, where not only the production but the

1918, 11,148 airplanes were produced in the United States, of which 3227 were De Haviland combat planes and 101 were Handley-Page combat planes parts; and of this number 1985 were shipped overseas. In addition 2676 combat planes equipped with engines were received from the Allied governments. Engines to the number of 29,832 were made, of which 13,574 were Liberty engines for combat planes and 469 Hispano-Suiza engines for combat planes, of which numbers, 4383 of the Liberty engines were shipped overseas and 245 of the Hispano-Suiza. With this equipment the three United States air service squadrons at the front on April 30, 1918, increased to 45 on November 11, 1918, and

PRODUCTION OF
PROPELLANTS AND HIGH EXPLOSIVES BY
GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND UNITED STATES

TOTAL PRODUCTION APRIL 6, 1917, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1918:

Propellants:

Great Britain	294,290,000 lbs.
France	343,950,000 "
United States	632,504,000 "

High Explosives:

Great Britain	771,122,000 "
France	701,438,000 "
United States	379,762,000 "

AVERAGE MONTHLY RATE JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1918:

Propellants:

Great Britain	10,824,000 lbs.
France	17,084,000 "
United States	43,046,000 "

High Explosives:

Great Britain	29,122,000 "
France	23,154,000 "
United States	39,121,000 "

It is certain that the total number of killed, and of those who have been sent home with wounds or diseases that make them partly or wholly unfit for productive services, and transform them from active to passive factors in the economic life of the nation, will not fall short of two million male adults. Indeed, from a purely economic point of view the disabled and incapacitated soldiers and sailors represent a liability rather than an asset. The military pension bill now before the French national legislature involves expenditures so gigantic that one deputy, in discussing the probable effects of a proposed slight increase in the rate of allowances, admitted that the change would make a difference, in the annual total payments, of "several hundred million francs." The former Minister of Finances, Ribot, in a remarkable speech in the French Senate on December 17, 1918, estimated that the pensions that would be paid to the sick and disabled, the widows and orphans of the war, would amount to two and a half billion francs, or about $500,000,000 per annum.

Another factor in French population that should not be overlooked, and to which I have seen no reference in the American press, consists in the startling decline in the French birth-rate, which even in normal times is barely sufficient to maintain the total population at a level of about forty millions. In the 77 "departments" of France that were not invaded—that is to say, excluding the war-swept regions—the birth-rate fell off, from August, 1914, to the end of the year 1917, by 883,160. Hence it may be said without exaggeration that, in addition to the two million adult males killed, or incapacitated beyond hope of redemption, at least one million children (more if we take into account the figures for 1918, and the inevitable subsequent effects of the lower birth-rate), who would have been born to France in normal times, failed to see the light of day. For France, this is a matter of literally vital importance, her birth-rate having fallen from 19 per thousand in 1911-1913, to 10 per thousand in 1915-1916, whereas the birth-rates of England, Holland, Denmark, Spain vary from 21 to 31 per thousand. It was the shortage of man-power in France that led to the introduction before the war of the three-year compulsory military service instead of the two-year service. For Germany, with her population of 67,000,000 in 1914, increasing at the rate of about a million a year, had no difficulty in maintaining a considerably larger standing army.

The Money Cost

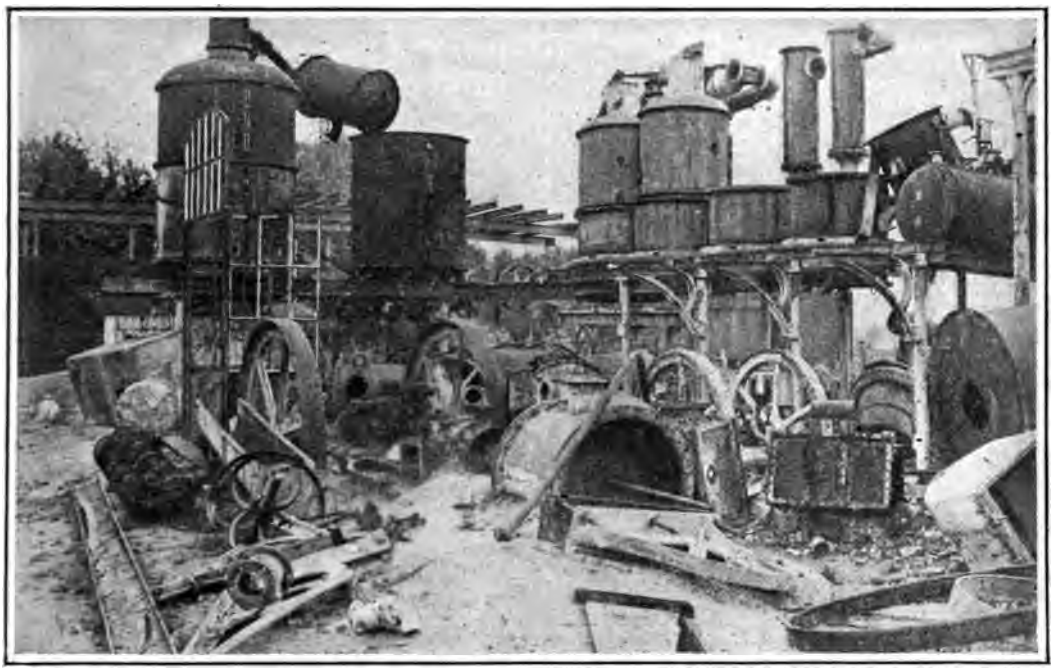
As for the financial cost of the war through government expenditures, the national debt of France amounts to approximately 170 billion francs, instead of the 32 billion francs at the outbreak of the war (over 30 billion dollars instead of 6 billion dollars). Ribot estimates that the annual expenditures of the government, together with the interest charges on the debt, will reach a grand total of about 18 billion francs, or $3,500,000,000. This amounts to approximately 6 per cent. of the national wealth, which is variously estimated by the leading authorities at from 250 to 300 billion francs. The present sources of public revenue yield about seven billion francs per annum ($1,400,000,000).

Trade Losses

Quite distinct and apart from the heavy obligations which the increased public debt imposes on France, is the very unfavorable "balance of trade" during the war. Of all the belligerent nations on the side of the allies, France has probably had least regard for the maintenance of her export trade, and during the long period in which she sold less goods than usual to foreign countries, because her productive forces were diverted from their usual channels and turned to the tasks of war, the value of all goods imported into France, from the first of August, 1914, to the close of the war, exceeded the value of all exports from France by more than 40 billion francs (approximately $8,000,000,000). This so-called "unfavorable balance of trade" must obviously be offset sooner or later by the transfer of a corresponding economic value; that is to say, France will either have to pay this balance in gold, the only international money, or in goods of corresponding value. A third possible solution consists in the acceptance, by Americans and other creditors of France, of French securities; that is to say, by large-scale American investments in France.

Wealth of the Invaded Districts

In making an inventory of the consequences of war in France, it should also be noted that until a few months preceding the armistice the enemy still controlled, in whole or in part, ten of the eighty-odd "depart-



A FACTORY AT ERCHEU, IN THE SOMME—THE SCENE OF HEAVY FIGHTING A YEAR AGO

ments" or administrative sub-divisions of France, including the richest and industrially most important regions. The invaded Northern and Eastern departments furnished in normal times one-fourth of the government revenues. They contained one-fifth of the buildings and of the industrial establishments of the nation, outside of Paris. The Nord and the Pas-de-Calais departments alone produced 27 per cent. of the national wheat crop. Five of the invaded departments furnished 80 per cent. of the beet alcohol distilled in France. Of the 206 manufactories of beet sugar operating in 1913, 142 were located in four of the invaded departments,—68 per cent. of the total.

The coal basins of Lens, Douai, Anzin, together with the other coal mines of this highly industrialized region furnished 68 per cent. of the coal mined in all of France. The famous iron ore basin of Briey-Longwy, of which the Germans acquired control early in the war, and the exploitation of which (many authorities contend) enabled Germany to carry on the war as long as she did, yielded 90 per cent. of the French iron ore. The metallurgical establishments of the East and of Hainault were responsible for 70 per cent. of the steel products and 80 per cent. of the pig iron made in France. The steam engines in the industrial plants of this section represented a total horse-power of 1,236,500, in the nation's total of 3,235,200, or 39 per cent. In France's total of 7,525,000 cotton spindles, 4,475,000 were located in these regions. Of spindles running on wool, 64 per cent. were either in these sections held by the enemy, or so near the firing lines that they could not safely be operated.

Damage to Towns and Farms

From all of these regions the Germans have of course recently withdrawn in conformity with the terms of the armistice, and it has thus become possible for the French authorities to appraise, at least approximately, the amount and character of the damage done by the invaders during their unwelcome sojourn.

Some places were so entirely destroyed that it is impossible to fix even the sites of what had previously been prosperous and peaceful towns—like Bouchavesnes and Sailly-Saillisel. Of 841 communes in the Aisne department, says Senator Touron, barely 40 have been spared from German occupation, and whole cantons have been literally wiped out of existence. Elsewhere the damage is confined to a small part of the town or to the larger and more conspicuous edifices. But even in the local-



HOW THE GERMANS RUINED FARM MACHINERY AND A CANAL AT THE SAME TIME

ities not completely razed, the Germans stripped mills and workshops of their equipment, and the farms of their buildings, their cattle, and their implements of production. At Roye, for example, where the actual fighting caused no irreparable damage, they burned the sugar mills, removed the bronze, zinc, lead, copper, and other metallic parts of the machinery, and smashed into fragments the parts that were left. Some localities suffered the effects of repeated and violent bombardments; others were deliberately set on fire, from house to house, as in the case of Gerbévillers in Lorraine.

Reduction of the Coal Supply

The condition in which the coal mines have been left by the Germans is such that after extensive repairs the output can scarcely be expected to exceed half that of the normal output of this region; whence it is evident that France's need to import coal from abroad, will be greater, after the war, by at least ten million tons than it was before the war. The transfer of the coal mines of the Sarre region, while it will increase considerably the national output of coal, will do this only approximately to the extent of supplying the coal required by the Sarre region itself.

The mining expert selected by the French Government to inspect and report upon the condition of the mines in the liberated regions—Lieutenant-Colonel Weiss—has declared that in some cases it will take five years to put the coal mines in full working order. The most important of them have been flooded; the workers' houses destroyed; the buildings and equipment, both overground and underground, either carried off or demolished; and the local means of transportation made unutilizable and irreparable. In the few mining localities in which the Germans permitted the workers' dwellings to stand, they stripped the dwellings of all furnishings and made them uninhabitable.

Destruction of Buildings

The 1223 "liberated" communes covered by the investigation of May, 1917, had a total of 50,754 buildings completely destroyed, and 52,043 partly destroyed. The terms "partly destroyed" and "completely destroyed," as used by the French authorities in this inquiry, have apparently been strictly interpreted, and no account taken of buildings which have undergone no more serious damage than broken window-panes and shell-scratches on the outer walls. But whereas in many cases some of the stones, bricks and wood in damaged and destroyed structures can be used again for building purposes, there are localities in which even this is not possible. At Gerbévillers, the mayor, Dr. Camus, assured me that the greater part of the heaps of building stones lying over that martyred village, have been so calcined by the fires with which the Germans destroyed the place, that they are unfit for further use. In this small town with about two thousand inhabitants Dr. Camus appraises the damage at fourteen million francs, basing the estimate on prices prevailing at the outbreak of the war.

The results of the investigation in May, 1917, have very recently been completed and brought up to date, at least in the form of approximations, by a committee of the Chamber of Deputies with M. Louis Dubois as Chairman. According to the report of this committee there have been destroyed in all the devastated sections a total of approximately 250,000 edifices, and a somewhat larger number have been more or less seriously damaged. This figure thus represents a vast increase over the totals for May, 1917, and no small part of the increase is due to the fearful ravages wrought by the enemy in many of the larger cities near the firing line, or actually under German control. The



ALL THAT REMAINS OF ONE OF FRANCE'S FAMOUS TEXTILE MILLS

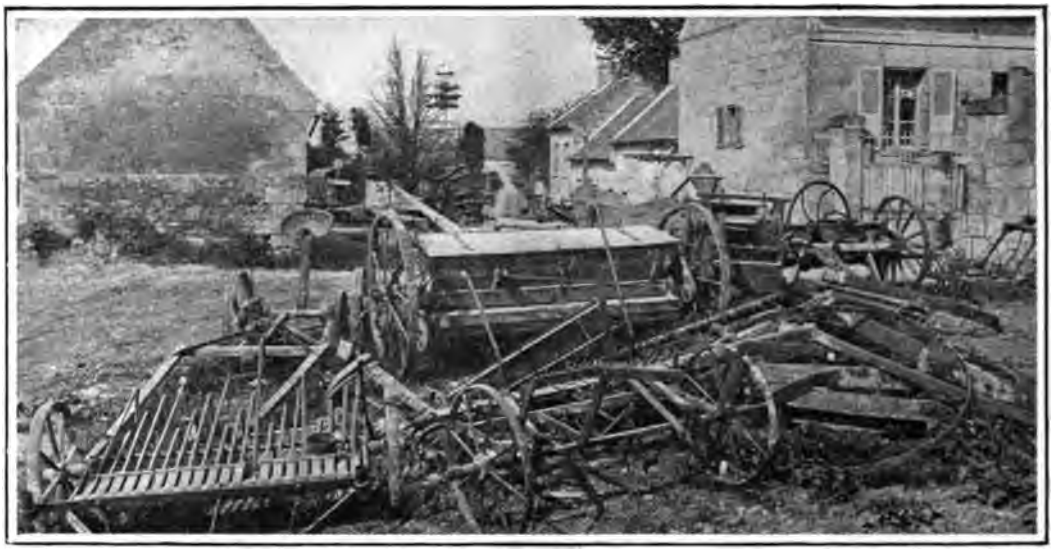
(Even a casual study of the machinery in the foreground of the picture shows the extent of the ruin. It happened that the devastated region of France, though only 6 per cent. of the total area, produced 94 per per cent. of the country's manufactured goods. The Government's official report on industrial ruin and reconstruction in the war zone declares that "everything has been either destroyed or carried away by the enemy")

figures for Arras, with a total of 4,907 edifices, show 1,311 in ruins, 1,227 partially destroyed, 1,499 damaged, and 870 fairly intact. Reims, with 14,000 edifices, has 12,000 destroyed, and of the other 2000, damaged more or less seriously, only 500 are said to be readily reparable. At Lens, with 11,000 buildings, not one has remained intact, and few have even their outer walls standing; the sites of the local church and of the town hall are barely determinable.

In places like these, the mere task of removing the débris will require considerable time and labor. In contracts which were shown me for the cleaning up (*déblayage*) of Reims, it is stipulated that navvies (*terrassiers*) shall be paid 2.50 francs per hour for ten hours per day, and in addition 10 francs per day as indemnity for the high cost of living. This makes a total daily wage of 35 francs, or approximately six to seven dollars a day.

Soil Made Useless for Agriculture

Apart from the damage to buildings (and it is interesting to note that Paris, as a consequence of air raids and the long distance guns, also had her share of the damage to buildings, inasmuch as 463 structures were destroyed or seriously damaged in the capital city), an important item is furnished by the literal destruction of the soil itself. In those sections in which fierce battles were carried on—as around Soissons, at the Chemin-des-Dames, on the plateau of Champagne, at Albert and at Bapaume—the trenches, zigzagging across the soil, the shelters and dugouts, the underground defenses of re-enforced concrete, the shell craters—all these will make the utilization of the soil for farming purposes well-nigh inconceivable during many years to come. So thoroughly has the fertile upper soil been churned up, that no crop would grow. In the department of the Somme alone, there are 28,500 hectares (70,000 acres) in this condition; and in the devastated sections as a whole there are certainly not less than 100,000 hectares (247,000 acres) fit for nothing but possibly the planting of forests after the ground has been cleared, filled up and levelled. In a much larger area, which may possibly amount to three million acres, it will be necessary to clean up the soil, and to remove barbed-wire fences and similar obstacles, as well as the effects of four years of neglect. In many sections, the forests and orchards have been systematically burned, cut down, or otherwise destroyed by the Germans, notably in the Ardennes.



WHAT A FRENCH PEASANT FOUND WHEN HE RETURNED TO HIS FARM—IN THE AISNE REGION
(The farm implements had been taken out of the barns, wrecked, and left in the open to complete the destruction)

Industry Dismantled

Concerning industrial machinery and equipment in the devastated regions the report of the parliamentary committee gives interesting details. Many of the machines the Germans dismounted, labeled carefully, and transported to German plants engaged in the same branches of production, and there put them up again for use, in the methodical fashion to which they are accustomed.

The textile industries furnish a good illustration of the German practises. In the woolen manufacturing region of Fourmies (which does not lie in the zone of actual warfare) the association of woolen manufacturers has reported on the condition of 74 plants in this section. These plants consist of 55 worsted spinning mills, with 735,500 spindles, of which 651,500, or 88 per cent., have been destroyed; of 13 weaving mills with 3,550 looms, of which all have been destroyed; three woolen spinning mills, in which 75 per cent. of the spindles have been destroyed; two woolen weaving mills, with 100 looms, all destroyed; a jute spinning mill with 1,800 spindles, all destroyed; and a jute weaving mill with 70 looms, likewise all destroyed. It is furthermore reported that the Germans, during their occupation or just before their withdrawal, had destroyed or removed in all a million spindles producing fine woolen and worsted yarns, and that for the French to replace these machines will require three years.

Financial Estimates

The parliamentary committee estimates the amount of destruction to dwellings, at present prices, as 20 billion francs, an estimate which coincides with those made by several national associations of builders and architects. It is furthermore estimated by the committee that the furniture, household effects, linen, bedding, and the like, which has been destroyed or which has disappeared in the invaded sections, should be valued at least at five billion francs.

These figures take no account of public buildings, churches, public monuments, and obviously no money value can be fixed for such edifices as the Cathedral of Reims or of Soissons. As for paintings, sculpture, and other works of art susceptible of removal, many of these were carried off, but most of them may be traced to their present locations; for the Germans went so far as to arrange expositions of these works of art and to issue catalogs of them. It may therefore be an easy matter to enforce their restitution.

To put the war-ridden soil into something like its original condition is estimated as requiring not less than ten billion francs, without regard for lost crops or for future declines in the yield of the land.

The damage to mines and to industrial establishments throughout the devastated regions is placed at 20 billion francs. This includes mines, metallurgical establishments of all sorts, textile mills, manufactures of machinery and tools, breweries, sugar

factories, distilleries, and, in general, all industrial establishments.

Finally, fairly complete and reliable figures have been obtained concerning public works and utilities—railways, tram lines, canals, bridges, light and power plants, etc. —and these indicate damages amounting to not less than nine and one-half billion francs.

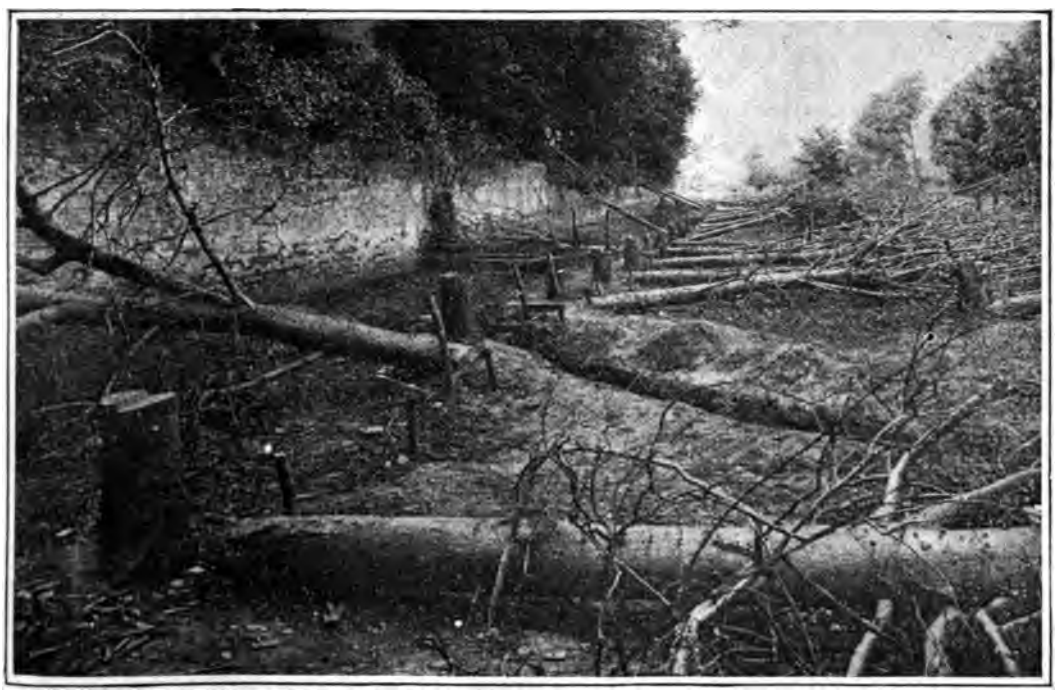
Thus the estimated amount of all the above damages gives a grand total of 64,500,000,000 francs.

Rebuilding from Local Materials

Of the total number of approximately half a million buildings destroyed or damaged, a very large number were devoted to agricultural purposes. The typical French devastated town is not the industrial center like Lille, but the village center of a farming region, containing the homes of the farmers and their families, and of the local tradesmen and mechanics. Their homes will for the most part be rebuilt of the same material as before—of materials obtainable locally. The farm houses and barns, of *pisé*, stone, bricks, with but little wood, will require no far-fetched materials as a rule. Although wood will be scarce and dear, it is improbable that concrete and steel will be used for other buildings than for the larger factories and shops. There will probably be considerable demand for standardized wood-work (doors and windows), despite the general French aversion to them, because of the urgency of the need for homes and the lower cost of standardized wood-work.

Cement for building industrial establishments will admittedly be in great demand. Before the war the total output of cement in France was three million tons a year. During the war it fell to less than one-sixth of this quantity, and it will be no easy matter to again raise the output to the normal level, or to increase it sufficiently to meet the new requirements.

Structural iron and steel will figure largely only in the industrial edifices, and there will be a great demand for bars for re-enforcing concrete. Whereas there will in general be little importation of the heavier building material, there will certainly be a large demand for the machinery and equipment of all sorts of industrial plants—especially textile mills, sugar manufactures, metallurgical plants, mines, manufactures of machinery and machine tools.



WILFUL DESTRUCTION BY GERMANS RETREATING THROUGH A FRENCH ORCHARD



A TYPICAL FRENCH FOREST SCENE IN THE WAR ZONE

THE FORESTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND

BY ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

THE other day at Nancy, General Mangin laid a wreath at the base of the monument raised to the memory of the French foresters who fell in the war of 1870-1. One of them was his father, who became Inspector-General of Forests. In memory of that father, the commander of the X Army wanted also to pay homage to the heroism and the spirit of sacrifice shown by the French foresters of the present generation. Instead of having, as for the war of 1870-1, seven names of members of the Nancy Forestry School, eighty-three such names must now be inscribed. The increase shows the increase both of the school and of the demands of Mars.

War Service of the Forests

The increase of the school—the first in France—is natural when we consider what forests mean in this country—not only as protectors of watersheds, equalizers of climate, producers of timber for civilian uses, but as great recreation grounds for the public. During the past five years we have seen that French forests have played a vital part in the country's defense. They have played a doubly vital part, indeed.

First, had it not been for the check to the German advance afforded through the protection of Paris in 1914 and again in 1918 by the forests of Villers-Cotterets, Compiègne and Chantilly, the enemy might have been able to reach the city's walls.

Again, timber from all the forests has been of equally vital necessity—for the building (for herself and, as much as possible, for the Allied armies operating in France) of barracks and shelters, for telegraph poles, for railway sleepers, for camion construction, for aviation, for cases for grenades and projectiles, etc.

To furnish the necessary material for these and other military uses, the government created nine centers of operation—Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Orléans, Alençon, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble, Dijon. The work was prosecuted by military saw-mills.

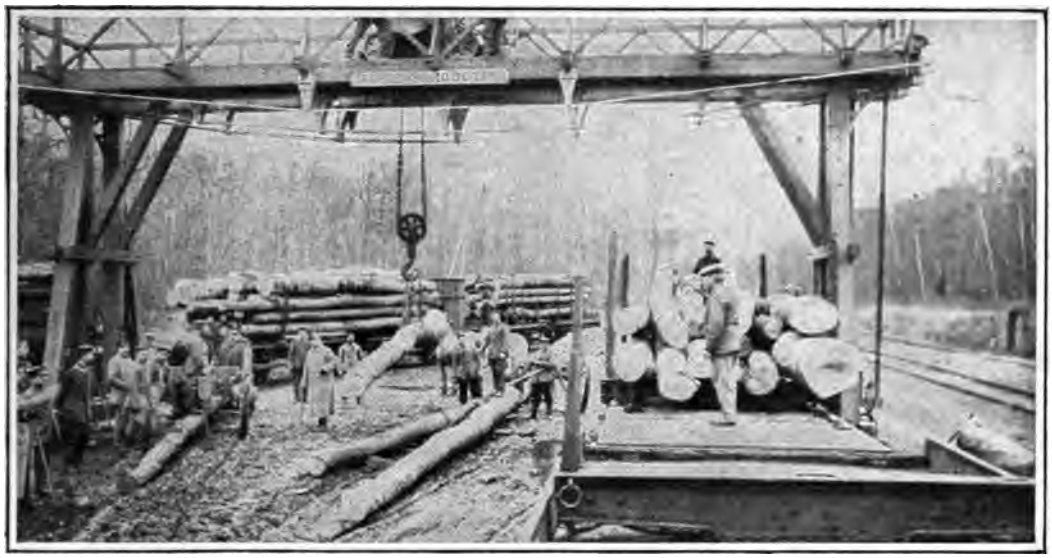
Labor and Transportation

But the government had to face two ever-increasing difficulties:

(1) The difficulty in obtaining labor, for more and more men were necessarily drawn into the army at the front, and

(2) the difficulty of getting transportation facilities.

Finally, the government had to appeal to Canada and to the United States for help. The response was generous. The Canadians went to work in the North, in the forest of



© Brown and Dawson,

GERMANS REMOVING TIMBER FROM FRENCH FORESTS

Eu and Rouvray, and we, in the East, in the forests of Levier and of the Joux in the Jura mountains, and, in the West, in the region south of Bordeaux.

Though, in general, the French forests are well managed as to thinning, wherever, because of war, the exploitation had been delayed, our cuttings have often helped the forest condition, especially as we have cut, first of all, the trees of sixty to seventy years' growth, which ought to be removed.

Destruction by the Germans

The damage—the tragical damage—to French forests has of course come from the Germans. They have partly or wholly destroyed the forests on about 1,500,000 acres, with a value of at least $300,000,000.

The destruction may be divided into three kinds:

First, where it has been partial but very serious, as I have seen it in the forests of the Mantagne-de-Reims and of Compiègne.

Second, where it has been generally entire, as I have seen it in the Argonne and in the Ardennes.

Third, where both forests and soil have been destroyed, as I have seen in the valleys of the Meuse and Moselle and in the Vosges. Take such woods as the Bois-Le-Prêtre and the Bois de la Grurie for instance, where, due to the almost incessant artillery struggles, the soil itself has been mined anywhere from one to nine feet in depth. Of course, there is no more humus. In the open spaces, agriculture will be impossible for a long time to come, in the opinion of competent observers.

What Must Be Done?

In the work of rehabilitation three things are immediately necessary:

(1) To find the unexploded shells and grenades in the soil—and not a day passes but what some death occurs from the search.



FRENCH WOMEN CARRYING FIREWOOD FROM A FOREST



WRECK OF A WOODLAND AFTER CONCENTRATED ARTILLERY FIRE

(2) To utilize the dead timber for firewood.

(3) To reforest by seeding or planting.

And this must be done at a time when France needs lumber as never before, for ruined houses, factories and schools must immediately be rebuilt.

There is not nearly enough of the necessary material in France. But it is at hand next door—in Germany, where there is one and one-half times as much forest area as in France, where the forests are untouched by war, and where the proper kinds and age-quality are ready for the cutter. The simplest justice demands that Germany shall pay in actual timber to France for the timber destroyed. No felling in German forests should be allowed till this is done.

Work of American Foresters

Owing to the non-demobilization of the French army, our American forestry forces (which have been some 20,000 in number) are still doing all they can to help France by taking the places of her woodsmen, now in the army. At this moment, in the Landes, near Dax, we are cutting about 150,000 trees from which timber is immediately needed. The Landes of Gascony comprise an area of some 2,000,000 acres along the Bay of Biscay from Bordeaux to Spain. For centuries this area was a vast malarial swamp, doomed, as was then said to "eternal sterility." In 1786 the French Government began to drain this region and finished the colossal work in 1865. As the lands, whether state, communal, or private holdings, were drained, they were sown or planted with maritime pines, whose value by 1904 was estimated at $100,000,000. This value registers some change from the prevailing opinion prior to 1786.

Conditions in Great Britain

In the specially difficult year of 1915 to



FRENCH SOLDIERS CUTTING WOOD FOR TRENCH FLOORING

Great Britain, because of the war and because of British labor unrest, the Landes sent no less than a million loads of pitwood to the Welsh and English mines, thus providing material for their maintenance.

But to the Briton this is not the most impressive fact when he reflects that all this pitwood might have been produced on his own waste lands.

The incident calls attention to forestry conditions in Great Britain, which, except Portugal, is the most poorly wooded country in Europe.

As compared with France, where there is half an acre of forest per head of population, the United Kingdom has less than one-tenth of an acre per head.

Before the war, the wooded area of Great Britain was estimated at about 3,000,000 acres. The islands should have at least twice as much. Why?

To turn present barren wastes into profitable forests. To keep young Britons at forest labor and so keep them out of the towns.



American Forestry Association

THE FAMOUS OAK FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU



WHERE BEAUTIFUL SHADE TREES ONCE LINED EACH SIDE OF THE ROAD

To save the money now spent on imports of lumber.

To insure a sufficient supply of timber in the event of another war.

The first two points are self-evident. The third—to save money now spent in imports—will be evident when we remember, first, that while France produced 94 per cent. of her total pre-war timber consumption, the United Kingdom produced less than 8 per cent. of its timber consumption. Moreover the consumption in Great Britain has increased at a more rapid rate than has that of the population. Furthermore, during the war, prices rose to such an extent that in 1915, when the imports were only three-fourths, and in 1916, where there were only two-thirds of normal pre-war import, their cost for the two years was $175,000,000 more for the same material that had been paid before the war. Some of the 5,000,000 acres now utilized for very rough grazing, but capable of growing timber of the same character as that imported, could be more profitably put into forest, when we consider the national exigency.

And this brings us to the fourth reason for an immediate forest increase in Great Britain, namely, that there shall be a home supply ample in case of war. Past history there has been a muddle. While in France there has been a single forest authority, in Great Britain there were three—the Board of Agriculture for England and Wales, the

Board of Agriculture for Scotland and the Department of Agriculture for Ireland. During the war the responsibility was merged to a certain extent, it is true, but this authority was changed from the Department of Agriculture to the Office of Works, then to the War Office and then to the Board of Trade! While, in France, all the forest resources and transport facilities were known and there was a consequent maximum production with minimum effort, the contrary was the case in the United Kingdom. There was no proper survey there and, not until a year after Britain entered the war did the government improvize machinery to deal with the subject. For months German prisoners in England, skilled in forest work, were unemployed and then only in a way to make their work relatively improductive. There was not only shortage of labor but of portable plants, of horses, of mechanical traction. It was discovered that the light country roads had to be strengthened to bear timber transportation and that railway sidings had to be built.

Consumption of English Forests

Despite these things, once the Briton got his gait, he showed himself ready to sacrifice. As in France, so in England, the available labor had been mostly absorbed by the army. England also had to appeal overseas. Canada and the United States responded. As in France, so in England the overseas lumbermen enlisted as soldiers and came as military units. In the Black Woods and in Windsor Forest I visited the great areas laid bare by the Canadian cutters and saw-mills. It seemed strange, almost in the shadow of Windsor Castle, to come upon the rough huts of the Canadian Forestry Corps. Here and at New Forest the Crown fortunately controlled the timber; in other places the Defense of the Realm Act gave compulsory powers.

Once awakened, the response was magnificent from British landowners, from the King down. The Crown woods in the Windsor and Ascot districts produced great amounts of timber. Many private owners felled their timber from patriotic motives and offered it for sale to the government, receiving little more than the pre-war price and less than the real market value. Large estates, like that of the Duke of Sutherland, were broken up. Several hundred thousand acres were cleared—more in proportion to the total timbered area of England than the Boches destroyed of the total timber area of France.

France becoming exhausted, the British did this to provide themselves with wood for the military purposes of their now immense army. Only the armistice stopped their cutting down their trees. And such trees! Think of their giant oaks! They meant sentiment as well as timber! Yet, as an Englishman said to me: "We would have cut down every tree in England if such sacrifice had been necessary to win the war."

Extensive Plantings Required

The cleared area must now be replanted. Here again America will gladly help. The president of the American Forestry Association, Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack, with characteristic prevision, had announced that the Association will supply to Great Britain and France American forest-tree seeds to restore the destroyed timber as much as possible. The first replantings in both England and France will doubtless be in those areas nearest to where the converted timber is to be consumed—this specially in view of another war emergency.

But of course what Great Britain needs to do is not only to replant the felled areas but to plant land now bare. The Forestry Committee in the Ministry of Reconstruction therefore recommends the planting as soon as possible of several hundred thousand acres, first, by direct state action through purchase or lease; second, by a system of partnership between the present owners and the state, the owner providing the land and local management, the state providing the money for planting and the general control, the net proceeds, as they accrue, to be divided on an equitable basis; third, planting or sowing to be done by local authorities or private individuals.

In this effort the state might well give a bonus of at least $7 or $8 for every acre planted, and at least $15 for every acre planted on which the government shall have the first claim in the event of war. The whole scheme should afford a welcome labor opportunity, under healthful conditions, to demobilized soldiers and sailors who are now seeking work.



E. M. VASSALLO J. M. TURNER L. S. MORALES ANTONIO BARCELO ALBERT E. LEE W. A. WALCOTT

THE PORTO RICO FOOD COMMISSION AS CONSTITUTED IN 1917

(Mr. Barcelo was first president of the Commission, an office which Mr. Lee now occupies. Mr. Turner is vice-president and treasurer, and Mr. Vassallo is executive secretary)

THE FOOD COMMISSION THAT MADE MONEY

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER

WHEN the history of how food won the war is written, to what American community will go the credit for the highest record in efficiency of effort and comparative magnitude of results? Few would conjecture rightly; it lies in a strange direction, correspondingly unsuspected. The story of it is well worth the telling. For, besides being a relation of great ends effectively accomplished, it is a most remarkable demonstration of the possibilities of governmental operation of a huge business function when organized on a common-sense business basis. Government management and operation of business affairs is deservedly a byword and reproach all over the world, merely because, as a rule, incompetent persons administer them according to incompetent methods. But to show its possibilities when rightly done it is only necessary to cite this particular example. It is all simple enough: to determine the right way for a thing to be done and then find the right men to do it. In this case the achievements look fairly marvelous measured by the usual standards.

This is the story of a food commission. And can any other organization of the sort point to such a record? Has any other such body not only done its appointed work from first to last in all completeness, but paid its own expenses, meeting every charge out of the results of its own operations and ended its task with a fairly large profit ready to be turned over to the public treasury? And remarkably enough, such was the work of the pioneer food commission constituted after our entrance into the war by an organized American community, antecedent by months to the organizing of the Federal Food Administration. Moreover its jurisdiction comprised the latest body politic to come under the stars and stripes—perhaps the last quarter that might be looked to for the teaching of the splendid lesson in good government there imparted.

When the average citizen thinks of Porto Rico he vaguely pictures a remote tropical island and, if he has occasion to send a letter thither he may put on a five-cent stamp, regarding it a foreign land. Yet the American flag has floated there over twenty years. Sizeable as an island, its area is less than that of what is territorially the third smallest State in the Union, being seven-tenths the area of Connecticut. But it is one of the most densely inhabited parts of the world; its population of more than 1,300,000 is greater than that of any of sixteen of our States, standing only a little below Connecticut, Nebraska, South Carolina and Washington.

The Personnel

With such a population to be fed the problem became serious when the war began. With the restriction of shipping facilities



A FOOD CONSERVATION PARADE AT JUNCOS, A SMALL INTERIOR TOWN IN PORTO RICO
(Note the uniform worn by the women)

there seemed danger of cutting communication with the mainland below the danger-line. It was felt that everything should be done towards making the island self-sustaining. So, just six days after we had entered the war, a joint-resolution of the insular legislature, constituting a Porto Rico Food Commission, drawn up by Attorney-General Kern, became law. Governor Yager took pains to select the best men possible; his appointments were made inside a month. What they accomplished make the names of these men worth giving: Antonio R. Barceló, John M. Turner, Luís Sánchez Morales, Nathaniel A. Walcott, Albert E. Lee. Later Mr. Barceló, becoming President of the Senate, was succeeded by Mañuel Camuñas and Mr. Lee was made president of the commission. Mr. Turner and Mr. Walcott, natives of the States, are old residents; Mr. Lee was born in Porto Rico of English paternity. All are business men of high ability.

Marketing and Price-fixing Powers

The commission was clothed with unusual powers to meet the emergencies in the food supply, including the right to buy and sell food of all kinds, to fix prices and to make peremptory regulations for the use of food, such as meatless days, etc. The people, as a rule, religiously heeded these regulations. Price-fixing, extended to retail trade, effectively checked all exorbitant tendencies.

The law constituting the commission placed at its disposal resources to the amount of one million dollars. A survey of staples in stock in the island showed an alarming shortage in the rice situation, rice being one of the most widely consumed of foods. A fair offer to the wholesalers as inducement to coöperate with the commissioners was turned down, so it was decided to enter the market and provide supplies as needed. Speculation in food was rife and there was a tendency to unusual exports to neighboring islands. So the first step was to forbid exports of specified foods without the Commission's written consent. Within ten days retail prices for rice, flour and condensed milk were fixed, with a provision that actual losses thus caused would be reimbursed. The only claim ever substantiated was for $4.24.

A Remarkable Deal in Rice

So great had been the rise in rice, two or three months before America entered the war, as to more than double the price. Profits taken in the island aggregated over $500,000 above the regular profits of the trade. The Commission aimed to prevent a further rise by purchasing a supply to serve in an emergency, and then by careful manipulation reducing the prevailing price. A reserve of 50,000 pockets was purchased in Texas, retail prices having been fixed. This brought about the desired reduction in prices, reflected even in the New Orleans and other Southern markets. But, although

local prices had been stabilized, the unsettling of the market in the States made buyers reluctant and the needed supplies were not assured.

Out of this came a unique transaction, unparalleled in the story of food control. Acting through the Bureau of Insular Affairs and the Governor General of the Philippines, a former German steamer was placed at the disposal of the Food Commission. The purchase of 7000 tons of Saigon rice was arranged for. The plan was to ship from Saigon by way of Panama, reaching Porto Rico in time to replenish the local supply early in August. It was estimated that it would be landed at a cost less than half the prevailing price of American rice, while yielding to the Porto Rico government customs duties amounting to $140,000—Porto Rico having the special privilege of receiving for its own benefit all the customs duties paid at its ports of entry.

Circumstances, however, necessitated a change in routing and the steamer was sent by way of Suez. This meant a delay of a month, beside the risks of passing the submarine zone, and of injury to the cargo. So, touching at a port in the Mediterranean, the cargo was sold to the Italian government at a net profit of over half a million dollars! The Commission credits Major-Gen. McIntyre, chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, with the success of this phenomenal transaction.

Common-Sense Financing

In its first year the Commission's merchandizing of food included 16,908,196 pounds of rice, 3,657,700 pounds of wheat flour, 55,468 pounds of corn meal, and 8,653 cans of charcoal—the latter in relief of a charcoal famine. The Saigon rice transaction is not included here. The commission sold impartially to all alike, wholesale and retail, at fair rates that assured the stated returns designed to meet overhead charges and yield low profits for the continuation of transactions within its own resources.

By arrangement with the insular auditor the accounting of the Commission was conducted more in line with the practice of large corporations than was permitted by the customary official methods. The way in which the extensive business of the commission was financed is instructive. At the outset it was decided that the authorized million-dollar bond issue was, for the time being at least, unnecessary. Nor was it necessary at all. By arrangement with the local banks all funds were provided on notes signed by the Governor with interest at 4 per cent. annually, payable monthly—the principal payable on any interest-due date. All the money needed was thus made available on extremely favorable terms at a rate unequaled for any other institution. In the first year the loans aggregated $1,185,000. With the funds reinforced by the huge profit on the Saigon rice-transaction the daily balances were so large that the money drawing interest greatly reduced the interest charges for the second year while the facilities of the Commission were trebled. Arrangements made with banks in New York and San Francisco were of the usual commercial-credit sort. Other banking facilities that grew out of the relations established by the Commission aided greatly in securing low prices and the most favorable terms in all commercial transactions.



GOVERNOR ARTHUR YAGER OF PORTO RICO

Profit to the Government, With Large Savings to Consumers

The Commission's expenses were more than covered by its commercial activities. For the first year the actual financial results were $608,539.35 gross. But, the Commission having insisted that all rice-shipments to

the island be in bond, $34,850.36 in customs-duties were collected. Hence the actual gross cash received by the island was $643,389.71. The Commission's expenses, duties and operating-costs having amounted to $115,555.68, the net cash results for the Government were $527,834.03. Moreover, there were indirect results difficult to measure financially. An indication of how enormous these indirect benefits must have been is furnished by the single item of rice. Prices for this staple in the island were maintained at about two cents a pound below the retail price in Louisiana, whence came nearly all the rice brought to the island. Even on the basis of only six months' reduction in the Porto Rico retail price, this meant the saving of $1,500,000 for the consumers.

Agricultural Propaganda

When the Commission had been in operation a few months it made a careful tabulation of local prices for many food-staples in comparison with prices for the same articles in the States. The local prices, as a rule, were found to be much lower than those paid by consumers on the Continent. This was even the case with various foods beside rice, brought from the States under the high shipping charges for ocean freight under war-time conditions. This favorable condition was in large measure due to the equitable fixing of retail prices by the Commission. But much of it was also a result of the Commission's admirable agricultural propaganda. This led to an enormous local production of important staples.

This agricultural propaganda was extensive and thorough. Its effects promise to be permanent in great measure in assuring such a development of resources as to make Porto Rico largely self-sustaining as never before. In addition to the propaganda fund of $40,000 contributed by the Commission, the Federal appropriation of $10,000 for its agricultural extension-work was available for this purpose. The agricultural teachers of the insular Department of Education, ten in number, were detailed to serve with twenty-five other agricultural agents in maintaining this propaganda all over the island. Seeds to the value of over $14,000 were distributed, through municipal officers, the greater part sold to planters. In addition, the Agricultural Committee purchased about forty-two tons of seeds of various classes for $7,864.14. The acreage planted in consequence the first year amounted to 334,725 acres—an increase of 300 per cent. of the acreage devoted to minor crops the previous year. In the cities vacant lots and home gardens were generally planted just as in the States. There were 22,871 home gardens and 1410 school gardens. Local committees, something like 4000 in number, were organized in every village and enthusiastic meetings were held. Peasants living high on the mountains would put on their clean white suits in the evening and come down with their women to attend these meetings, often held in the little schoolhouses that dot the roadsides all over the island.

Heavy Planting of Beans

The head of the Federal Agricultural Experiment Station in the island had recommended the general planting of beans between the rows of sugar-cane and in the cocoanut groves. This would not only produce valuable by-crops, but would immensely add to fertility with the plowing of the nitrogenous vines into the ground. The advice was now widely followed. The first year there was a gain in bean-production amounting to 3,212,664 pounds. This represented a saving of about $793,850. In corn the production was so large as to mean a saving in the importation of 45,337 barrels. A propaganda for increasing the number of



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FARMING IN PORTO RICO. BREAKING GROUND WITH OX TEAMS



A LOCAL AGRICULTURAL CONVENTION HELD IN A VILLAGE STREET AT ISABELA, PORTO RICO

corn-mills was so effective as to cause in two months the installation of about 200 mills. Patriotic motives led hundreds of tobacco-planters to dispense with their second crop and plant the land with beans, corn, etc.

Milk, Bread, and Meat

A most difficult problem was that of milk. Under the maximum prices fixed a tendency to turn milk into cheese was not sufficiently discouraged even when a reduction of almost 80 per cent. in the price of the latter was made. So from 40 cents a pound the price of cheese was further reduced to 25 cents. This gave a sufficient profit to induce the conversion of surplus or soured milk and make it more profitable to market the fresh milk. Then the situation was much relieved by prohibiting the sale or use of fresh milk in any form in hotels, restaurants, clubs, and other public places. This gave immediate relief to a serious situation. Later the policy of grading milk-prices in different parts of the island according to local cost of production was adopted. These prices ranged from 6 cents a quart in the island of Culebra and 8 cents in seven towns up to 16 cents in San Juan, the capital. Again the price for San Juan was regulated according to the periods of high or low production; 12 for maximum production, 14 cents for medium, 16 for minimum. The Commission felt the need of fostering production until permanent relief is assured by a constant supply in excess of demand.

The grade of milk-cows in Porto Rico is low, the average being from three to four quarts a day. So it was decided to encourage and assist the introduction of good milk-cattle. Hotels and restaurants with dairies for their own supply were allowed to serve milk without restriction on condition that their cattle be of improved grades especially introduced. By crossing native cattle with Jerseys a fair average yield of 10 quarts is obtained. The milk situation has been aggravated by the conversion of pasture lands to sugar, thus diminishing the supply. But by increasing the yield of cows through improved breeding, a smaller number meets the supply. Hence less pasturage is required for feeding.

Again, the introduction of high-grade goats for crossing with the native stock was encouraged. There is a certain breed of goat that yields as high as four quarts. This relieves the demand for cow's milk.

In fixing bread-prices the Commission intentionally disregarded the interests of the small bakeries. These, made unprofitable by the prices fixed, had to close. It was realized that competition by small bakeries had resulted in high prices, for costs of production on a small scale had been made high by the overhead charges met by a small output. Sooner or later one side would find it



A BUNCH OF PORTO RICAN BANANAS

better to pay the other a high "rental" for its bakery, whereupon prices were increased and the augmented charges saddled upon the public. The fixing of prices, therefore, kept out of business the bakeries that could not produce at the corresponding costs.

The meat problem was in large measure similar to the milk question, in that it was a matter of cattle. Porto Rico had been a great cattle country; a main source of supply for other islands of the West Indies, including Cuba. But now the pasturage is so shrunken that no cattle are raised primarily for beef-purposes. Beef is now chiefly imported, but prices have long been so high that consumption has decreased enormously. The city of Ponce, for instance, has doubled its population in twenty years, but is now consuming less meat than before the American occupation, a more than 50 per cent. reduction. This circumstance lessened the acuteness of the problem, which was met by price-fixing and the encouragement of importation. A novel experiment was that of loans to three municipalities for providing the towns with needed meat. In one instance the regular dealer made a considerable reduction in price rather than have the experiment tried.

A notable example of the Commission's success in maintaining a due equilibrium of supply and demand is that of its method regarding the stock of salt fish. Imports had exceeded by a million pounds in a certain month the normal supply. The dealers were therefore experiencing a serious loss in the prices obtained and were also threatened with a further loss by the spoiling of the excess stock before it could be marketed. They therefore asked permission to export the surplus. The wholesaler was allowed to export as he desired on condition of selling the balance, together with four cargoes on the way, at the then prevailing price. To assure the benefit to the consumer, the Commission then fixed the retail prices much lower than those prevailing at the time. Then the trade was re-established on its normal basis when the special conditions had ceased.

When the steamship *Carolina*, from Porto Rico to New York, was sunk by a submarine in June, 1918, there was much uneasiness lest transportation of supplies for the island be seriously interfered with. Immediate precautions were taken by the Commission. The news was kept secret for three hours. Telegraph lines were kept busy. In each town the mayor was appointed agent for the Commission, and the sale of foodstuffs in quantities exceeding a normal day's supply was forbidden.

Within the three hours from the receipt of the news the entire stock of foodstuffs on the island was under the absolute control of the Commission, sales were regulated, profiteering and hoarding were avoided. In the first week over 40,000 permits for the sale of foodstuffs were issued.

Nowhere in the States was there a heartier public coöperation in promoting economy and



THE CHIEF FOOD OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABORER—SWEET POTATO WEIGHING FIVE POUNDS
(The average weight is two pounds)



THE GREAT SUGAR WORKS AT GUANICA, PORTO RICO—SAID TO BE THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD

conservation of food than in this island population that had been admitted to American citizenship only thirteen months before we entered the war. In the pledge-card campaign, for instance, over 10,000 persons were engaged in the propaganda and over 137,000 families were pledged.

Making the Population Self-Sustaining

The work of the Commission has not only served its immediate purpose, but will have a permanent effect in various ways, as in the promotion of tendencies that will greatly increase the self-sustaining capacity of the population. The increase in the local production of foodstuffs, besides saving tonnage, has encouraged economic independence and increased local wealth. In the first year the saving in wheat flour was represented by 1,000,000 pounds of bread and about 50,000 barrels of flour. It is computed that the regulation of prices amounted in the same time to a saving of over two million dollars for consumers. Various food-staples, brought from the States under heavy tonnage charges were sold to consumers at prices much less than those prevailing in the very localities where they were produced! Consumers were free to buy directly from the Commission, if they desired, paying the fixed retail price. The business of the Commission has been conducted on a 4 per cent. basis, whereas the Federal Government was charged 7 per cent. by its own Bureau of Supplies. Among its gains for the insular government out of its payments for running expenses and equipment is the permanent acquisition of a fine office-building. Finding itself cramped for room in the conduct of its great business, the Commission purchased the Masonic Temple for headquarters at a cost of $30,000. When the Commission is through with its work this building becomes a valuable asset of the Insular Government—possibly a court-house; a monument to the unique emergency organization that, while serving the public, paid its own way and without any original investment earned a direct profit that would have represented a 10 per cent. dividend on a capital of five million dollars, beside the enormous savings in food costs effected for the consumers of the island and in economies for the benefit of the entire nation and its allies.

The emergency that called it into being is over, and the Commission is winding up its business. The men of high business ability who compose it neglected their own private affairs for the sake of the patriotic services that they were glad to render with a devotion that could not have been given with greater competence to their personal affairs.

But does not the record of this service suggest that if the public can be served through the great emergency of war with an efficiency that no private business can surpass might it not be possible to serve it with like competence and like profit under the normal conditions of peace? If the art of government were only recognized as what it properly is—the conduct of the supreme business of a people, the business that dominates and comprehends all other business—then we should see all its functions administered with profitable efficiency by men of the highest competence and in all things the public would benefit accordingly—as in the unique instance here cited it has profited.

A UNIVERSITY'S RECOGNITION OF LEADERSHIP

THE period of university and college commencements has this year been of exceptional note and interest. The custom of ending the academic year in the month of June, while not universal, has become the general rule with our American institutions. For two years college activities had been overwhelmingly military in their character. Students by the scores of thousands had gone into the army and navy, and every college was represented by faculty, graduates and undergraduates, in large numbers on the fields of France and in various forms of war effort.

So rapid was the process of demobilization after the Armistice of November, that students began to flow back to their colleges in a steadily swelling stream. With the cessation of the R. O. T. C. work, the colleges ceased to be military academies and returned to the civilian status. Especial efforts were made to enable returning students to make up for lost time and credits were given for war service, so that many were permitted to graduate in June who had been absent from college for a year or more. Commencement week for each institution has been this year a reunion time, with exceptionally large numbers of alumni and friends attending the various campus proceedings.



Photo by Orren Jack Turne..

PRESIDENT HIBBEN OF PRINCETON

Besides the conferring of degrees upon students completing their courses, it has become customary on Commencement day to grant honorary degrees to a few men whom the authorities of the particular college feel it suitable that they should recognize, in this way, for services to the community that are associated with the pursuit of learning and with the fulfilment of the best academic ideals.

There was a time when in this country the conferring of honorary degrees was not altogether discriminating. Even yet there is a wide difference between institutions in the care they show to exercise good taste and sound judgment in granting honors. There has been so much improvement, however, in the standards of those who have it in their power to confer degrees that the selections have real meaning, and the recipients are to be considered as having won what are desirable marks of distinction. This, of course, is especially true of the great Universities, and of those colleges that have been habitually conscientious in bestowing titles that imply intellectual achievement.

In the conferring of degrees this year, all the way from Harvard and the New England institutions across the country to California, there has been a marked tendency to select men who have rendered public service of a notable kind during the war period. In some instances there may have seemed to be a slight incongruity; for the man may have been brave, patriotic and worthy of admiration without having specifically earned the honor that is expressed in the granting of such a title as that of Doctor of Laws. Generally, however, the recipients of these honors have been fairly entitled from the academic standpoint to the particular degree conferred upon them; and this is demonstrably true as respects the list of honors announced from the platforms of our leading universities.

It may be interesting to some of our readers who do not usually follow the academic news of Commencement week, to examine the list of honors conferred by a typical institution on graduation day several weeks ago. One might select the Harvard list, or

that of Yale, or Columbia's, or that of one of the great institutions further West. But it so happens that we have at hand the Princeton list, and are printing it here as typical of the attitude of the leading colleges nowadays toward intelligent work for the general welfare on the part of men who apply trained minds to the well-being of society.

After the conferring of diplomas upon graduating students by President Hibben (including a group of post-graduate students who had earned the degree of Doctor of Philosophy), the men who had been invited to receive honorary degrees were presented, one by one. In each case the presentation was made by Dean Andrew West, head of the Graduate College, the degree then being conferred by President Hibben. Dean West's remarks characterized the recipient of each degree, in a few sentences carefully phrased by him and remarkably felicitous. The list, as it follows, is in the order of Dean West's presentation; and we reproduce his bits of character-sketching exactly as he spoke in presenting each candidate.



DEAN ANDREW F. WEST

In the list of names that appeared on the programs distributed to the Commencement audience on June 16 was that of Mr. Albert W. Atwood, who was to have received the degree of Master of Arts, but who was absent on account of temporary illness. We make this allusion to Mr. Atwood, because, as it happens, he is the competent economic writer and student who contributes to this number of the REVIEW an excellent article on the current "boom" in the new oil fields of the Southwest and the corresponding speculation in the shares of oil companies. A. S.

DEAN WEST'S REMARKS IN PRESENTING RECIPIENTS OF HONORARY DEGREES



MR. WOODS

EDWARD AUGUSTUS WOODS, MASTER OF ARTS

Edward Augustus Woods, authority on life underwriting, organizer and applier on a large scale of practical scientific tests of mental aptitudes in the sorting, placing and training applicants for business positions, thereby laying the broad foundation for the rating system of officers adopted during the war for the United States Army; a devoted student of the human values which underlie our industrial and social welfare.

ERNEST LESTER JONES, MASTER OF ARTS

Ernest Lester Jones, Director of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the oldest scientific agency of our Government; writer on our coastal waterways bordering the Pacific Ocean, a resourceful administrator, increasing largely our supply of reliable maps and supervising the use of new devices for making our waters safer, notably by detecting the perilous submerged pinnacle rocks; a Colonel in the Army during the war, on active service in France and Italy, decorated by the King of Italy, awarded the Diploma of Merit by the Aerial League of America, recommended for the French Croix de Guerre; most recently instrumental in helping to form the American Legion to perpetuate American liberty.



COLONEL JONES

JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS, DOCTOR OF LETTERS

Jesse Lynch Williams, a graduate of Princeton in the Class of 1892; successsively journalist, novelist, dramatist, his rising career in letters is a progress in human portraiture, closely studious in every touch, yet leaving the effect of unstudied ease. Here is an art which avoids artifice, keen social observation without dissection, frankness without bitterness, fleeting changes of surprise, the unexpected ever happening and without seeming contrivance; a swift play and counterplay in dialogue, bright as



MR. BRIDGES



MR. WILLIAMS

the flashing rapiers, and through it all a humor, now sharp, now gentle, and never tiresome,—very modern, very human.

ROBERT BRIDGES, DOCTOR OF LETTERS

Robert Bridges, a graduate of Princeton in the Class of 1879; essayist and poet, now Editor of Scribner's Magazine. A quiet feeling for the elemental and durable realities of life, akin to his own Scottish nature, joined to gentle humor, genial tolerance and graceful manner, appears throughout his writing. Amid engrossing editorial cares his innate respect for true literature and for the finer standards of expression, unshaken by passing whims and follies, has ennobled all his work.

PAUL ELMER MORE, DOCTOR OF LETTERS

Paul Elmer Moore, an independent disciple of the old masters of Greek thought, notably of Plato; a writer of force and grace, a scholar of vast reading in books ancient and modern, an intent student of the intellectual and moral realities which underlie human life, a profound critic of our present development in philosophy, science, politics and education in the light of standards which have stood the test of time. Gifted with what Edmund Burke called "the moral imagination," his studies place in clearest view the inestimable value for today of our ancestral heritage of truth and justice.



MR. MORE

JOHN DOUGLAS ADAM, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY

John Douglas Adam, Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, a Christian thinker of philosophic temper, a writer of valuable books on practical religion holding in view the difficulties of academic students, a speaker of wide repute, skilled in presenting his theme, whether to students at home or to soldiers abroad, with incisive clearness and well-tempered moderation, winning thousands to believe that faith is something reasonable.

WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY

William Thomas Manning, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York, abundant in labors for the church and society, trustee of leading institutions of learning or charity, a preacher of searching



DR. ADAM



DR. MANNING

power, influentially advocating the cause of Christian unity. Chaplain in the war, active on committees for the Roosevelt National Memorial and for the restoring the University of Louvain, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor; a true soldier of the Cross, he is fighting a good fight for religion, education, patriotism and civic decency; he has kept the faith, and not yet, we trust, has he finished his course.

JOHN MASON CLARKE, DOCTOR OF SCIENCE

John Mason Clarke, State Geologist and Palaeontologist, Director of the State Museum of New York, authority on the geological record of the Devonian period, abundant contributor to the history of the earlier faunas, pioneer in exploring the beginnings of parasitism and symbiotic life, applier of the evidence of palaeontology to explaining modern evolutional tendencies, an enlightened administrator who has brought the New York State Museum into the front rank of the scientific educational collections of the world.



DR. CLARKE



MR. JOHNSON

WILLIAM MINDRED JOHNSON, DOCTOR OF LAW'S

William Mindred Johnson, as State Senator and President of the New Jersey Senate advocating the reform of our Judiciary, as First Assistant Postmaster General of the United States strongly developing the Rural Free Delivery, a wise adviser in business and benevolent corporations, faithful in religious, educational and civic duties, eagerly sought for in local, state and national affairs and declining more political offices than probably any other man in this State, descendant of a stock which has served his country well from the days of the Revolutionary War; his long and honorable career has kept faith with his past and helps our faith in the future of the better traditions of American life.

CHARLES WOLCOTT PARKER, DOCTOR OF LAW'S

Charles Wolcott Parker, a graduate of Princeton in the Class of 1882. Entering on legal practice he soon turned to a judicial career, beginning in a District Court, then serving in the Circuit Court and winning such high respect that he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Like his eminent father, a born jurist, he is distinguished for skill in analyzing complex cases and in marshalling the evidence without missing a point, whether in jury trials or *en banc* or on review in the court of last resort. His exact and comprehensive memory has made him the trusted guardian of the mass of precedents who holds together in one view both the detailed array of legal decisions and the historic progress of the law.



JUSTICE PARKER

FRANK ARTHUR VANDERLIP, DOCTOR OF LAWS

Frank Arthur Vanderlip, for a decade President of the National City Bank of New York, one of the many places where his living energy has permeated our world of business and of education. From the start his success has rested on his own unaided powers,—a thirst for knowledge, restless sweep of observation, quick insight into the heart of questions, genius for organization, fixed belief that all work should be done a little better than expected, and loyalty to all who served him and to all he served. To recount his life is to tell the tale of an American boy depending on himself, of one whose labor sees no end while there is anything left to do, of the elevation of banking into a science, of a patriotism overleaping national horizons, of an ardent desire which would transform the routine of human life by something like the spirit of chivalry.



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MR. VANDERLIP

CASPAR FREDERICK GOODRICH, DOCTOR OF SCIENCE

Caspar Frederick Goodrich, continuously on active naval duty for fifty-seven years, rising through various grades to the rank of Rear Admiral, serving first in our Civil War, later Inspector of Ordnance in charge of building the Navy's first modern guns, commander of the marines landed on the bombardment of Alexandria, attached to the staff of General Sir Garnet Wolseley in his Egyptian campaign, a founder and then President of the Naval War College, later Commander of the Pacific Squadron, directing measures of relief in the San Francisco earthquake and fire, Commandant of the New York Navy Yard, a founder of the Naval History Society, writer on naval science and history, and latterly in charge of the Naval Unit and Officer Material School in this university. We salute him with full honors as he comes to anchor in our haven.



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ADMIRAL GOODRICH

ENOCH HERBERT CROWDER, DOCTOR OF LAWS

Enoch Herbert Crowder, Judge Advocate General and then Provost Marshal General, Major General in the United States Army, on distinguished service at home and in the Philippines, Manchuria, Cuba, Argentina, and Chili.

From the little home in Missouri he passed to his earlier career as cavalry lieutenant, engaging in Indian fighting with the Apaches and Sioux, between times studying or teaching law. Later in the military government of the Philippines he shaped a body of laws for those islands. Acting as senior military observer in Manchuria he was specially honored by the Emperor of Japan. During our second intervention in Cuba he was head of the Department of Justice, framing the political code and supervising the elections. In 1916 he effected a complete revision of the military code governing the United States Army, which after vexatious delays was adopted in March, 1917. He carried into effect the Selective Service Act, enrolling millions of men for the war with a swift success which astonished the world. His deeds speak for him and are exceeded only by his modest reticence about them.



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GENERAL CROWDER

WAR SERVICE OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARS

BY JOSEPH SCHAFER

(Professor of History, Oregon University, Vice-Chairman of the National Board for Historical Service)

THE editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS recently asked me to employ the spectacles of the National Board for Historical Service in obtaining for him a special view of national problems and situations.

An appropriate time to take this survey seemed to be the last days of June, when the Board was closing up its work, coincidently with the signing of the peace treaty at Versailles.

The Board was created at the outbreak of the war by a volunteer group of historical scholars, among whom Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Editor of the *American Historical Review,* Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard and Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia were the leading spirits. Its object was to form a kind of clearing house through which the country's resources of historical scholarship could be more readily brought to bear on problems incident to the war.

Whenever a piece of historical writing, investigation or translating was called for by committees, boards, or bureaus concerned with the several branches of the war service, this Board was in position to assign the work and get it done. The result is a considerable library of books, articles and brochures attesting the activities of historians in the war. The Board also inaugurated a nation-wide movement for the study of the war in schools, organized a prize-essay contest, and stimulated libraries and other institutions to begin collecting war materials.

Aside from the work of assembling data and the work of propaganda, the Board facilitated the creation of the House Inquiry—the group of specialists in history, geography, geology, economics, international law, finance, etc., whose services have proved of such vast significance during the peace negotiations. And a special bureau for the study of the German and Austrian press, conducted by Dr. Victor S. Clark, a member of the Board, has supplied to government departments thousands of clippings illustrating at each stage of the war and during the period since the armistice the movement of public opinion in the Central Empires.

Since the armistice the Board has inaugurated a movement for the revision of the courses in history in all schools below college grade, in order that they may be able to meet

more adequately than formerly the urgent need for enlightened citizenship in these difficult times.

Historians may perhaps be pardoned for believing that sound instruction in history, and the other social sciences, would not only save the country from the danger of Bolshevism but also from other evils, some of them more insidious than the Russian malady against which the whole world is forewarned.

The danger from Bolshevism arises from the fact that men are ruled by passion and prejudice more than by reason. But historical-mindedness means the enthroning of reason and the repression of passion and prejudice. Those historians who are endowed with the largest measure of faith in the educational efficacy of history look forward confidently to a future in which those citizens at least who attain to high stations in public life shall illustrate the virtues of historical-mindedness. In that bright—though possibly far-away—era, we shall not expect to see history prostituted to partisan prejudice or personal rancor as it has been during the past few months by men of great political influence. When a responsible statesman can seriously compare Italy's relation to Fiume with America's historical relation to the Mississippi; when another public man finds in the League of Nations covenant a danger of domination by the colored races of mankind; and still another discovers in it warrant for dreading a resurgence of the secular power of the pope, it is not easy to be optimistic. Yet, education has done wonders in the past and, properly directed, will do greater wonders in the future.

In the summer of 1918, the Board arranged to send an American historian of note to Great Britain in order to explain American institutions and policies. Professor Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, of Chicago, was selected for that significant service. He lectured before audiences at about twenty British universities. These lectures created great interest, and did much to help the people of Great Britain to understand America's reasons for entering into the war, as well as to clear up certain misconceptions in regard to American-British relations in the past, and to disseminate reasonable views on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine.

The importance of the McLaughlin mission was recognized by the British Government, Secretary of State Balfour presiding at one of the meetings. And British historians hailed it as an event likely to presage important developments in international domity. They hoped it would lead to a regular exchange of professors between the two countries, and they glimpsed a time when "the great democracies of the world should maintain in one another's midst not merely representatives of their foreign offices but of their universities."

Incidentally, some of the English historians, impressed with the value of organization as illustrated in the American case, complained that in Great Britain the war had generated no instrument for historical assistance like the National Board for Historical Service.

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of the South, they are described as repeating merrily an American song, intoned not so long ago "with grim irony in the hard winter and mud of *la Woeuvre.*" It is of course Paris that offers, above all, practically limitless resources to the most advanced and competent specialists.

Naturally, a very large proportion are more mature than the ordinary undergraduate on either side the Atlantic. Thus, among a hundred students enrolled for a recitation course on "The History of Ideas" twenty-three were entered as "professors" (no doubt, largely secondary teachers), eighteen lawyers, ten journalists, nine merchants, four clergymen, three regular army officers, three theatrical men, one librarian, one editor, one forester, leaving a residuum of but twenty-seven "mere" students.

A notable recent French book by M. Lausan is entitled "Three Months' Instruction in the United States." It is still too early for a "Three Months of Study in France," or for any tangible test of results attained. The material equipment of the French institutions will not excite our men's wonderment. After our ample "campi" they will doubtless often feel crowded, even stifled. The lack of liberal athletic fields was remarked long ago by professional visitors from overseas. The dormitory system, the social life of the college within itself, seems to lag confessedly far behind our own.

But it is hoped that the French devotion to clear thinking and definite expression of ideas, their courteous encouragement of individualism in thought and action, their efforts to arouse and stimulate rather than to mould or control, the students' intellectual life, will be generously appreciated by these youthful alien guests. They may note, also, that the typical French professor endeavors always to make of his hour-long lecture a finished and unified study with a certain completeness of form, not a mere reading from notes, broken off by the bell.

The French universities have by no means regained as yet their full numbers, resources, and vitality. When that day comes, a large and ever-increasing procession of transatlantic students may be looked for, to meet on French "campi," also, young Englishmen and Italians, Rumanians and Greeks. So these general courses, of introduction to what is most unique and vital in the French people, may long be continued, not without profit to native students as well. Beyond lies always the larger attainment of the philosophic spirit, of trained capacity to discover new truth.

It is notable, perhaps, that this fine paper contains no hint that any Frenchmen young or old could profitably go to school anywhere else, nor even that the universities of other races could enrich French scholarship and life in any way.

A BRITISH OFFICER'S THOUGHTS ON THE PRESS CENSORSHIP

IT is just as well, perhaps, that we should be reminded that in the printed criticisms of the censorship, current during and since the war, virtually only one side of the case has been presented. Most of what we know about the workings of the press censorship has been derived from the press itself. It would be strange if there were not something to be said on behalf of the censors. With a view to acquainting the public with some of the difficulties of the censor's position and setting forth some of the reasons why a rigid censorship is necessary in war-time, Major General Sir Charles Callwell contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* (London) an article based on his own experience, dating back to the Boer War, and general information on the workings of the British censorship during the Crimean and other wars, not to speak of the more recent experiences, beginning with August, 1914.

General Callwell is far from maintaining that the censorship, as operated by the British army, has been free from error. He is free to admit that from time to time even officers of long experience have permitted the publication of news that ought not to have been allowed to appear. Whether such mistakes were due to oversight or to actual errors of judgment, the fact remains that the mistakes were made. General Callwell refers to an item appearing in the newspapers of September 9, 1914, to illustrate his point. This was a Reuter dispatch from Ostend,

dated September 6, giving an account of the experiences of the Fourth Belgian Division after it was driven out of Namur by the Germans. This dispatch concluded as follows:

The Namur garrison and the troops sent to occupy the intervals between the forts numbered 26,000. Those who have been returned to Belgian soil number 12,000, so that, including sick and wounded left in French hospital, the Namur affair has cost Belgium 14,000 men.

Regarding the publication of these statements, General Callwell makes this significant comment:

Now, the most unsophisticated novice in a nunnery would surely realize that it was highly improper for British newspapers to inform the Germans that a force of 12,000 Belgians had got back to their own country. The fact was not perhaps so very important in itself, but the blunder that was committed in some quarter is palpable. The message was published in *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Chronicle* (boiled down somewhat in the latter—but the 12,000 was there all right); and it no doubt also appeared in the other London papers and in many provincial journals. Under the circumstances it can safely be assumed that it was passed by the Press Bureau, and the mistake is so obvious a one that it is further safe to assume that it was a slip—an oversight. The Fourth Estate is quite entitled to say "There you are! You institute your press censorship, you set up your experienced officers as jacks-in-office, you delay our messages, you tie a millstone round our necks, and in spite of all this an article is sent along to us approved for publication which contains what obviously ought to have been cut out."

As to the censorship as a whole, apart from that phase of it which was connected with the press, General Callwell states that there was a lack of uniformity as between different theaters of war and that the rules were at times unnecessarily, and even undesirably strict.

During the early part of the Mesopotamia operations, for instance, the instructions laid down with regard to local censorship and as to what might, and what might not, be written appear to have been unwarrantably rigorous. No reference to past operations was permitted in letters sent home, and the liberty of action permitted to Mr. Candler, the official "Eye Witness," seems to have been almost absurdly restricted. Had less uncompromising regulations been in force, it is conceivable that the lamentable breakdown of hospital arrangements on the Tigris would have become known in this country some months sooner than was actually the case, and that much suffering and some loss of life would have been saved in consequence. A manual on the subject as a whole seems to be required, and it ought to be drawn up under the auspices of the Committee of Imperial Defense, or the War Cabinet, or whatever body is supposed to look after things of the sort nowadays.

It may surely be assumed that in future censors will have been selected in advance in peace time, will have been told of it, will have been furnished with rules of guidance, and will have been invited to study these rules at their leisure in view of the possibility of their being called upon some day to take up the appointment in a time of national emergency. In so far as military censorship in connection with the press is concerned retired officers who have had practical acquaintance with intelligence work in the field or at headquarters are particularly well qualified for the task; they have learned by experience in what form military information is usually obtained by an Intelligence Department, and they will therefore know almost instinctively what the enemy will be looking out for—and how. In any case it is essential that the censorship should be in competent hands. They used to say in South Africa that anybody who was too big a fool to be entrusted with any other job was made a censor—which of course was a gross exaggeration; but the individuals selected to carry out the duty were not always ideally well fitted for exercising functions that require both knowledge and judgment.

EMPLOYMENT OF ENGLAND'S WAR CRIPPLES

THE employment of men disabled in the war—a sufficiently grave problem in America—is far more serious in Great Britain. There, as here, an effort has been made to find work for all men of this class who could be profitably employed. In the *Contemporary Review* (London) Mr. H. Sidebotham points out some of the difficulties inherent in any plan for the general employment of such men, and explains the chief features of the several schemes that have thus far been formulated or put in operation. At the beginning of his article he relates an actual occurrence that very well illustrates the problem now confronting British employers:

Last November a strike of somewhat unusual character broke out in a London tobacco warehouse. Two disabled soldiers had been discharged and their fellow-workmen struck work to secure their reinstatement. The employers argued that by reason of their wounds the soldiers

were not able to do their work properly; the men, on the other hand, maintained that the disability had been incurred not in a private but in a public cause, the defense of which had benefited the employers as well as others, and therefore that the disability should not fall on the men alone, but should be shared with the employers. The strikers won, and the men were reinstated. Both parties to the dispute were right. The employers were right in urging that it was unfair that they should be subjected to a special handicap in competition with their rivals by the employment of men who were not in every respect efficient. The men were right in maintaining that the burden of the injury done in public service should be distributed. From the arguments used on either side in this strike we may deduce two principles. First, that employers must help their men to carry the disabilities imposed by the war; and, secondly, that the burdens of this obligation should be evenly distributed not only between employers and workpeople, but also between employer and employer. That, at any rate, should seem to be the only basis on which the claims of the two parties to the strike can be equitably reconciled.

As early as 1915 a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir George Murray to consider and report "upon the methods to be adopted for providing employment for soldiers and sailors disabled during the war." Of the various schemes suggested to this committee with a view to finding employment for disabled soldiers, that of Mr. Rothband, a Manchester manufacturer, was regarded as the most important.

Stated in the briefest and most summary form, the leading ideas of the Rothband scheme are thus outlined by Mr. Sidebotham:

(1) An appeal is to be issued by the highest national authority, inviting all employers who are willing to employ disabled men to send in their names to be registered. (2) These names are to be inscribed on a roll of honor. (3) They are to be printed on a permanent record, kept up to date and circulated throughout the country, especially among labor exchanges and employment agencies, and issued periodically, much like a telephone directory. Into the administrative details of the scheme it is not necessary to enter. The main points about the scheme are that it is national and universal, that it creates a permanent obligation, which is on permanent record, that it would be approximately just between one employer and another, and that it makes the obligation on employers to render this state service an obligation of honor, as it should be.

All are agreed that the men disabled in the war have a right to employment and that many of them will not get this employment if they are left to hunt for it themselves in the labor market. It is admitted that the government must take some action. Mr. John Galsworthy has pointed out that there are three ways in which this employment can be found for disabled men: Either the government must itself be the employer and establish government workshops and rural colonies, or it must compel private employers to employ, or, lastly, the government must make it an obligation of honor on employers to employ disabled men. Neither of the first two schemes have been worked out. The third, the Rothband scheme, has been carefully studied and has received strong support from manufacturers and business men.

While the Rothband scheme is regarded as the embodiment of the voluntary principle, this writer points out that it would really establish moral compulsion instead of legal compulsion. He thinks that the main question is which of these two forms of compulsion is best adapted to secure the desired ends with a minimum equipment. "After all, we must not speak of employment as though it were a mere commodity. It is a mutual relationship between human beings, made of the stuff of human nature, and whatever scheme is adopted, it must inevitably fail unless it satisfies this human equation."

Government industries, manned exclusively by the disabled, would probably be run at a loss, and besides there would be great difficulty in housing the workmen and their families.

This writer does not find that the objections raised against the Rothband scheme are to be taken very seriously, but he admits that a plan involving both principles, the voluntary and the compulsory, may ultimately be required. He says in conclusion:

Mr. Galsworthy doubts whether any plan would cover the whole ground and clear the country's conscience, and he thinks that a combination of compulsion with the Rothband scheme, and with a system of national workshops and colonies, may be necessary. Mr. Galsworthy may be right. It may ultimately be found impossible to preserve the voluntary principle without a *pro-rata* principle, and some system under which employers who evade or are unable to discharge their moral obligation are subject to a special tax. You may call that disguised compulsion if you like. But what is certain is that no system of compulsion pure and simple will work at all. The foundation of your scheme must be voluntary and rest on moral obligation, whatever superstructure you raise upon it, and it is this binding moral obligation that it has from the first been the object of the Rothband scheme to create. Had the scheme been set working two years ago the moral obligation would have been felt more strongly than now. But even now the Rothband scheme would seem to be the indispensable beginning of any attempt by the state to discharge its duty to disabled men.

SINN FEIN'S PROSPECTS: AN INSIDE VIEW

A PARTIAL revelation of the past, present, and future of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland is given in the *Nineteenth Century* (London) by Herbert Moore Pim, who was for some time actively identified with the movement, but is now out of sympathy with it.

Mr. Pim's account of the rise and growth of Sinn Fein contains several statements of fact which are likely to surprise those among our readers who have not given special attention to the history of this remarkable movement. He says:

Seventeen years ago a clever young journalist named Arthur Griffith began to edit a small weekly paper in Dublin. His writings became popular with a certain section of the people as the result of his caustic treatment of economic problems in Ireland; but he developed into a person of local importance after the issue of his book entitled "The Resurrection of Hungary." In this book Griffith pointed out that Hungary had lifted herself out of poverty into wealth, and had secured virtual independence by a policy of self-reliance. He showed that by withdrawing her members from the Parliament at Vienna, boycotting Austrian goods, fostering Hungarian industries, and generally acting when necessary on the principles of passive resistance, Hungary had, after an unsuccessful republican insurrection, freed herself from Austrian control. Griffith declared that what Hungary had done Ireland could do; and his arguments drew to him a great many thoughtful, and quite a number of wealthy, people. It was eventually decided by the persons associated with Arthur Griffith that a political party should be formed to carry out in Ireland the "Hungarian Policy." But as a foreign name was undesirable, the new party took for its designation the words Sinn Fein, which are pronounced Shin Fane, and mean "self-reliance."

As early as 1905, more than 40,000 copies of Griffith's exposition of "The Sinn Fein Policy" were sold or distributed. The Redmond party at once attacked Sinn Fein as a desperate and bloodthirsty organization, but Mr. Pim declares that at that time it had no attraction for extremists and really based its claim on the repeal of the Act of Union and the enforcement of the "Renunciation Act" whereby England had declared in 1782 that she had no right to legislate for Ireland and had never possessed such right. A by-election was fought on the issue and the Sinn Fein candidates defeated. After that Sinn Fein died and had practically been extinct for seven years before its revival in 1916. The name Sinn Fein was applied to the Volunteers who led the Easter Week Rebellion of that year. Mr. Redmond called the Irish Volunteers Sinn Feiners as a nickname, and his object in doing this, according to Mr. Pim, was to associate them with a proverbial failure. "To call a man before October, 1916, a Sinn Feiner was to call him a failure."



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EAMON DE VALERA, "PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC" (AT THE RIGHT), WITH JUSTICE JOHN W. GOFF AND JUDGE DANIEL F. COHALAN OF NEW YORK
(This photograph was taken during the young Irish leader's recent visit to the United States)

At this juncture, Mr. Pim, who had himself been identified with the Volunteer movement, and was interned in England following the Rebellion, was released and returned to Ireland, where he prepared a leaflet, embodying the principles of Sinn Fein's policy, under the title of "Sinn Fein in Tabloid Form." What followed is thus related by Mr. Pim:

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From that moment the history of the rise of Sinn Fein is that of an incredibly quick growth.

The new-old policy, offered always in "tabloid form," captured the Nationalist imagination. An immense amount of popular sympathy had arisen for the men shot after the Rebellion, and as these men, to the then hostile Nationalists of Ireland, had been known as "Sinn Feiners" (though they one and all objected to the nickname), I felt sure that it would be a simple matter to make use of this misdirected sympathy to lead the public unconsciously into adopting the policy for which the name Sinn Fein really stood. My conjecture proved correct; and in this piece of harmless "bluff" I was entirely successful; for in a few weeks the comparatively powerful Irish Nation League had collapsed, and Judge's Repeal League was dead. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed, all purporting to come from the National Council, but really the work of the writer. A number of active men were engaged to write articles and letters for the press to make the name "Sinn Fein" familiar. But perhaps the best piece of bluff consisted in challenging Mr. William O'Brien, M. P., in the West Cork contest, in the name of a society which had hardly risen from the grave, and from an address in Dublin which had not been opened for months! The Cork Nationalists supported Sinn Fein, and the O'Brienite candidate was beaten in a seat considered the safest in the possession of Mr. O'Brien's party. I telegraphed to one prominent man asking him to stand as Sinn Fein candidate; but he refused, and as nomination took place the next day nothing could be done. I therefore acted on Parnell's principle, when he advised his people to vote for the Conservative against the "rotten Whigs," on the principle of "better an open enemy than a false friend." The effect of the defeat of Mr. William O'Brien's candidate, Mr. Healy, was tremendous; and finally, when Count Plunkett contested North Roscommon, the power of Sinn Fein became evident.

I issued a leaflet with instructions for forming something that had never been produced before, namely a Sinn Fein Club; and when the first All-Ireland Convention was called in the Mansion House, the public was astonished to discover a new phenomenon, which took the form of forty Sinn Fein Clubs. The clubs spread like wildfire; and when Arthur Griffith revived his paper *Nationality* he found himself in possession of a circulation of 60,000 copies per issue in place of the 7,500 he had possessed before his arrest.

When "President" De Valera was released from prison he was defeated by John Redmond in three elections. He took the position that "Englishmen must clear out of Ireland, bag and baggage" and he gave the Ulstermen "six months to leave Ireland."

Under the rule of De Valera Sinn Fein became a glorified Donnybrook Fair. Executive meetings resembled dog-fights; industrial revival was forgotten in the joy of preparing to "wipe out the British Empire." And as the Irish Nationalists, apart from Mr. Redmond's followers, consistently supported De Valera in his ten-foot-pike farce, it was brought home to me that the Southern Irish preferred wild talk to common sense, and were consequently racially childish. Illusions die hard. I had accepted the Irish Nationalist argument that if a majority demands independence, that majority deserves it. I began to see that a mere majority claim must be based on more than numbers, *i. e.*, on the quality of the individuals who constitute those numbers. President Wilson put this idea into shape when he said some little time ago that freedom was for those who deserved it or who were fit for it.

Mr. Pim declares that in Ireland the majority will shout with a noisy agitator but that it will vote against his wild policy. "That is why De Valera's speeches seem to carry the people; and yet when it came to the test of elections, Sinn Fein was defeated while he was at liberty, and won its general election victory after he and the other extremists had been interned." As a big popular movement, depending upon the principles of the original policy of Arthur Griffith, namely, self-reliance, it is Mr. Pim's opinion that Sinn Fein would become as "harmless and reasonable as any constitutional movement which has gone before it."

It is certain that the murders and crimes at present disgracing Ireland are repugnant to the majority. But Nationalists lack moral, if they possess physical, courage, and few voices are raised in condemnation. Sinn Fein may perhaps turn its eyes from visions, and fix them upon the hard realities of practical life; and in doing this it may perform a miracle, and educate the emotional and easy-going people of the South in business habits. In that case we shall have a busy and prosperous Ireland. It may do these things. But I can hardly suppose that the charm of De Valera's wild utterances will fail to wean the people from what is practical. I have studied the Irish character very closely. And this may be said: Irish enthusiasm, like the enthusiasm of children, is soon spent. The greater the rush, the greater the collapse. Already Professor MacNeill is warning the Sinn Feiners to be patient, and to be prepared for the more difficult sequence of small sacrifices, in place of the more theatrical and attractive business of one instantaneous effort. Sinn Fein will die slowly; but it will die. And the men who will give it its death-blow will be the men who preach physical force, those who while interned refused to sign a declaration that they would refrain from violent methods if released.

It was because the people of Hungary realized the folly of armed rebellion, according to Mr. Pim, that the Sinn Fein policy succeeded in Hungary. The Irish Nationalists, on the other hand, want everything in a hurry. "They want to rule before they have learned to obey. They want to run a nation before they have learned to be punctual and to answer letters and keep appointments. Their failings in these matters are almost incredible. They want to be statesmen before they have cultivated strength, caution and foresight."

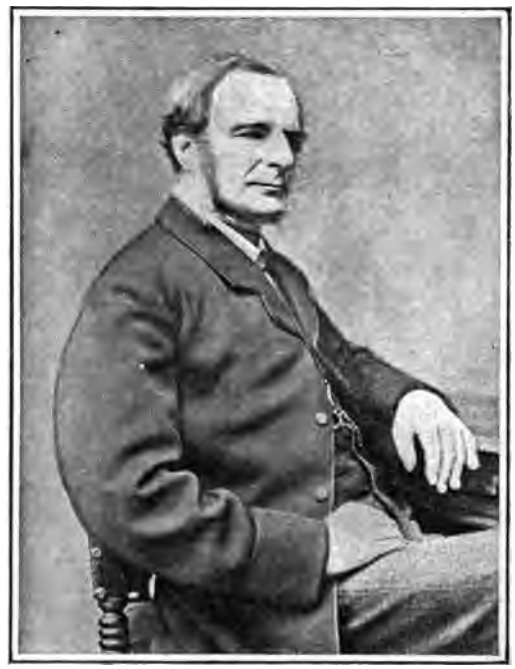
THE CENTENARY OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

APROPOS of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Charles Kingsley (June 12, 1819) Mr. Lewis Melville contributes an article to the *Contemporary Review* (London) in which he speaks of the great influence upon Kingsley in his youth exerted by Frederick Denison Maurice. Through Maurice, Kingsley became acquainted with A. P. Stanley, Froude and Thomas Hughes and was intimately associated with the Christian Socialist movement. It was his connection with this movement, says Mr. Melville, that made Kingsley turn his attention seriously to authorship:

> With all of a poet's enthusiasm, he took up the cudgels on behalf of the poor, and plied his pen vigorously in the hope of improving their condition. Over the signature of "Parson Lot" he contributed to *Politics for the People* in 1848; two years later, employing the same pseudonym, he published a pamphlet, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," which was presently reprinted with "Alton Locke"; and about that time wrote a good deal for the *Christian Socialist*. Stirred by the feelings which inspired those writings, he composed two novels, "Yeast," which was serialized in *Fraser's Magazine* during the autumn of 1848, and was published in book-form in 1851; and "Alton Locke, Poet and Tailor," which was published in 1850 by Chapman & Hall on the recommendation of Carlyle, who, however, later described it as a "fervid creation left half chaotic."

From the literary point of view, these novels, while written with the best intentions, all suffered, in Mr. Melville's opinion, from being propagandist works. In them Kingsley appears as the out-and-out advocate of a cause. In this period, however, his interest in Christian Socialism reached its apex, and after the publication of "Alton Locke" Kingsley soon ceased to be an active advocator, and even in his later life was opposed to most of the radical program of those times.

Mr. Melville divides Kingsley's literary life into two periods—the first, that of the social reformer, ending with the publication of "Alton Locke"; the second, that of the historical novelist. "Hypatia," "Westward Ho!," "Two Years Ago," and "The Water Babies" appeared in the decade 1853-63. His latest historical novel, "Hereward, the Waif," a tale of the days of the Conqueror, appeared in 1866. Of the historical novels, this critic says:



CHARLES KINGSLEY

> Kingsley's historical novels were very popular when they appeared, and attracted a wide circle of readers. Not one of them, however, can be put forward as entitled to rank with the best historical fiction. They smack unpleasantly of the midnight oil. The author who was never at any time an exact student of the subjects in which he was interested, read up for his purpose with more enthusiasm than diligence the period he had selected. He lacked the dramatic gift which was the priceless possession of Scott. He never acquired the knowledge of the period about which he wrote that is behind "The Cloister and the Hearth," nor did he ever succeed in imbuing himself with the atmosphere as did Thackeray before writing "Esmond" and "Denis Duval." The books, indeed, were not written from out the rich stores in his mind; he stored his mind to write the books. He had a sense of romance; but he never achieved the grand manner of the masters of the craft. His historical novels lack the sincerity that inspired "Yeast" and "Alton Locke."

This critic is certain that "Westward Ho!" is the best book that Kingsley wrote. The merit of the book, he says, is in those parts where adventures are to the fore. Then there is the dash and spirit that Kingsley never reached in any other of his tales. "There Kingsley is at his best, and his best is very good indeed."

agriculture and manufactures are indeed to rule in a peaceful world-federation, Germany again dreams of leadership, of supremacy, therein.

We have, as yet, no world Council of Workmen, with avowed political aim; but we have the General Confederation of Labor. When such a syndicate shall control the output of iron, of coal, it will have the first and chief power of parliaments: financial control. That will dictate both internal and foreign politics. The latter are indeed already large questions of protection against foreign competition. There is little inclination to abide by the results of a general election. Thus in Great Britain the conservatives won out last December, but immediately thereafter the three largest workingmen's unions of London engaged in a threatening strike, pushing their class interests into the limelight as if nothing were decided.

The German elections, also, restored the old set of parties as in the Reichstag, with a sufficient strengthening of the majority Socialists to enable them to govern. But there actual insurrection broke out at many points. Men no longer accept dogmas, nor institutions founded on them, but strike directly for their class-interests.

We are far from the scene of Bolshevism's chief crimes, but not from the results of its teachings. Not that these are really new. Class interests, syndicalism, separate political action are watchwords long familiar. But Bolshevism has intensified mightily such a spirit and such passions, so that they attack the very roots and foundations of the present social and political order. The representative Parliament has been made the chief illustration here. But the fairness of trial by jury is no less impugned. The honesty of the public press is under grave suspicion.

Bolshevism has already disintegrated one mighty empire and nation. Even if quelled, its example will arouse and direct future revolutionists, it will have assailed the "general health" of all established institutions.

It has arisen just as the chief statesmen gathered at Paris to construct a more just international organization. A lasting peace, so secured, will be the heaviest possible blow at Bolshevism, which is a second invasion of barbarians, bent on destroying the government of the world by Intelligence.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA

THE future development of Russo-German relations is a matter of supreme importance to the nations of Europe and of the world. In the past the Germans and the Russians have coöperated for their joint advantage. The two nations have been drawn towards one another by three motives: by their mutual hostility to the Poles; by the desire of the Germans to exploit the Russian state and the Russian people; and by the desire of the Russians to make use of the abilities of the Germans. "Politicus," writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for June, expresses the view that in the downfall of the two nations these traditions will still prevail.

Germany has mercilessly exploited Russia and has then ruined it. Although the Russians may hate Germany and may not wish to fall once more under German influence, circumstances may prove too strong for them, and may favor the return of the Germans to power in that great country. Germany lies nearest at hand. Many Germans in Germany speak Russian and are intimately acquainted with Russian society, with Russian predilections and prejudices, and with Russian affairs. Very few Americans, Englishmen, or Frenchmen know the Russian language, and still fewer are in touch with the Russian people. The numerous German emigrants who have lived in Russia for decades and the Germans of the Baltic Provinces will be so many agents and interpreters acting in Germany's interest. They may once more supply the connecting-link between the two countries. A starving man will take bread even from his worst enemy. If Englishmen, Americans, and Frenchmen concentrate all their energies upon developing their own territories and upon capturing the trade of the world, Russia would be forced against her will to apply to Germany for the material assistance and for the skilled leaders she requires. Thus Russia may gradually, and almost imperceptibly, become once more a German preserve, a sphere of German influence, and a German protectorate.

The latent resources and possibilities of Russia are practically unlimited. It is in the highest interests of Europe and of the world that Russia be wealthy, cultured, independent, happy and strong, that Russia's power and Russia's legions should not fall again under the influence of a foreign power and be hurled by that power against the peaceful nations of the world. Therefore, the governments of the victorious democracies should devote their intelligence and energy not only to the setting up of a chain of independent states physically separating Russia from Germany, but should by all means in their power promote the economic, intellectual, and administrative regeneration of that country, the fate of which may conceivably determine the fate of the world.

house of information on matters of housing and community planning.

The author presents various details of architecture and town planning embodied in certain projects carried out by the Housing Corporation, but space is not available here to summarize them. The forthcoming report of the Corporation, with ample data regarding the architectural, engineering and financial features of about 100 projects, cannot fail to be of interest to everybody who is concerned in any way with the building of homes. The following quotation from Mr. Olmsted's article will illustrate the sort of ideas which the report may be expected to set forth:

On the score of architectural appearance there are lessons to be learned from the work of the Housing Corporation, both positive and negative, concerning the means by which small houses may be made beautiful consistently with economy of construction and convenience of use; but perhaps the most striking lessons in this respect concern the location of the houses and the general town planning. When long lines of houses on long, straight streets are imposed by an existing rectangular street plan, the houses being small and close together by force of economy, hardly any architectural skill can produce a thoroughly agreeable result, even by resort to grouping and to such variations in set-back as are normally acceptable to the occupants. The experience of the corporation has merely confirmed in this respect a generally accepted opinion of town planners that in residential developments, especially for small houses, comparatively short street vistas in proper scale with the houses are extremely important, whether secured by absolute discontinuity of the minor streets or by moderate curves or angles in them; and that such departures from the theoretical economy of the rectangular plan need not involve, if well designed, an appreciably greater cost per house for streets, utilities, and land.

Another general point as to house arrangement has been borne out by the experience of the Housing Corporation. It is possible to unify and formalize a scheme by making the houses so rigidly related and balanced along the street and across the street that the whole development looks unpleasantly like a charitable or penal institution. It is also possible by too much seeking of variety and picturesque quality in the color and shape and arrangement of the buildings to make the development look like a piece of stage scenery and not like the dwellings of modern American citizens.

It is a fact, however, that if the whole development is treated as a business proposition, considering all the aspects of site and street plan and utilities and houses, taking into account the fair money value of good appearance in detail and in arrangement, and weighing value and cost in each case, the very reasonableness of the result will go far to make it pleasing to look at as well as inexpensive to build and to operate.

THE WORK OF THE TELEPHONE PROPHETS

IN the course of a suggestive article in the July *Harper's,* showing how great industries are planned for the next generation, Mr. Robert R. Updegraff gives an interesting description of the methods employed by the managers of the telephone service in working out their prophecies relating to the business of the future.

Briefly, this is how the telephone prophets go about their work: Taking the present population of the city, and the population for many years back, they plot a population curve, projecting this curve eighteen or twenty years into the future, establishing the population in 1937, let us say, so far as the past growth of the city can help in estimating the future growth. They then check this up in every way possible, by analyzing the industrial develepoment, past, present, and future; by studying the transportation facilities present and prope[illegible] situation, the real-estate market, [illegible] location of the city.

When th[illegible] have arrived at what they [illegible] of the city will be in 193[illegible] that population, to prophesy how and where it will distribute itself. This involves a tremendous amount of detail work. There must be a house-to-house count in the residential sections to show just how many families are living in each square block of the city, what percentage of them have telephones, and what class of service they are using. The character and nationalities of the population have to be taken into account, for some nationalities have a tendency to huddle together in great numbers in congested areas, while others show a marked tendency to live in separate little houses, thus spreading out over a larger area. The old settlers in each section must be talked with, as well as real-estate men and other well-informed citizens.

When the prophets get to the business section of the city they are confronted with a different problem, but one that, nevertheless, has to be met; they have to prepare for new office-buildings, perhaps as yet undreamed of, for hotels and department-stores. It is one thing to determine how a city is going to spread *out,* and quite another to tell where it is going to shoot *up,* suddenly demanding telephone cables to take care of from five hundred to a thousand telephone installations, as in a large office-building or hotel, on one little spot. This requires a careful study of ex-

GERMANY'S "PAPER OFFENSIVE"

THE NATIONALIZATION OF BRITISH SHIPPING

SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY has found time, amid the distractions of his labors on the Coal Commission, to extend his zeal for the nationalization of industry. *Plus royaliste que le Roi,* more Laborite than the vast majority of the party to which he is so recent and so valued a recruit, Sir Leo, in the *English Review* for June, demands the immediate nationalization of the whole of the British mercantile marine. The curse of England, says the writer, is the private ownership of land and capital. If everything were nationalized, how much better everything would be! In shipping, especially:

If at the beginning of the war we had possessed a national mercantile marine, we should have saved a sum equal to several times its entire capital value; we should have possessed well-manned ships which would have been very much better able to meet the attack of the enemy; we should not have lost many of the vessels that were sunk by submarines; we should not have been driven to such straits with regard to the supply of food and munitions.

Sir Leo fails to explain, how these happy results could have been achieved; possibly the implication is that the German submarines would have shown to state-owned vessels a respect which they certainly did not show towards those of private owners. But however that may be:

It is the plain duty of the government, in the interests alike of national safety and of peace efficiency, to nationalize the mercantile marine and the shipyards which produce the mercantile marine. Having paid out to shipowners, as can be proved, the cost of the mercantile marine several times over during the war, the nation is entitled to nationalize ships by paying for them now what they cost when built, with proper allowance for depreciation and no more. The shipyards should be taken over and remodelled on the lines of the magnificent national shipyards in the West of England. The whole service should be made a good scientific and engineering job.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for April Bishop Frodsham expressed considerable doubt as to the advantages to the British Empire of joining the League of Nations.

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing, but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain, in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbrous political machine at the cost of the new-born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value; the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the center. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring, blood-stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron.

The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, and already the draft may be penciled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the League of Nations. The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience. It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall. It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society. And no greater world-disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace, which may turn out to be another castle in Spain.

of the South, they are described as repeating merrily an American song, intoned not so long ago "with grim irony in the hard winter and mud of *la Woeuvre.*" It is of course Paris that offers, above all, practically limitless resources to the most advanced and competent specialists.

Naturally, a very large proportion are more mature than the ordinary undergraduate on either side the Atlantic. Thus, among a hundred students enrolled for a recitation course on "The History of Ideas" twenty-three were entered as "professors" (no doubt, largely secondary teachers), eighteen lawyers, ten journalists, nine merchants, four clergymen, three regular army officers, three theatrical men, one librarian, one editor, one forester, leaving a residuum of but twenty-seven "mere" students.

A notable recent French book by M. Lausan is entitled "Three Months' Instruction in the United States." It is still too early for a "Three Months of Study in France," or for any tangible test of results attained. The material equipment of the French institutions will not excite our men's wonderment. After our ample "campi" they will doubtless often feel crowded, even stifled. The lack of liberal athletic fields was remarked long ago by professional visitors from overseas. The dormitory system, the social life of the college within itself, seems to lag confessedly far behind our own.

But it is hoped that the French devotion to clear thinking and definite expression of ideas, their courteous encouragement of individualism in thought and action, their efforts to arouse and stimulate rather than to mould or control, the students' intellectual life, will be generously appreciated by these youthful alien guests. They may note, also, that the typical French professor endeavors always to make of his hour-long lecture a finished and unified study with a certain completeness of form, not a mere reading from notes, broken off by the bell.

The French universities have by no means regained as yet their full numbers, resources, and vitality. When that day comes, a large and ever-increasing procession of transatlantic students may be looked for, to meet on French "campi," also, young Englishmen and Italians, Rumanians and Greeks. So these general courses, of introduction to what is most unique and vital in the French people, may long be continued, not without profit to native students as well. Beyond lies always the larger attainment of the philosophic spirit, of trained capacity to discover new truth.

It is notable, perhaps, that this fine paper contains no hint that any Frenchmen young or old could profitably go to school anywhere else, nor even that the universities of other races could enrich French scholarship and life in any way.

A BRITISH OFFICER'S THOUGHTS ON THE PRESS CENSORSHIP

IT is just as well, perhaps, that we should be reminded that in the printed criticisms of the censorship, current during and since the war, virtually only one side of the case has been presented. Most of what we know about the workings of the press censorship has been derived from the press itself. It would be strange if there were not something to be said on behalf of the censors. With a view to acquainting the public with some of the difficulties of the censor's position and setting forth some of the reasons why a rigid censorship is necessary in war-time, Major General Sir Charles Callwell contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* (London) an article based on his own experience, dating back to the Boer War, and general information on the workings of the British censorship during the Crimean and other wars, not to speak of the more recent experiences, beginning with August, 1914.

General Callwell is far from maintaining that the censorship, as operated by the British army, has been free from error. He is free to admit that from time to time even officers of long experience have permitted the publication of news that ought not to have been allowed to appear. Whether such mistakes were due to oversight or to actual errors of judgment, the fact remains that the mistakes were made. General Callwell refers to an item appearing in the newspapers of September 9, 1914, to illustrate his point. This was a Reuter dispatch from Ostend,

These three poems suffice to convey an idea of the spirit which animates Polish patriotic poesy. We may readily divine that which inspires the religious poems. That spirit is summarized in the celebrated hymn by the Polish insurgents in 1863. It runs:

Lord God, who for so many centuries encompassed Poland with splendor, with power and glory, who has shielded it with the buckler of thy protection against the misfortunes which threatened to destroy it, at the foot of thy altar we raise our entreaties. Country, liberty, deign to restore them to us.

The closing stanza, "May our new anguish, our new sacrifices restore, through the grace of the Virgin, the ancient friendly alliance between Poland, Ukrainia, Lithuania, that they may constitute forever a united country," contains all the hopes and, alas! all the illusions of the Poles of 1863. The thoughtful friends of Poland are more modest to-day. We see how the Ukraine is escaping her; has no desire to be reunited with her; how the Lithuanian-speaking people of Lithuania are claiming autonomy.

As to the hymns to the Virgin, we may call attention to a point which characterizes Polish Catholicism. The Western Catholics honor primarily Mary's virginity; those of Poland the Mother of Christ. In this Poland has been influenced by the tradition of its neighbors of the Greek Church, who honor above all the *theotokos* (Greek for Mother of God).

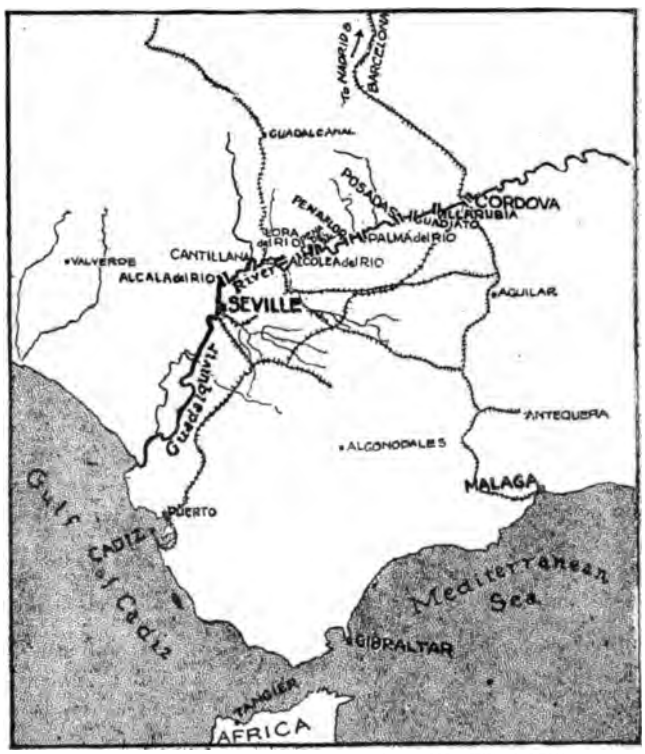
THE CORDOVA-SEVILLE CANAL

SPAIN has taken rapid strides in many directions during the war period and has developed trade relations with South America and Africa to a point where greater internal transportation facilities are imperative. Seville is an old town with many traditions and an envious history, and, although sixty miles from the coast, the tides in the Guadalquivir River reach twelve miles beyond the city limits. This city has developed a very prosperous group of industries of which some are ceramics, tobacco, wine, olive oil and machinery. Cordovan leather, liquors, and silver filigree have always been famous, but the city has suffered a decline in recent years, despite the new railroad connecting it with Malaga, Seville and Madrid. Cordova was at one time the greatest trading center of the world.

The proposed waterway, described for the *Evening Post* (New York) by Mr. George F. Paul, is expected to transform the entire Guadalquivir River region of Spain and permit the industrial independence and economic development of the entire country. The river has its outlet on the Atlant[illegible], and the zones [illegible] by its flow are rich in [illegible] ric power [illegible] a wonderful climate, while the population is almost unrivalled for intelligence and industry.

Says Mr. Paul:

The engineering plan presented in connection with this project consists in the construction of eleven dams of the Stoney gate system, such as were recently constructed on the Rhine and also on rivers in France and Switzerland. These dams



THE PROPOSED CANAL CONNECTING CORDOVA WITH SEVILLE

were not able to do their work properly; the men, on the other hand, maintained that the disability had been incurred not in a private but in a public cause, the defense of which had benefited the employers as well as others, and therefore that the disability should not fall on the men alone, but should be shared with the employers. The strikers won, and the men were reinstated. Both parties to the dispute were right. The employers were right in urging that it was unfair that they should be subjected to a special handicap in competition with their rivals by the employment of men who were not in every respect efficient. The men were right in maintaining that the burden of the injury done in public service should be distributed. From the arguments used on either side in this strike we may deduce two principles. First, that employers must help their men to carry the disabilities imposed by the war; and, secondly, that the burdens of this obligation should be evenly distributed not only between employers and workpeople, but also between employer and employer. That, at any rate, should seem to be the only basis on which the claims of the two parties to the strike can be equitably reconciled.

As early as 1915 a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir George Murray to consider and report "upon the methods to be adopted for providing employment for soldiers and sailors disabled during the war." Of the various schemes suggested to this committee with a view to finding employment for disabled soldiers, that of Mr. Rothband, a Manchester manufacturer, was regarded as the most important.

Stated in the briefest and most summary form, the leading ideas of the Rothband scheme are thus outlined by Mr. Sidebotham:

(1) An appeal is to be issued by the highest national authority, inviting all employers who are willing to employ disabled men to send in their names to be registered. (2) These names are to be inscribed on a roll of honor. (3) They are to be printed on a permanent record, kept up to date and circulated throughout the country, especially among labor exchanges and employment agencies, and issued periodically, much like a telephone directory. Into the administrative details of the scheme it is not necessary to enter. The main points about the scheme are that it is national and universal, that it creates a permanent obligation, which is on permanent record, that it would be approximately just between one employer and another, and that it makes the obligation on employers to render this state service an obligation of honor, as it should be.

All are agreed that the men disabled in the war have a right to employment and that many of them will not get this employment if they are left to hunt for it themselves in the labor market. It is admitted that the government must take some action. Mr. John Galsworthy has pointed out that there are three ways in which this employment can be found for disabled men: Either the government must itself be the employer and establish government workshops and rural colonies, or it must compel private employers to employ, or, lastly, the government must make it an obligation of honor on employers to employ disabled men. Neither of the first two schemes have been worked out. The third, the Rothband scheme, has been carefully studied and has received strong support from manufacturers and business men.

While the Rothband scheme is regarded as the embodiment of the voluntary principle, this writer points out that it would really establish moral compulsion instead of legal compulsion. He thinks that the main question is which of these two forms of compulsion is best adapted to secure the desired ends with a minimum equipment. "After all, we must not speak of employment as though it were a mere commodity. It is a mutual relationship between human beings, made of the stuff of human nature, and whatever scheme is adopted, it must inevitably fail unless it satisfies this human equation."

Government industries, manned exclusively by the disabled, would probably be run at a loss, and besides there would be great difficulty in housing the workmen and their families.

This writer does not find that the objections raised against the Rothband scheme are to be taken very seriously, but he admits that a plan involving both principles, the voluntary and the compulsory, may ultimately be required. He says in conclusion:

Mr. Galsworthy doubts whether any plan would cover the whole ground and clear the country's conscience, and he thinks that a combination of compulsion with the Rothband scheme, and with a system of national workshops and colonies, may be necessary. Mr. Galsworthy may be right. It may ultimately be found impossible to preserve the voluntary principle without a *pro-rata* principle, and some system under which employers who evade or are unable to discharge their moral obligation are subject to a special tax. You may call that disguised compulsion if you like. But what is certain is that no system of compulsion pure and simple will work at all. The foundation of your scheme must be voluntary and rest on moral obligation, whatever superstructure you raise upon it, and it is this binding moral obligation that it has from the first been the object of the Rothband scheme to create. Had the scheme been set working two years ago the moral obligation would have been felt more strongly than now. But even now the Rothband scheme would seem to be the indispensable beginning of any attempt by the state to discharge its duty to disabled men.

SINN FEIN'S PROSPECTS: AN INSIDE VIEW

A PARTIAL revelation of the past, present, and future of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland is given in the *Nineteenth Century* (London) by Herbert Moore Pim, who was for some time actively identified with the movement, but is now out of sympathy with it.

Mr. Pim's account of the rise and growth of Sinn Fein contains several statements of fact which are likely to surprise those among our readers who have not given special attention to the history of this remarkable movement. He says:

Seventeen years ago a clever young journalist named Arthur Griffith began to edit a small weekly paper in Dublin. His writings became popular with a certain section of the people as the result of his caustic treatment of economic problems in Ireland; but he developed into a person of local importance after the issue of his book entitled "The Resurrection of Hungary." In this book Griffith pointed out that Hungary had lifted herself out of poverty into wealth, and had secured virtual independence by a policy of self-reliance. He showed that by withdrawing her members from the Parliament at Vienna, boycotting Austrian goods, fostering Hungarian industries, and generally acting when necessary on the principles of passive resistance, Hungary had, after an unsuccessful republican insurrection, freed herself from Austrian control. Griffith declared that what Hungary had done Ireland could do; and his arguments drew to him a great many thoughtful, and quite a number of wealthy, people. It was eventually decided by the persons associated with Arthur Griffith that a political party should be formed to carry out in Ireland the "Hungarian Policy." But as a foreign name was undesirable, the new party took for its designation the words Sinn Fein, which are pronounced Shin Fane, and mean "self-reliance."

As early as 1905, more than 40,000 copies of Griffith's exposition of "The Sinn Fein Policy" were sold or distributed. The Redmond party at once attacked Sinn Fein as a desperate and bloodthirsty organization, but Mr. Pim declares that at that time it had no attraction for extremists and really based its claim on the repeal of the Act of Union and the enforcement of the "Renunciation Act" whereby England had declared in 1782 that she had no right to legislate for Ireland and had never possessed such right. A by-election was fought on the issue and the Sinn Fein candidates defeated. After that Sinn Fein died and had practically been extinct for seven years before its revival in 1916. The name Sinn Fein was applied to the Volunteers who led the Easter Week Rebellion of that year. Mr. Redmond called the Irish Volunteers Sinn Feiners as a nickname, and his object in doing this, according to Mr. Pim, was to associate them with a proverbial failure. "To call a man before October, 1916, a Sinn Feiner was to call him a failure."



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EAMON DE VALERA, "PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC" (AT THE RIGHT), WITH JUSTICE JOHN W. GOFF AND JUDGE DANIEL F. COHALAN OF NEW YORK
(This photograph was taken during the young Irish leader's recent visit to the United States)

At this juncture, Mr. Pim, who had himself been identified with the Volunteer movement, and was interned in England following the Rebellion, was released and returned to Ireland, where he prepared a leaflet, embodying the principles of Sinn Fein's policy, under the title of "Sinn Fein in Tabloid Form." What followed is thus related by Mr. Pim:

From that moment the history of the rise of Sinn Fein is that of an incredibly quick growth.

[illegible] Sinn Fein became [illegible] executive meetings [illegible] general was for- [illegible] to wipe out the [illegible] Irish Nationalists, [illegible] Redmond's followers, consistently supported De Valera in his ten-foot-pike farce, it was brought home to me that the Southern Irish preferred wild talk to common sense, and were consequently racially childish. Illusions die hard. I had accepted the Irish Nationalist argument that if a majority demands independence, that majority must be based on more than numbers, *i. e.*, on the intelligence of the individuals who constitute those numbers. President Wilson put this idea into other words when he said some little time ago that people must be governed by those who deserved it or who were trained for it.

[illegible] that in Ireland the majority [illegible] a noisy agitator but [illegible] against his wild policy. [illegible] speeches seem to [illegible] when it came to the [illegible] was defeated [illegible] in its general [illegible] and the other ex- [illegible] As a sign pu- [illegible] the princi- [illegible] Griffith, [illegible] Mr. Pim's opinion [illegible] harmless [illegible] mere gas and wind."

[illegible] crimes at [illegible] to the [illegible] moral, if they [illegible] ideas are [illegible] may perhaps [illegible] and its men from the [illegible] in doing this [illegible] the ignorance [illegible] South in Scot- [illegible] we will have a busy [illegible] these things [illegible] that the charm of De [illegible] wear the peo- [illegible] have studied the [illegible] may be [illegible] the enthusiasm of [illegible] The greater the rush, the [illegible] Arthur Princess MacNeill [illegible] Sinn Feiners be patient, and to [illegible] the more difficult sections of [illegible] one of the more theatrical [illegible] of one instantaneous effort, [illegible] it will die slowly; but it will die. And the men who will give it its death-blow will be the men who preach physical force, those who were interned refused to sign a declaration that they would refrain from violent methods if released.

It was because the people of Hungary realized the folly of armed rebellion, according to Mr. Pim, that the Sinn Fein policy succeeded in Hungary. The Irish Nationalists, on the other hand, want everything in a hurry. "They want to rule before they have learned to obey. They want to run a nation before they have learned to be punctual and to answer letters and keep appointments. Their failings in these matters are almost incredible. They want to be [illegible] before they have cultivated [illegible] and foresight."

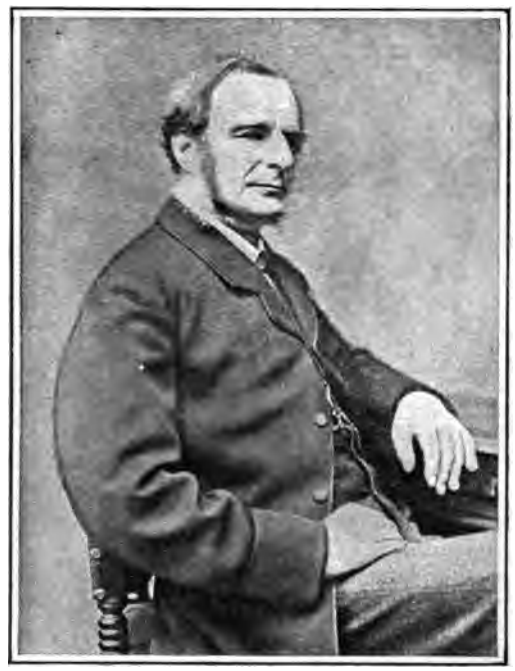
THE CENTENARY OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

APROPOS of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Charles Kingsley (June 12, 1819) Mr. Lewis Melville contributes an article to the *Contemporary Review* (London) in which he speaks of the great influence upon Kingsley in his youth exerted by Frederick Denison Maurice. Through Maurice, Kingsley became acquainted with A. P. Stanley, Froude and Thomas Hughes and was intimately associated with the Christian Socialist movement. It was his connection with this movement, says Mr. Melville, that made Kingsley turn his attention seriously to authorship:

> With all of a poet's enthusiasm, he took up the cudgels on behalf of the poor, and plied his pen vigorously in the hope of improving their condition. Over the signature of "Parson Lot" he contributed to *Politics for the People* in 1848; two years later, employing the same pseudonym, he published a pamphlet, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," which was presently reprinted with "Alton Locke"; and about that time wrote a good deal for the *Christian Socialist*. Stirred by the feelings which inspired those writings, he composed two novels, "Yeast," which was serialized in *Fraser's Magazine* during the autumn of 1848, and was published in book-form in 1851; and "Alton Locke, Poet and Tailor," which was published in 1850 by Chapman & Hall on the recommendation of Carlyle, who, however, later described it as a "fervid creation left half chaotic."

From the literary point of view, these novels, while written with the best intentions, all suffered, in Mr. Melville's opinion, from being propagandist works. In them Kingsley appears as the out-and-out advocate of a cause. In this period, however, his interest in Christian Socialism reached its apex, and after the publication of "Alton Locke" Kingsley soon ceased to be an active advocator, and even in his later life was opposed to most of the radical program of those times.

Mr. Melville divides Kingsley's literary life into two periods—the first, that of the social reformer, ending with the publication of "Alton Locke"; the second, that of the historical novelist. "Hypatia," "Westward Ho!," "Two Years Ago," and "The Water Babies" appeared in the decade 1853-63. His latest historical novel, "Hereward, the Waif," a tale of the days of the Conqueror, appeared in 1866. Of the historical novels, this critic says:



CHARLES KINGSLEY

> Kingsley's historical novels were very popular when they appeared, and attracted a wide circle of readers. Not one of them, however, can be put forward as entitled to rank with the best historical fiction. They smack unpleasantly of the midnight oil. The author who was never at any time an exact student of the subjects in which he was interested, read up for his purpose with more enthusiasm than diligence the period he had selected. He lacked the dramatic gift which was the priceless possession of Scott. He never acquired the knowledge of the period about which he wrote that is behind "The Cloister and the Hearth," nor did he ever succeed in imbuing himself with the atmosphere as did Thackeray before writing "Esmond" and "Denis Duval." The books, indeed, were not written from out the rich stores in his mind; he stored his mind to write the books. He had a sense of romance; but he never achieved the grand manner of the masters of the craft. His historical novels lack the sincerity that inspired "Yeast" and "Alton Locke."

This critic is certain that "Westward Ho!" is the best book that Kingsley wrote. The merit of the book, he says, is in those parts where adventures are to the fore. Then there is the dash and spirit that Kingsley never reached in any other of his tales. "There Kingsley is at his best, and his best is very good indeed."

NATIONAL HOUSING PROBLEMS

ONE of the most difficult problems with which the Government had to grapple during the war was that of finding adequate living quarters for workmen and their families in connection with newly created or greatly expanded industrial establishments. The Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor was organized to deal with this problem, and in doing so, through the instrumentality of the United States Housing Corporation made the discovery that the situation which it was called upon to remedy, though accentuated by war conditions, was really one of long standing, and one which will require earnest attention in the future. In a word, the supply of homes for the American people is deficient in both quantity and quality.

During the brief period of its activities before the suspension of hostilities, the Housing Corporation spent about $45,000,000 in construction work and acquired a valuable fund of information, which is to be presented in a forthcoming voluminous report. Several features of the report are anticipated in a paper by Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, published in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington). Mr. Olmsted served as manager of the Town Planning Division of the Housing Corporation, and his paper is accompanied by numerous plans and drawings of groups of homes which were erected or projected by the Corporation in various parts of the country.

Insufficient housing was a tremendous handicap to the development of war industries; so much so that, in the author's opinion, it would probably have been found impossible to carry out the program of production that had been planned.

Increased pay and fervid appeals to patriotism brought many highly skilled and self-respecting workers to the jobs. These men—usually married men, with families—found conditions so intolerable that they would soon throw up their jobs and shift, hoping to find other jobs under less outrageous living conditions.

The labor turnover rose to startling proportions. Examples of excessive labor turnover were supplied by the war industries of practically every city in which the Housing Corporation investigated conditions in housing of labor. Though unsuitable or inadequate housing was not the sole cause of this excessive labor turnover, it is mentioned by employment managers of corporations in many instances as the chief cause and in others as a contributing cause.

The constant training of new employees produced a great reduction in the average of efficiency. Despite unprecedented wages, with a corresponding rapidly increasing unit cost of production, a point was soon reached beyond which there could not occur any further effective increase of the labor force. No urge of patriotism or high wages could compensate for the overloaded accommodations for individual and family life. Inadequate access not only to sleeping places but to food, merchandise, recreation, and everything relating to family and social life outside of working hours, put a limit on production far below the maximum capacity of the increased plants.

These conditions forced attention to the fundamental fact that the necessary industrial plant investment, including the housing of machinery and of the workers during working hours, is relatively small as compared with the investment required properly to house and keep in working efficiency the workers and their families outside of working hours.

Stimulated by war prices, or by direct capital advancement by the Government as a war necessity, plant investment was readily and rapidly increased. The far greater investment necessary for a corresponding expansion of living quarters for the workers failed to materialize, for many reasons. Even under normal conditions this greater investment tends to lag behind industrial expansion.

Since 1914 the rapidly increasing cost of house construction and the diversion of capital into channels of more profitable return have resulted, even in the face of an increasing need for houses, in a steady decline in the number of houses actually built. The *American Contractor* gives the total investment in residential building in the eastern, central, and northern sections of this country (representing 69 per cent of the total population) as $432,337,000 for the year 1916, and only $252,000,000 for 1918.

During the war the housing situation plainly called for Government intervention, and this was forthcoming. Before the armistice was signed the cost of the construction work in contemplation was estimated at $194,000,000. In time of peace the Government should not, says Mr. Olmsted, directly participate in the building of houses. Nevertheless a permanent Government agency should be created to guide and stimulate such work.

It is not impossible that in some way parallel to the operation of the Federal Farm Loan Act financial support may be offered which will stimulate individual and collective housing extension, while at the same time utilizing to some extent the expensively acquired information and experience of war time. But the most immediate need, if the results of the war-time housing experience are to be salvaged and made the basis for further advance, is the establishment of a continuing Government agency for research and as a clearing

house of information on matters of housing and community planning.

The author presents various details of architecture and town planning embodied in certain projects carried out by the Housing Corporation, but space is not available here to summarize them. The forthcoming report of the Corporation, with ample data regarding the architectural, engineering and financial features of about 100 projects, cannot fail to be of interest to everybody who is concerned in any way with the building of homes. The following quotation from Mr. Olmsted's article will illustrate the sort of ideas which the report may be expected to set forth:

On the score of architectural appearance there are lessons to be learned from the work of the Housing Corporation, both positive and negative, concerning the means by which small houses may be made beautiful consistently with economy of construction and convenience of use; but perhaps the most striking lessons in this respect concern the location of the houses and the general town planning. When long lines of houses on long, straight streets are imposed by an existing rectangular street plan, the houses being small and close together by force of economy, hardly any architectural skill can produce a thoroughly agreeable result, even by resort to grouping and to such variations in set-back as are normally acceptable to the occupants. The experience of the corporation has merely confirmed in this respect a generally accepted opinion of town planners that in residential developments, especially for small houses, comparatively short street vistas in proper scale with the houses are extremely important, whether secured by absolute discontinuity of the minor streets or by moderate curves or angles in them; and that such departures from the theoretical economy of the rectangular plan need not involve, if well designed, an appreciably greater cost per house for streets, utilities, and land.

Another general point as to house arrangement has been borne out by the experience of the Housing Corporation. It is possible to unify and formalize a scheme by making the houses so rigidly related and balanced along the street and across the street that the whole development looks unpleasantly like a charitable or penal institution. It is also possible by too much seeking of variety and picturesque quality in the color and shape and arrangement of the buildings to make the development look like a piece of stage scenery and not like the dwellings of modern American citizens.

It is a fact, however, that if the whole development is treated as a business proposition, considering all the aspects of site and street plan and utilities and houses, taking into account the fair money value of good appearance in detail and in arrangement, and weighing value and cost in each case, the very reasonableness of the result will go far to make it pleasing to look at as well as inexpensive to build and to operate.

THE WORK OF THE TELEPHONE PROPHETS

IN the course of a suggestive article in the July *Harper's,* showing how great industries are planned for the next generation, Mr. Robert R. Updegraff gives an interesting description of the methods employed by the managers of the telephone service in working out their prophecies relating to the business of the future.

Briefly, this is how the telephone prophets go about their work: Taking the present population of the city, and the population for many years back, they plot a population curve, projecting this curve eighteen or twenty years into the future, establishing the population in 1937, let us say, so far as the past growth of the city can help in estimating the future growth. They then check this up in every way possible, by analyzing the industrial development, past, present, and future; by studying the transportation facilities present and proposed, the labor situation, the real-estate market, the geographical location of the city. When this is done and they have arrived at what they believe the population of the city will be, they proceed to "place" that population, to prophesy how and where it will distribute itself. This involves a tremendous amount of detail work. There must be a house-to-house count in the residential sections to show just how many families are living in each square block of the city, what percentage of them have telephones, and what class of service they are using. The character and nationalities of the population have to be taken into account, for some nationalities have a tendency to huddle together in great numbers in congested areas, while others show a marked tendency to live in separate little houses, thus spreading out over a larger area. The old settlers in each section must be talked with, as well as real-estate men and other well-informed citizens.

When the prophets get to the business section of the city they are confronted with a different problem, but one that, nevertheless, has to be met; they have to prepare for new office-buildings, perhaps as yet undreamed of, for hotels and department-stores. It is one thing to determine how a city is going to spread *out,* and quite another to tell where it is going to shoot *up,* suddenly demanding telephone cables to take care of from five hundred to a thousand telephone installations, as in a large office-building or hotel, on one little spot. This requires a careful study of ex-

isting business conditions and a calculation of the probable future commercial growth which is based primarily on population. If a population of so many thousands supports one hotel, three department stores, and twenty large office-buildings, there will be a certain ratio of increase in department stores, office-buildings, and hotel patronage if the population increases, say, 50 per cent. This can be checked up by studying other cities which correspond in population and general characteristics.

Hundreds of tables and charts are drawn up. Scores of maps are made, maps showing areas available for business and residential expansion, maps showing density and character of population, maps and charts showing the relation of the present telephone service to the present population.

The prophets then make from the data thus acquired a great map of the city, assigning population to the various districts, locating new office buildings, apartment houses, department stores, schools, and hotels, and indicating on the map in every square block in the city just how many telephones and how many private exchanges will probably be required in 1935. Results from these methods are now coming into view:

In one New England city a department-store was located by the telephone prophets ten years ago less than a block away from where it has recently been built. In another city an office-building was placed very close indeed to the spot where the building has just been erected. Many other instances might be cited if space permitted.

I have seen the telephone prophets' map for the city of New Haven, Connecticut, for 1935. It was like peeping into the future to look at it. Everywhere there were little circles with figures in them. Blocks which are now vacant lots have their little circles with the number of telephones they will probably support by 1935. A street I had passed on my way to the telephone company's office which is being torn up to be paved was pointed out to me on the map. "We are putting down our cables for 1935 under that street now. Cities no longer allow their streets to be torn up every few months. We have to watch every street and take advantage of repaving to put down our cables for the future," said one of the prophets. "Sometimes the cables will not be required for ten years, but they will be ready when they are needed."

GERMANY'S "PAPER OFFENSIVE"

MR. W. MORRIS COLLES contributes to the June *Forum* a very timely and very well documented article on the "paper offensive," which during the war was and still is being waged by Germany in the press of neutral countries with the set object of robbing the Allies of some of the fruits of victory and the blessings of peace. Mr. Colles' paper is an eye-opening revelation of the extraordinarily far-reaching ramifications of German propaganda. Russia, Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, were all infected by it to a greater or lesser degree, and we know what it did in North America in the earlier months of the war. A good example of its general workings is to be found in South America:

South America, as the scene of the great "Western Empire" of the German dreams, was naturally the center of an intensified publicity campaign. A phalanx of trouble-makers had been dispatched to Buenos Aires early in July, 1914, to take over the old machinery so long and so astutely directed to dazzle the imagination and capture the sympathies of all South American peoples.

With the aid of unlimited funds provided by the German Association, old journals were purchased or new ones started all over the continent. *La Unión* was founded at Buenos Aires, and so was the Italian *Il Lavoro;* two dailies and a weekly in Parana, and other newspapers in Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, and San Paulo. Germany controlled twenty-one organs in Argentina and Brazil alone. When Brazil joined the Allies and the Germans were more or less prohibited from publishing German newspapers, they promptly issued them in Portuguese, the *Deutscher Volksblatt* becoming the *Gazeta Popular* and the *Vaterland* the *Jornal de Tarda*, their propaganda against the Allies and the United States becoming more bitter than ever.

As an example of the hold Germany had on the Chilean press it may be remarked that even the sinking of the *Lusitania* was almost entirely passed over in silence by the Santiago newspapers. It is, in short, one of the miracles of the war that Latin America should have so largely thrown off her shackles. Germany, in fact, here, as elsewhere, overdid things and has herself mainly to blame for the loss of so many Republics which she had confidently reckoned upon as captives of her guile and gold. Nor is their emancipation assured, for the "machine" remains, supported with all the influence of many wealthy German colonists.

Buenos Aires and Santiago are still German strongholds. The redoubtable von Papen has not been lying *perdu* at Belgrano for nothing. A general strike in transport, the delay of corn shipments, the organization of sabotage on the Central Argentine Railway, are only typical examples of his methods of repaying Argentine hospitality. South America is still packed with German settlers, the myrmidons of derelict German Embassies and *emigrés* from the United States who remain, and will always remain a focus of certain mischief.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF BRITISH SHIPPING

SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY has found time, amid the distractions of his labors on the Coal Commission, to extend his zeal for the nationalization of industry. *Plus royaliste que le Roi,* more Laborite than the vast majority of the party to which he is so recent and so valued a recruit, Sir Leo, in the *English Review* for June, demands the immediate nationalization of the whole of the British mercantile marine. The curse of England, says the writer, is the private ownership of land and capital. If everything were nationalized, how much better everything would be! In shipping, especially:

If at the beginning of the war we had possessed a national mercantile marine, we should have saved a sum equal to several times its entire capital value; we should have possessed well-manned ships which would have been very much better able to meet the attack of the enemy; we should not have lost many of the vessels that were sunk by submarines; we should not have been driven to such straits with regard to the supply of food and munitions.

Sir Leo fails to explain, how these happy results could have been achieved; possibly the implication is that the German submarines would have shown to state-owned vessels a respect which they certainly did not show towards those of private owners. But however that may be:

It is the plain duty of the government, in the interests alike of national safety and of peace efficiency, to nationalize the mercantile marine and the shipyards which produce the mercantile marine. Having paid out to shipowners, as can be proved, the cost of the mercantile marine several times over during the war, the nation is entitled to nationalize ships by paying for them now what they cost when built, with proper allowance for depreciation and no more. The shipyards should be taken over and remodelled on the lines of the magnificent national shipyards in the West of England. The whole service should be made a good scientific and engineering job.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for April Bishop Frodsham expressed considerable doubt as to the advantages to the British Empire of joining the League of Nations.

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing, but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain, in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbrous political machine at the cost of the new-born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value; the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the center. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring, blood-stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron.

The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, and already the draft may be penciled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the League of Nations. The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience. It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall. It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society. And no greater world-disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace, which may turn out to be another castle in Spain.

NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HYMNS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE

[illegible] What despair has incited valor [illegible] March on, march on, ye Poles. [illegible] grant us victory. . . .

[illegible] number bears a vague title, [illegible] It is vastly superior in a liter- [illegible] to the hymn just mentioned, and [illegible] special interest. The treaties [illegible] definitively sanctioning the [illegible] allowed a remnant of the [illegible] to subsist. That was the [illegible] Cracow. It was to be *in per-* [illegible] independent, and rigidly [illegible] the signatory powers of the [illegible] solemnly pledged them- [illegible] that compact. Cracow [illegible] an ardent center of Polish [illegible] suited the powers of [illegible] neglected no occasion to [illegible] internal concerns of the little [illegible] means had to be found to [illegible] humble the Polish aris- [illegible] It was sufficient to ex- [illegible] the peasants against the [illegible] outbreaks took place in [illegible] It was an orgy of pillage [illegible] The Austrian authorities not [illegible] but rewarded the as- [illegible]

[illegible] view of these tragic [illegible] whose words the [illegible] from the heart of [illegible] Wincenty Pol. He was but [illegible] composed this beauti- [illegible] published in London in 1847 [illegible] the significant title, [illegible] Jeremiah." The [illegible] followed by a tragic epi- [illegible] and if the Poles feel [illegible] it is to be hoped [illegible] have occasion to [illegible] the finest out- [illegible] verse.

[illegible] song is from the pen of Mme. Maria Konopnicka. It is a defiance addressed to the Germans, a reply to the famous command of Bismarck, *ausrotten* (exterminate). It reads in part:

We will not abandon the land whence comes our name. We will not suffer our language to be buried. . . . To the last drop of our blood we will defend our souls, until the day when the Teuton whirlwind shall crumble into dust. Every threshold will serve us as a fortress. So help us, God!

[illegible] Poland [illegible] Poles [illegible] the Slovaks the [illegible] Ukrainians the Croats the [illegible] Poles [illegible] replaced by one of the [illegible] nationalities. What their forefathers chanted in [illegible] the Poles still sing to-day. M. Lozay, regretting that no information is given regarding the author, quotes the inspiring words, beginning:

No, no, Poland is not dead, while yet we live. What a foreign force has ravished from us we

These three poems suffice to convey an idea of the spirit which animates Polish patriotic poesy. We may readily divine that which inspires the religious poems. That spirit is summarized in the celebrated hymn by the Polish insurgents in 1863. It runs:

> Lord God, who for so many centuries encompassed Poland with splendor, with power and glory, who has shielded it with the buckler of thy protection against the misfortunes which threatened to destroy it, at the foot of thy altar we raise our entreaties. Country, liberty, deign to restore them to us.

The closing stanza, "May our new anguish, our new sacrifices restore, through the grace of the Virgin, the ancient friendly alliance between Poland, Ukrainia, Lithuania, that they may constitute forever a united country," contains all the hopes and, alas! all the illusions of the Poles of 1863. The thoughtful friends of Poland are more modest to-day. We see how the Ukraine is escaping her; has no desire to be reunited with her; how the Lithuanian-speaking people of Lithuania are claiming autonomy.

As to the hymns to the Virgin, we may call attention to a point which characterizes Polish Catholicism. The Western Catholics honor primarily Mary's virginity; those of Poland the Mother of Christ. In this Poland has been influenced by the tradition of its neighbors of the Greek Church, who honor above all the *theotokos* (Greek for Mother of God).

THE CORDOVA-SEVILLE CANAL

SPAIN has taken rapid strides in many directions during the war period and has developed trade relations with South America and Africa to a point where greater internal transportation facilities are imperative. Seville is an old town with many traditions and an envious history, and, although sixty miles from the coast, the tides in the Guadalquivir River reach twelve miles beyond the city limits. This city has developed a very prosperous group of industries of which some are ceramics, tobacco, wine, olive oil and machinery. Cordovan leather, liquors, and silver filigree have always been famous, but the city has suffered a decline in recent years, despite the new railroad connecting it with Malaga, Seville and Madrid. Cordova was at one time the greatest trading center of the world.

The proposed waterway, described for the *Evening Post* (New York) by Mr. George F. Paul, is expected to transform the entire Guadalquivir River region of Spain and permit the industrial independence and economic development of the entire country. The river has its outlet on the Atlantic, and the zones covered by its flow are rich in mines, agriculture, electric power at low cost and a wonderful climate, while the population is almost unrivalled for intelligence and industry.

Says Mr. Paul:

> The engineering plan presented in connection with this project consists in the construction of eleven dams of the Stoney gate system, such as were recently constructed on the Rhine and also on rivers in France and Switzerland. These dams



THE PROPOSED CANAL CONNECTING CORDOVA WITH SEVILLE

are to vary in height between six and ten metres, and in the case of unusual freshets they can be completely raised, leaving only the piles and entablatures. This refers to the entire drainage system served by the torrential river. The ponds which these dams will form within the river bed itself will constitute an ample waterway along its course. The inequalities are to be overcome by means of an equal number of locks 54 metres long by 8 metres wide, of the most modern type, which will afford passage to the barges. These barges may carry 525 tons of cargo, and convoys can be formed composed of a tug of 150 tons and two barges. At each one of these dams advantage will be taken of the power furnished by the fall of the dams, which will amount to a total of about 65,000 horsepower. . . .

The eleven installations proposed are as follows: Alcala del Rio, Cantillana, Alcolea del Rio, Pena de la Sal, Lora del Rio, Penaflor, Palma del Rio, Posadas, Guadiato, Villarrubia and Cordova. With these eleven installations an annual production can be realized of 202 million kilowatt hours.

Another feature of the project consists in using the piles of the dams for the establishment of as many bridges, which in eleven different points will connect the two banks of the river, which at present has only one bridge in its 180 kilometres of length. This feature alone will add wonderfully to the readiness of communication between different cities in the valley and will of itself recompense the expenditure of large sums for construction purposes.

Don Carlos Mendoza of Madrid will, through a stock company, construct the dams, while the state assumes the cost of locks and supplies the timber for the bridges. The state will operate the waterway under suitable tariffs, and the total cost will be $16,000,000.

The growing importance of Seville as a manufacturing center, and of Cordova as a distributing point justify the expenditure of what may seem a large sum; and the future of Spain as a commercial power depends upon some such project which will open up cheap and easy communications, both between the various cities of the region itself, and between those cities and the outside world. The canal will be used, naturally, for both import and export to and from the cities of Seville and Cordova and the intermediate points. The map on page 217 shows its location and the territory affected.

SPANISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS

LA REVISTA QUINCENAL contains an article on Spanish-American relations that is interesting as showing that the war may have consequences little imagined. Why should not Spain and the United States become more intimately associated? "Our one-time enemy and our present friend," as the writer calls the United States, ought to be brought into much closer relationship with us (that is, Spain), and there is every reason for forgetting the quarrel of a few years ago.

Count Romanones, when he was in office some time ago, boldly proclaimed the advisability of so acting; he has recently met President Wilson in Paris, and there is no doubt that something of the kind was one of the subjects of conversation between the two. This desire for what our French friends term a *rapprochement* is something very different from the feeling that has (apparently) animated Spaniards during the past few years, if one may judge from the writings of the journalists and others who contribute to Spanish publications. There has usually been the statement that the United States is doing all she can to absorb the Central and South America Republics, and incidents have been regarded as straws showing the way in which that wind has been blowing. When the United States has been mentioned, care has been taken to write of the "United States of North America" by many contributors, so as to leave no doubt that U.S.A. does not mean the whole of America. With her close connection with the smaller republics, Spain should be more likely to "Spanishize" (if we may dare to make use of such a word) America than America to Americanize Spain and her former possessions, yet the latter process is the more probable. Spain has much to gain by more intimate relations with the United States, and it is the hope of many thoughtful Spaniards that there may really be a drawing together of the two countries.

In *Nuestro Tiempo* we have an article on the Spanish volunteers in the Great War; this concerns those Spaniards who enlisted in the French Foreign Legion. They fought valiantly for freedom and suffered grievous casualties. Several extracts from letters, written by those volunteers, are given in the article, and we also read of the great reception which a few of them who went to America received in many cities.

THE NEW BOOKS

ECHOES OF WAR

1914. By Field-Marshal Viscount French. Preface by Marshal Foch. Houghton, Mifflin Company. Portrait. 386 pp.

This volume is announced by the publishers as the first authoritative book by any commanding general of the Allies. In this country we had to wait nearly twenty years after the Civil War to get the memoirs of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and the other great commanders of the Union armies. The present generation is more fortunate in being able to read so soon after the event the stories of great commanders in the greatest of all wars. The tone and temper of Field Marshal French's account go far to confirm the favorable impression that he had made as a commander in the field. He is just and generous to his fellow commanders, and his story of the retreat from Mons, the battles of the Marne and the Aisne, the siege and fall of Antwerp, and the first battle of Ypres, while it records the practical extinction of the original British Expeditionary Force, commonly known as the "Old Contemptibles," is marked by no bitterness nor tinge of regret. His tribute to Marshal Joffre and other French commanders is whole-hearted and unreserved.

The Dardanelles Campaign. By H. W. Nevinson. Henry Holt & Co. 427 pp. Ill.

An experienced English journalist and war correspondent here presents an account of the Dardanelles expedition which has almost the value of an official statement, since it is based so largely on authoritative documents and is illumined throughout by the writer's own observations as an eye-witness. There are many interesting illustrations and several large-scale maps.

History of the Yankee Division. By Harry A. Benwell. Boston: The Cornhill Company. 283 pp. Ill.

Many books of this kind may be expected during the coming months. They are necessarily more or less ephemeral in character, but in them will be found material that is well worth preserving and that might easily have been lost for all time, had it not been collected before the demobilization of the Army. The present volume relates the fortunes of the famous "Yankee Division" (the 26th), commanded by Major-General Clarence R. Edwards. Generous words of appreciation of the war service of the Division are contributed by General Pershing, General Edwards, and Secretary Baker.

The American Air Service. By Arthur Sweetser. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 384 pp.

The well-known fascination connected with our aerial war activities, combined with the gigantic proportions of the task laid upon America of "winning the war in the air," and the celerity and resourcefulness with which American industry addressed itself to this stupendous "job," make former Captain Arthur Sweetser's volume, "The American Air Service," of unusual interest. After presenting a summary of American progess in aviation up to our entry into the war, the author records the steps taken by our Government to carry out the great air program which was to be the principal American contribution to ultimate victory. The problems of raw materials and manufacturing; of personnel, the training of flyers, the development of airplanes and engines, with the full story of the Liberty motor; and the constant changes of program, plans, specifications; the laying out of aviation fields, construction of schools and depots of all kinds, both here and abroad; the dealings with our Allies; the handicap of coöperating at long distance with the A. E. F.—all these are recorded in this volume, for the benefit not only of history, but for the American taxpayer to whom the Air Service has perhaps seemed an expensive war mystery. Following the recital of the tremendous difficulties and the tragic delays and disappointments, there is the splendid record of what was actually achieved both in the United States and by our flyers over the lines in France. Secretary Baker furnishes an introduction to the volume, and the list of American Aces, with a reprint of the Aviation Act of July 24, 1917, are also included. Captain Sweetser has done a difficult but highly necessary task in an eminently satisfactory manner.

Aerobatics. By Horatio Barber. Robert M. McBride & Company. 61 pp. Ill.

This is a text-book of the art of flying which is intended to give to students, along with the details of method that naturally go in such a manual of instruction, a reasonable basis of confidence while in the air. The author has had ten years' experience as practical flyer and served as officer in charge of instruction at the Central Flying School of the British Royal Air Force. His book, with its full-page illustrations, is a valuable aid to both the student and the instructor in the art of flight.

Inventions of the Great War. By A. Russell Bond. The Century Company. 344 pp. Ill.

American inventions were in the Great War long before the United States itself began hostilities. The airplane, the submarine, and the machine gun, though invented in America, had been developed in Europe. It is not the purpose of the present volume to describe American inventions exclusively. An important chapter is given to the tanks, which the author regards as a British creation and "undoubtedly the most important invention of the war." But even the tank was inspired by the sight of an American farm

reactor. On the sea, two American inventions, the hydrophone and the depth bomb, did their part in putting the German U-boat out of commission.

What Happened to Europe. By Frank A. Vanderlip. Macmillan. 188 pp.

Readers of this REVIEW were able to gain from Mr. Vanderlip's article in our July number a good general idea of the impressions that he received after studying conditions in Europe for five months. They will find in this book an amplification and reenforcement of the views set forth in the REVIEW article. Certain newspaper critics have decried Mr. Vanderlip's expressions of opinion as unduly pessimistic, but this book shows clearly, we think, that Mr. Vanderlip's observations, and the conclusions which he draws from them, are entirely sound. Europe, as Mr. Vanderlip sees it, is in a state of [illegible] and America can play a leading part in the reconstruction of Europe only by rendering such financial assistance as will enable the European countries to [illegible]

Revolutionary Days. By [illegible]

[illegible] Macmillan. [illegible]

[illegible] Russia [illegible] Mr. [illegible] New York Evening Post [illegible] Mr. [illegible] New York Tribune [illegible] Mr. [illegible] New York Sun [illegible] Mr. [illegible] New York Times [illegible]

The New Eastern Europe. By Robert Dell. [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] Manchester Guardian [illegible] Russia [illegible] information [illegible] endeavors to [illegible] Poland and [illegible] Besides these chapters on Poland there is a most enlightening monographic study of the Ukrainian movement, another entitled the New Lithuania, and some fifty pages on the Baltic Provinces and Finland. Several of these chapters had already appeared in English reviews, but their assembling in permanent form is warranted by their unusual value.

The German Empire: 1867-1914. By William Harbutt Dawson. Macmillan. Vol. I. 496 pp. Vol. II. 435 pp.

Mr. Dawson is one of the best-known historians of Germany who have written in the English language. His present work, which is based on [illegible] knowledge of German thought and [illegible] during the last fifty years, is intended for the general reader rather than for the scholar and student. His account of developments in Germany in the years preceding the outbreak of the war has a direct bearing on more recent events.

Mahan on Naval Warfare. Boston: Little, Brown. 372 pp.

In this one volume are gathered the most pertinent and valuable of Admiral Mahan's writings on the subject of which he was regarded both here and in England as the greatest master of his generation. Individuals and the smaller libraries of the country which are not so fortunate as to own a complete set of the Admiral's works may obtain in this single book an excellent résumé of his philosophy of sea power—a philosophy, by the way, which the developments of the great war, since his death, have confirmed in

Revolution and its aftermath, Kerensky and Kornilov, and the uprising of the Bolsheviki.

Two Crosses and a Crown. By Harry G. Seltzer. Eagle Book and Job Press. 80 pp.

A page out of the war experience of the author, who served as American Council at Breslau, Germany, during the years, 1914-1917.

The Economic Basis of an Enduring Peace. By C. W. MacFarlane. George W. Jacobs & Company: Philadelphia. 70 pp.

An outline of the conditions of peace as they have been thought out by a leading American economist.

The Swallow. By Ruth Dunbar. Boni & Liveright. 249 pp.

A story of the war experiences of Richard Byrd, a typical high-spirited young American who went into the air service in the early days of the war. The fictitious name hides the identity of one of the few survivors of the famous Lafayette Escadrille. A beautiful and unusual love story lifts the narrative out of the ruck of war books. With the young aviator's new vision of the world which comes to him during the long days of convalescence from a dangerous wound, comes appreciation and love for his nurse, who teaches him the "real adventure—of the spirit," and the truth that "it is only the soul which really understands and loves another soul, that truly possesses."

HISTORY, EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN

many particulars, although we are accustomed to think of it as a land struggle.

The Cotton Kingdom. By William E. Dodd. New Haven: Yale University press. 161 pp.

The Anti-Slavery Crusade. By Jesse Macy. New Haven: Yale University Press. 245 pp.

Abraham Lincoln and the Union. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. New Haven: Yale University Press. 272 pp.

The Day of the Confederacy. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. New Haven: Yale University Press. 214 pp.

From the editorial standpoint, the series of "Chronicles of America," which we noticed last month, reaches its climax of difficulty, we should say, in the treatment of the Civil War period. Yet we think that a careful reading of any or all of the volumes devoted to that period will convince any fair-minded American that the old spirit of sectionalism has been minimized, if it has not altogether disappeared from American life. Professor William E. Dodd pictures "The Cotton Kingdom," of the Old South, and Professor Jesse Macy chronicles "The Anti-Slavery Crusade." "Abraham Lincoln and the Union" and "The Day of the Confederacy" were written by the same man—Professor N. W. Stephenson, of the College of Charleston, S. C. Although the first-named of these volumes naturally covers ground already familiar, especially in the North, the second is new to the present generation of both North and South, for it has to do not with the military side of the Civil War, but with the embattled South itself, as it lived for four years within the Confederate lines—its politics, its economics and its whole social existence—and it is a story well worth the telling.

The Rule of Might. By. J. A. Cramb. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 451 pp.

In the form of fiction, the author of this work tells the story of three days of Napoleon's life during the month of October, 1809, when the French armies were inside the walls of Vienna and Friedrich Staps attempted to assassinate Napoleon at the Palace of Schönbrunn. The narrative serves as a medium for a psychological study of Napoleon, his marshals and generals, and Viennese society of that date.

The Unwritten History of Braddock's Field. Prepared by the History Committee under the Editorship of Geo. H. Lamb, A. M., for the Celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Braddock, the Silver Jubilee of Rankin, and the One-Hundred-Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the First White Settlement West of the Alleghanies. George H. Lamb, Braddock, Pa. 336 pp. Ill.

A record of the communities that have grown up on and around the field of Braddock's defeat.

The University of Pennsylvania: Franklin's College. By Horace Mather Lippincott. 248 pp. Ill.

Outside of "Penn's" circle, comparatively little has been published concerning the customs and traditions of the university that owes its beginnings to Benjamin Franklin. Mr. Lippincott, who is a devoted alumnus of the institution, has delved in the college records and brought to light a great store of interesting material. In the one hundred and seventy-eight years of its existence the university has played a distinguished part in State and national life. Its record in the Great War is here presented for the first time. It gives the graduates further reason for pride in *alma mater*.

TRAVEL, ADVENTURE, AND DESCRIPTION

A Year With a Whaler. By Walter Noble Burns. Macmillan. 250 pp. Ill.

This fascinating story of a greenhorn on an Arctic whaler will never lose its charm. Brought out first by the Outing Company in 1913, it met general appreciation and is now reissued in a new edition in attractive green binding. The author answered an advertisement asking for inexperienced seamen for a whaling voyage and spent a year cruising for the big sea mammals. He tells the story amazingly well and gives a picture of an industry almost vanished from the seas; of the life of the men who followed it and their strange elemental characters. It is a classic of the hardy life of the old sea dogs of the whaling trade.

The Seventh Continent. By Helen S. Wright. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 381 pp. Ill.

The history of South Polar discovery and explorations, complementing a similar account of "The Great North" by the same author.

Seen in a Mexican Plaza. By George F. Weeks. Fleming H. Revell Co. 120 pp. Ill.

Tersely written descriptions of scenes and incidents personally witnessed by Mr. Weeks, who has spent many years in Mexico, and unlike many of his compatriots seems to have found in the Mexicans many admirable qualities.

Highways and Byways of Florida. By Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 264 pp. Ill.

A volume of useful information, prepared with Mr. Johnson's customary felicity of arrangement and choice of topic. We learn from the preface that the author's effort to supply illustrations for the book with his own camera was rudely frustrated. As the possessor of a camera, he was arrested as a suspected German spy and confined behind prison bars for two days and a night. He was obliged, therefore, to gather his illustrations in other ways, but he succeeded very well in this feature of his enterprise.

NOTEWORTHY BIOGRAPHY

President Wilson. By Daniel Halévy. John Lane Company. 283 pp.

A French writer's attempt to interpret President Wilson to the French people. For American readers the interest of the book lies chiefly in those chapters devoted to the President's foreign policy. This side of his career naturally absorbs the attention of French readers also at the present moment. The author groups the various problems confronting the Wilson Administration under two heads—the bringing to an end of the world conflict and the preservation of peace for America itself. Mr. Wilson's consistent idealism appeals with peculiar force to this French writer. It is to be noted that the work was completed in 1917, more than a year before the President visited France.

The Story of General Pershing. By Everett T. Tomlinson. D. Appleton & Company. 240 pp. Ill.

This is the simple, straightforward story of the career of the man who commanded the American expeditionary forces in France. One will not find in the book any elaborate analysis of General Pershing's character, nor any detailed study of his military career. Those themes can wait for later treatment. There was need of just the kind of book that Dr. Tomlinson has written, for it is an unquestioned fact that the American public knows far less about the personality of the trusted "C-in-C" than it has ever known about any commander of like rank and responsibility. The outline that Dr. Tomlinson gives is itself inspiring and will be read with interest by the rising generation.

Georges Clemenceau. By Georges Lecomte. D. Appleton & Company. 299 pp.

"The Tiger of France" is the senior member of the great triumvirate to whom the world's destinies have been entrusted. Older than either President Wilson or Premier Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau is also more experienced in statecraft, and in dealing with political corruption. At seventy-eight he stands forth as the exponent of all that is best worth saving in France. His honesty and patriotism held his nation together in the hour of severest trial, and no personality of the war has done more to unify the common cause of the Allies. This intimate study of the President of the Peace Conference, by a distinguished countryman, has been translated for the benefit of thousands of American readers who have learned in the last few years to admire and revere the Grand Old Man of France.

Bismarck. By C. Grant Robertson. Henry Holt and Company. 539 pp. Ill.

In the series of "Makers of the Nineteenth Century" we have a new life of Prince Bismarck by C. Grant Robertson, the English historian. If Bismarck is to be reckoned among the leaders who "made" the Nineteenth Century, he surely will not be denied a place on the roll of the men who "marred" the Twentieth, for as Basil Williams, the editor of the series, points out in the preface, the upheaval of 1914-19 must be traced to influences extending back for decades, and of these influences "the most powerful, both on German character and statecraft and on the conception of German policy held in other countries is without question that of Bismarck." The volume itself does not profess to be specifically a biography. It is a study, approximately in biographical form, of Bismarck's statecraft and of Bismarck himself as one of the makers of modern Europe and of the German nation and empire. It is proper to state in this connection that the author's interest in Bismarck began many years before there was a thought of war, and the conclusions and judgments expressed in the book were formed, he says, before August, 1914. It is published just at the time when the world is viewing the wreck of the empire that Bismarck built.

James Baird Weaver. By Fred Emory Haynes. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 494 pp.

The late James B. Weaver was for many years a stormy petrel in the politics of the Middle West. He was always the uncompromising radical, the man who continuously stood out in the stand-pat State of Iowa as the leader of those who were irreconcilably "agin the Government." Looking back forty years from this mile-stone of 1919, we see his sturdy figure looming on the horizon as one of the small group of pioneer progressives. In those days he was looked upon as a disgruntled politician. Now he ranks as a far-sighted leader—a prophet. He was the exponent of Bryanism before the days of Bryan, and President Wilson was elected in 1912 on the platform that had been built by Weaver twenty years before. A speaker and writer of marked ability, General Weaver's activities in Congress and his campaigns for the Presidency in 1880 and 1892 won for him national recognition. General Weaver had been a soldier and officer in the Civil War, and was for twelve years a Republican leader in his State. He left the predominant party to become a Greenbacker, a Populist, and later a Democrat. Throughout his public career he was a fighter of no mean ability.

The Iron Hunter. By Chase S. Osborn. Macmillan. 316 pp.

When the Hon. Chase S. Osborn was chief executive of the State of Michigan it was remarked more than once that he was not as other governors are. "The Iron Hunter" is not the kind of autobiography that the conventional governor would write. It is too truthful and too human. Before he was elected governor Mr. Osborn had been a newspaper man and iron-ore prospector in what were then the newly discovered mining regions of Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. We do not recall ever having met with so vivid a description of the life of those days on the iron ranges as Mr. Osborn gives in this book. A man who knew that life and was a part of it, as Mr. Osborn was, could not by any possibility have a commonplace career in after years.

WILD LIFE AND SCIENCE

The Grizzly. By Enos A. Mills. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 288 pp. Ill.

Mr. Mills, who knows well and has frequently described various portions of the Rocky Mountain region, relates in this book many entertaining experiences with grizzly bears, extending over thirty years. It should be explained that Mr. Mills does not trail his grizzlies with a gun. Possibly for that reason he comes in more frequent contact with them than do most hunters. Moreover, the bears' curiosity often incites them to trail the trailer. Mr. Mills has come upon abundant evidence of this, but he firmly believes that no grizzly will attack a human being unless provoked to attack. On this point he brings corroborating testimony of a group of Western hunters and nature-lovers, familiar with the habits of the grizzly. All in all, Mr. Mills makes out an excellent case for his animal friends, and the stories that he tells will go far to convince any unprejudiced reader of the intelligence, courage and all-around good disposition of the wild grizzly. It may be news to Easterners that this monarch of the Rockies is in actual danger of extermination. Why should there not be a closed season for the grizzly?

The Game Birds of California. By Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 642 pp.

This beautifully illustrated volume from the University of California Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy, will serve to remind naturalists and bird-lovers throughout the country of the great advantage that the Pacific Coast still enjoys over the Atlantic seaboard in the preservation of wild life. Even in California game birds are rapidly disappearing, and it was high time that some effort of this kind should be made to record the histories and descriptions of the various species. But in Eastern North America many birds had practically disappeared before their value was realized or anything done to conserve them. In California, fortunately, the naturalists are alive to the situation, and although the editors of this work believe that there are fewer careful observers in that State than in the eastern part of the country, the work of these few has been well utilized, as this volume testifies. The text descriptions of the birds are supplemented by colored plates, drawings by Louis Agassiz Fuertes, and numerous text-figures by Miss Frieda Lueddemann. The volume appears as one of the semi-centennial publications of the University of California.

Famous Pictures of Real Animals. By Lorinda Munson Bryant. John Lane Company. 154 pp. Ill.

The thing that chiefly commends this book to all lovers of animals is the fact that in her selection of subjects the author has been guided by artistic simplicity and truthfulness as criteria. As the title implies, her book has to do with the picturing of real animals, and not the creatures of the artist's fancy. The illustrations, drawn from all nations in which art has flourished, are distinctive and highly interesting. Mrs. Bryant begins her story with a description of the donkeys and cranes pictured on the tomb of Ti, who died in Egypt about 4000 B. C.

The Destinies of the Stars. By Svante Arrhenius. Putnam. 256 pp. Ill.

New vistas of our growing knowledge of the stars and a hypothesis of their probable evolution from nebulæ in the Milky Way are presented in a book by a Swedish scientist, Dr. Svante Arrhenius, "The Destinies of the Stars." The author received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1903 for his achievements in the electro-chemical field. In this series of papers he unfolds the fascinating riddle of the Milky Way and postulates the origin of the universe. Three editions of the work appeared within two months in Sweden. The delay of the American edition owing to war conditions has made it possible to add new subject matter and several new illustrations. It is a book that gives delight to every one who wishes to search out the secrets of the stars. Twenty-eight pictures and two maps accompany the text. The excellent translation is by J. E. Fries.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

An American Labor Policy. By Julius Henry Cohen. Macmillan Company.

The Bar of New York contains a number of lawyers of intellectual activity; and among them Mr. Julius Henry Cohen is recognized as a thinker and writer of unusual initiative and originality. He has long been a student of the labor problem, and his theories have been brought to the test of practical experience inasmuch as he has helped to adjust relations between labor and capital in one or more of New York's largest industries. The present volume is a brief dissertation, exceedingly well-informed, upon methods by which American labor and capital may work together for the general progress of society.

The Food Crisis and Americanism. By William Stull. Macmillan. 135 pp.

A man who deals extensively in farm mortgages in the Middle West approaches the question of food production from his own angle. He sees in the problem certain elements that the city-dweller may entirely overlook. At any rate, he has a useful contribution to make to the general fund of working knowledge about farm conditions. In this little book Mr. Stull condenses the fruitage of forty years' observation and experience. He criticizes some of the attempts of Congress to legislate for the farmer, and attributes errors of this kind to the abundant misinformation of which the public generally is a

victim. One gathers from a reading of his discussion that the prosperity and independence of the American farming class have been vastly overrated, to say the least.

The New Citizenship. By A. T. Robertson. Fleming H. Revell Company. 157 pp.

A brief statement of the obligations of Christian citizenship in relation to the new world order.

Scientific Distribution. By Charles F. Higham. Alfred A. Knopf. 163 pp.

Mr. Higham is one of the leading advertising agents of the world, "who sees advertising as a tremendous new force—a potential ally of government and sound education—a dissemination of intelligence and good will." He would add intellectual and moral force to that which has so effectively served our material ends. Mr. James Howard Kehler supplies an introduction.

Advertising and Service. A. W. Shaw Company. Shaw Banking Series. 312 pp.

A series of suggestive chapters on methods of advertising advantageously employed, especially in banking.

Education by Violence. By Henry Seidel Canby. The Macmillan Company. 233 pp.

A group of essays on the subjects of international relationships, morale, education, reconstruction, and the war's ending. The author conceives of each one of these topics as presenting the fruits of education by violence.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

The Fabric of Dreams. By Katherine Taylor Craig. Dutton. 380 pp.

"The Fabric of Dreams," by Katherine Taylor Craig, has been prepared for persons who are willing to be open-minded and accept the hypothesis that dreams may be symbols. The book gives all the newest scientific conclusions from savants such as Jung, Brill, Freud and Havelock Ellis; much that history has recorded about dreams, and the conclusions of famous men regarding the visions of their sleep. Emerson wrote in his notes that he depended oftentimes upon his dreams for guidance, and Napoleon's respect for his dreams is well known. The material includes the readings given dreams by gypsies, the table of interpretations by Artemidorus, and the charts for their divining according to the art of geomancy.

Home Help in Music Study. By Harriette Brower. Frederick A. Stokes. 211 pp.

Harriette Brower's book, "Home Help in Music Study," will assist parents with the musical education of children in the home. It shows how a musical atmosphere may be created in the home by means of games that teach music and awaken the child's intelligence to the wonders of rhythm and tone, and encourages educators in the theory that every child whether showing special aptitude for music or not, should be given the opportunity to learn music. The games and suggestions contain the foundations of mature musical culture.

Diseases of Truck Crops and Their Control. By J. J. Taubenhaus. E. P. Dutton & Company. 396 pp. Ill.

The author of this work is a specialist in plant diseases, who has for years given exclusive attention to preventive and curative methods capable of being employed in fighting the diseases that have seriously threatened the truck crops in the neighborhood of our great cities. Diseases of mushrooms, beets, spinach, lettuce, sweet potatoes, cabbages, turnips, radishes, sweet corn, lima beans, onions, asparagus, tomatoes, carrots and other vegetables that form a great part of our national food resources, are fully treated in this volume.

The Jolly Books of Funcraft. By Patten Beard Stokes. 256 pp. Ill.

Clever fun-ideas, games, picnic surprises, rainy-day frolics, celebrations for holidays and festivals, are found between the covers of "The Jolly Book of Funcraft," by Patten Beard. Mothers, teachers and playground workers who have to arrange amusement for children will find their needs supplied in this encyclopedia of fun. The games and suggestions are illustrated with sixty-three photographs of the games and their materials.

The Amethyst Ring. By Anatole France. John Lane Company. 304 pp.

In "The Amethyst Ring," Anatole France has written a vigorous novel that deals with the question of the taxation of the property of religious bodies and incidentally presents characteristic sketches of typical French characters.

Yvette and Ten Other Stories. By Guy de Maupassant. Alfred A. Knopf. 259 pp.

"Yvette" and ten other short stories by Guy de Maupassant have been translated by Mrs. John Galsworthy, with a critical foreword by Joseph Conrad. This estimate of the great French genius of the short story is an excellent piece of criticism and a peep at Conrad's own artistic creed via the art of Maupassant.

Ma Pettengill. By Henry Leon Wilson. Doubleday, Page & Company. 324 pp.

The "Ma Pettengill" stories by Harry Leon Wilson hardly need an introduction to readers. They are breezy drafts of American humor strained through the brusque vocabulary of a western ranch woman. They make a good book for rainy days and fits of the blues.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS



The Prince of Wales

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

September 1919

The Tangle in Europe
By Frank H. Simonds

High Prices; and a Remedy
By Irving Fisher

Evils of Rising Prices
By Byron W. Holt

The Plumb Plan and the Railroads

The New Red Cross
An Interview with Henry P. Davison

A Prince in America
By George Haven Putnam

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What's the Matter with New England?
By William E. Smythe

Two Historic Virginia Colleges
By Plummer F. Jones



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"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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RECENT PEACE CELEBRATIONS IN LONDON AND PARIS

London on July 19 celebrated the signing of the peace treaty with an immense victory parade, in which Allied soldiers and sailors took part. The picture at the top shows American troops crossing Westminster Bridge, the great clock tower of the Parliament Buildings being prominent. The Paris celebration was on July 14, the national holiday that commemorates the fall of the Bastille. The picture shows American troops in the Place de la Concorde, and in the distance is seen the Palace of the popular Chamber of the French Parliament.

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Prosperity and Discontent

Most people in the United States have been getting along unusually well since the end of the war by virtue of the armistice last November. Two things are principally to blame for the impression commonly prevailing last month that everything was going to rack and ruin. One of these is the wide new margin of leisure that gives everybody time to discover new wants and needs, and to practice the inherent right of self-assertion. The other of these two things is the universal habit of reading the newspapers. The press megaphones every phase of social and economic discord, and thus unintentionally creates the greater part of what is alleged to be a dangerously prevalent mood of discontent. The press is addicted to stating all things that happen in a sensational way. Thus the most obvious things, as printed in the newspapers, are invested with the elements of surprise and alarm.

Obvious Phases of Readjustment

Surely there was no human being who could set claim to an ordinary amount of economic or business knowledge who had not known for two or three years past that there must be a period of economic disturbance following the war. The war had caused the most stupendous displacements that had occurred in recent times. Scores of millions of workers had been diverted from normal industry to the support of a struggle that had engulfed all of the industrial countries of the world. The status of war of itself compels a manner of living; and it involves radical changes in personal and collective motives of effort, as well as in methods. Every one knew that the period following the war would, therefore, be one of difficult readjustment. While no one could have prophesied the exact sequence of the incidents which give excuse to the headline writers, there were thousands of people who openly predicted the general course of events with sufficient accuracy. The surprising thing then, is not that economic readjustment is attended with a series of particular problems; but that the American people have been getting on so well in this first year of actual peace, and that the collective discontent which is so largely echoed in the halls of Congress and in the newspapers proves to be so much exaggerated when measured by the real facts as disclosed in the affairs of individuals and families.

Labor Shortage and High Wages

To begin with, there is no unemployment in the country except that which is caused momentarily by strikes, or which results from slight delays here and there due to readjustments. There is a great scarcity of labor, even with most of the soldiers now at their homes again from our American camps and from service abroad. It has been difficult to carry the farming operations of this year through the seasons of planting, cultivating and harvesting, because of labor shortage. The farms have paid exceedingly high wages to workers, besides giving them their board. Here then, we have a great class of people (though we do not like the word "class") who are incomparably better off than ever before. The farm laborer works shorter hours for higher wages; has his food and lodging; and may save money if he has the proper sense of thrift. As for household help or domestic labor, the demand has been so much greater than the supply that wages have been very high, with great opportunities to save money, because, with living provided, there have been few necessary expenses. Ordinary unskilled labor is receiving throughout the country for an eight-hour day an average of fully twice the wages once received for a ten-hour day.

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Expenses and Incomes

Whether or not these doubled money wages are more than offset by the enhanced cost of living is not to be ascertained by reading the newspapers or by taking the index numbers of the commercial agencies, or of the United States Department of Labor. It is true that these index numbers are important and deserve to be studied with care; but the cost of living is an individual and family question that has to be studied concretely in particular neighborhoods. In New York City and in many other large places, there has been a shortage of housing accommodations and a sharp and rather sudden increase in rents. Clothing has increased in price, and food products, especially for city workers, have become exceedingly expensive. Mechanics in the building trades and similar pursuits are working on a short-hour basis for wages that are, speaking in general, double what they earned a very few years ago. Whether these nominal improvements of status are fully offset by their increased expenses are questions partly answered by an inquiry into prevailing prices and partly answered by facts as to individual and family circumstances.

Circumstances Alter Cases

Where a mechanic has for some years owned his own home and had a good garden, he can bear the present situation. If he was lucky enough to obtain nominal ownership of a home four or five years ago with a mortgage to meet on the instalment plan, through a building and loan association or otherwise, he is exceptionally favored by existing conditions. In the first place he bought for, let us say, five thousand dollars a house and lot which at present prices would cost him at least ten thousand. He is secure in what is equivalent to a very low rent, and his present high wages give him an excellent opportunity to pay off his mortgage. His short hours of labor, taken in conjunction with the daylight saving scheme, give him time to meet in part the high cost of food by cultivating a garden. It is a sign of a good, healthy social mind when there is protest against evils that can be remedied by public action; and we are heartily in accord with the spirit of every honest effort to improve general conditions. On the other hand, it will be a sad day for the country when the spirit of self-help declines, and when the old American virtues of energy, thrift, foresight, economy and careful management of personal and household affairs are held in disesteem, while the noisy and shallow soapbox orator on the corner, or the more pretentious politician, has a hearing for his view that everybody is to be made well off by the acceptance of theories, or the enactment of laws, or the persecution of large business enterprises.



"ONE AT A TIME, PLEASE, GENTLEMEN"
From the *Tribune* (New York) ©

Real Gains for Labor

In view, then, of the difficulties that everybody knew must attend the transition from war conditions to those of ordinary civil life, we hold that the American people, instead of suffering enormous and surprising hardships just now, are decidedly better off than they had reason to expect. As regards certain kinds of employment, particularly work in factories and other confining pursuits, the great gain has come with the adoption of the eight-hour day, which in many instances has been further reduced to include the Saturday half holiday, so that the actual working hours are forty-four per week. This change heralds an inestimable advance for democracy and civilization. It ends conclusively the danger of the crystallization of social classes. Comparatively short hours of labor with good wages mean the recovery of freedom for millions of people. With good health, sound habits and right principles, the doors of opportunity are now more widely opened than ever before. It would be a

great calamity if the leaders of labor organizations, and the leaders of political movements, should proceed to destroy the continuity of an economic system which is susceptible of such steps of progressive improvement.

Ideals That Have Conquered

Heretofore the general aims and aspirations of the labor movement in the United States have been commendable. This movement has held up noble ideals, and has done much for their attainment. It has argued that the good things of life should not be monopolized by a small class, and it has held in just contempt the idlers and the parasites of a plutocratic aristocracy. It has wished to abolish industrial conditions which wore out the bodily health and vigor of the workers while leaving their mental powers dwarfed and their spiritual life undeveloped. This movement has been remarkably successful in converting to its support most of the intellectually trained leaders of opinion, and it may now be said also that a majority of the large employers and controllers of capital are in full accord with the ideals which the American labor movement had for long years supported sturdily against powerful and selfish opposition.

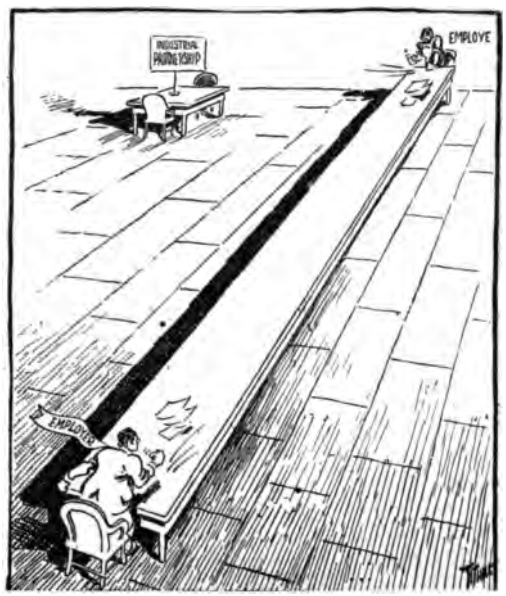
Holding the Results of the War

The value of the man, the dignity of human life, the brotherhood of nations, peoples and races, the value of democratic principles—



THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKER

WORKER: "Here are my demands. Kindly sign them to avoid discussion."
MASTER: "Yes, if the demands are just. But now I would like to see the second sheet."
WORKER: "What s[illegible]et?"
MASTER: "The [illegible]'s the DUTIES of the [illegible]."
From [illegible] Italy)



WHY NOT SIT AT THE SMALL TABLE?
From the *Star* (St. Louis)

these things have been vindicated in Europe and America as a result of the sacrifices of the great war. The only compensation for what has been suffered and endured must be found in the better life prospects of those who survive, especially the present-day children and the children of generations yet unborn. Since the war has ended with such general acceptance of the recognized principles and ideals of the labor movement, there has come to the leaders of that movement a power and an influence vastly greater than they possessed a few years ago. It will be well if they can exercise this new power wisely and moderately. They should seek to attain their objects as nature makes things grow under favorable conditions of sunshine and moisture; and not as nature destroys by storm and flood and earthquake.

The Lines of Progress

The labor movement has had remarkable success in obtaining recognition, both national and international, for the eight-hour day, as a standard. Further, the labor movement has obtained assured victory for its humane doctrines regarding child labor, the employment of women, the regulation of hazardous and unhealthful trades, workmen's compensation, the principle of the right of labor to organize and to make collective bargains, and the right of society as a whole to have universally good

conditions of health, of education, and of political equality and freedom. These are the most brilliant gains for humanity that have ever come to fruition in a short period. On the basis of these attainments, all of which should be carefully safeguarded in application, labor can go forward with confidence. The mass of workers is no longer disinherited. These very conditions will in due time remedy most of the inequalities which had resulted from a too unrestricted career of capitalism in the development and the exploitation of the resources of a new country like the United States. For the individual under the new conditions, the most important thing is the way in which he uses his own time and his own opportunities. The higher callings of life are no longer to be reserved for the sons of those already enjoying superior advantages. There is no need at all for the fixation of economic or social classes; nor is there any reason for a hard and fast segregation of particular trades and guilds. There should be mobility, without friction.

Railroads as a Problem

In subsequent paragraphs we are discussing more concretely the railroad question, and the way in which the heads of the organized railway brotherhoods are proposing to revolutionize the control and operation of the national highways of commerce and travel. Apart from these particular proposals, however, there are certain underlying facts and principles that ought to be considered with frankness and with clear analysis. There was a time within the memory of older men when the country's business prosperity was identified with the railroads. The growth of the West was so dependent upon markets for surplus agricultural products that the question of rates became paramount. Railroad management and control had to face the embattled farmers, with the consequence of the invention of new theories that subjected the roads to control as common carriers and public servants, and gave us the State railroad commissions, hundreds of regulatory acts of legislation, and in due time the Interstate Commerce Commission and the national railway acts. A scheme of control was created which built up the Western country on the lowest long-haul transportation rates existing anywhere in the world. Eastern agriculture declined, and Western agriculture flourished, through the existence of these fixed conditions of low freight rates, which after a time checked the further growth of the railway system. Capital would no longer go into railroad investments, because it could be more safely and more profitably used in other directions.

Recognition of Railway Labor

For a long time the habit of arrogance on the part of railway management and control had not been confined alone to dealings with the public, but had also marked the relations of railway management to the rank and file of the workers. Until recent years railway accidents were largely due to the overworking of locomotive engineers and other operatives holding responsible posts. For a long time railroad management opposed the organization of the workers, and refused to deal with grievances on a fair and just system. But there came a time when railroad management and control had lost prestige through abuse of power; and the workers were in a position to have their claims and grievances heard with respect. It was a long time before organized labor in transportation service could obtain the recognition of arbitration as a principle. This was, nevertheless, gradually gained, until it was no longer questioned. Then, however, came a criticism of methods of arbitration provided in statutes, and a dislike of arbitration by the men. A great gain for organized railroad labor came when the different conditions of work and pay on various roads and in different parts of the country were met by demands which resulted in something like an approach to standardization.

Mastery of the Unions

Within the past five years the movement within the world of railroad employment has been so rapid that the general public has not been aware of it. Particular unions, like the engineers and trainmen, have grown stronger; while the thousands of employees in clerical and station work have become organized, and the different railway unions have been learning to work together in closer coöperation. The conductors, shopmen, and station masters used to be jealous of the engineers and firemen. To-day practically all kinds of railway employees are aggregated in unions, and these unions, to the total number of fourteen, have learned how to support one another and to act solidly. The old-time sense of power and mastery that was felt by the so-called "magnates" who achieved large fortunes through railway management and control had been declining rap-

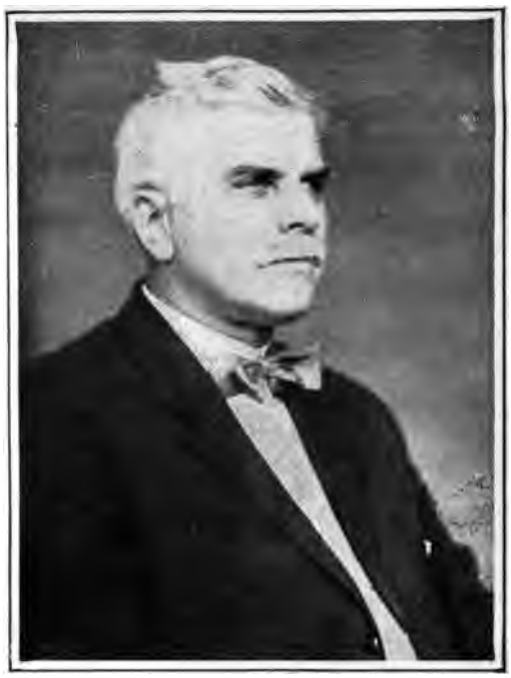
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Will They Abuse Their New Power?

We do not for a moment believe that the heads of railway brotherhoods have any malign intentions, or harbor consciously any aims or plans that would be detrimental to the public interest. They believe that the things they propose are for the general good. The danger lies in the possibility of their yielding to the temptation to rely upon the principle of force to carry out plans about the wisdom of which the country has not been convinced. They have power enough to obtain a full hearing for anything they may propose. A precipitate use of that power might greatly harm the country, while in the long run it would certainly harm the brotherhoods themselves. After all, their power, in the last analysis, is in no sense superior to the public convenience. Even if at some time in the future there is to be a different kind of control of capital engaged in industry, it is not likely that this country will permit the confiscation of private property on any pretext whatsoever. Neither will the people of America be indulgent toward any proposal to stop the wheels of transportation by strikes.

Rights of Ownership

When the railroads were taken over for Government operation it was very freely predicted that they would never go back to their owners for actual management. It was believed, however, that their owners would be paid by the Government on a fair basis. It has been impossible to operate the railroads as self-supporting enterprises, this being principally due to the great advances in wage payments already made. Some hundreds of millions of dollars have been advanced by the Government



MR. WARREN S. STONE
(Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and chief spokesman for the railroad employees)

to the railroads for investment in maintenance, rolling stock and so on, and this money is represented in the hands of investors by Liberty Bonds. Much larger sums, however, are represented in the hands of investors by bonds of such railroad systems as the Pennsylvania, the New York Central and the various other great companies. This money invested in the railroads is what has made the existing transportation system possible, and is what has given opportunity of employment to all of the men of all the railway unions and brotherhoods. Under present conditions a great majority of men holding railway jobs could readily go into the labor market and find something else to do on an advantageous wage basis. They are not tied down to railroad work. They stay in railroad work because upon the whole they like their jobs, their wages, and their conditions of employment. Like other people, they are disturbed by the high cost of living; but they are by no means in a peculiar or desperate plight. The people, however, who had, some years ago, very carefully invested their savings in railway bonds and stocks that were regarded as safe and non-speculative, are in a very serious predicament. They see other property values all around them greatly increased, and they see most lines of work and business in a prosperous condition.

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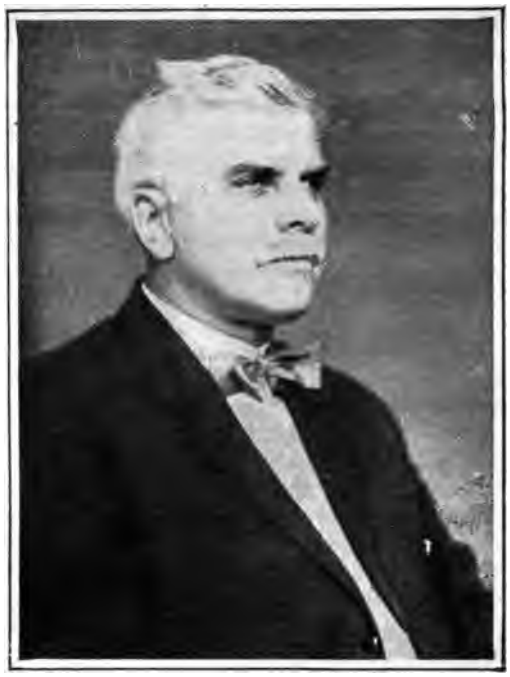
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Usefulness of Railway Capital

But their railroad bonds have declined in value, and their shares of stock are selling in many cases for less than half of the amount they invested in good faith. Meanwhile, every penny of what they had invested has served the nation through its war emergency, and has helped to create that great enterprise which gives the railway brotherhoods their wages and gives all other workers their opportunity of markets. The money invested in railroads has rendered a greater public service than any other investment that has been made out of the savings of the American people. Much of it has already been confiscated by unjust policies of regulation and control. It might, indeed, have been better if from the beginning American railroads had been publicly owned. But as a matter of fact, we have developed our transportation on the plan of private ownership; and property in railroads is just as sacred as in any other form. Meanwhile, whatever the brotherhood chiefs may have to say about the management and operation of railroads, they are ill-advised when they fail to recognize the rights of the people whose money has been invested in railroad stocks and bonds.

Railroad Mysteries Vanish

A great many years ago every boy in the country looked on at the men who operated railroads with awe and wonder. From the president of the road down to the youngest freight brakeman, there was an air and tone of mystery. Nobody was supposed to know anything about railroads if they were not "railroad men." The railroads set the standards in all kinds of ways. The railroad office in the country village, with its telegraph instruments and its other paraphernalia, was the one new-fashioned business establishment, while everything else was run upon eighteenth century methods. But all this has been changed, while the railway people themselves are hardly aware of what has happened. Almost everything else is more up to date than the railroads. The most slovenly place about the country town nowadays may perchance be the railroad station. A much more enterprising establishment is the "garage" on the main street. It is nothing now for a farm boy to operate stationary engines, to plow with gasoline or kerosene tractors, to drive motor trucks, or to run into town on errands with automobiles. The steam locomotive is not an awesome thing in this new age of engines and machinery, and of airplane motors. All the mystery and romance of the railroad business has disappeared.



TELLING HIM WHERE TO GET OFF
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

No Longer Highly Technical

Railroading will always demand sobriety and care, in order to avoid accidents; but the days when running a railroad train required the services of an engineer who had spent some years of apprenticeship as a fireman, have passed away. Only a few trains are run at high speed; and the boy or man who can safely run an automobile at thirty miles an hour on trackless roads can soon learn to hold any position in the operation of a freight train. Railroad work is responsible and toilsome, and must be fairly paid. It formerly seemed quite highly technical because the ordinary man knew nothing about transportation except handling oxen and horses. The electric trolley showed that a man could be trained to act as a motorman in a very short time, even through complicated city traffic. With the disappearance of horses in towns and villages, every boy learns about engines, auto trucks and power-driven machinery. Henceforth the transition from one precise form of labor to another will become easier rather than more difficult. It will be less possible in the future to tie up the railroads by strikes than in the past, because as we have already remarked, the mysteries of railroad work have disappeared and the rising generation has become proficient in operation of machinery. Doubtless there will be democratized industry on some plan, in due time.

Competition of Trolley and Truck

Electric lines some years ago took away a large part of the local passenger business of the steam railroads. Automobiles and power omnibuses are now taking away much more of this business. Short-haul freight business is passing over very largely to auto-trucks. The financial difficulties that the railroads are encountering are due in no small part to the fact that the diversion of business to these newer kinds of transportation has prevented the intensive growth of railway traffic. Thus, while a complete unionizing of all the railroad workers under control of powerful and determined leadership might precipitate a strike that would cause terrible inconvenience and suffering for a time, the ultimate success of such methods would depend wholly upon the mental attitude of the larger public. If the country believed that the railroad unions were wrong in their claims and reckless in their methods, the power of these unions would speedily fade away. They are strong when an intelligent public opinion supports them; but they are to be intrinsically less powerful in the future than in the past because they are no longer a group of guilds possessing mysterious technical knowledge which renders all the rest of the community helpless through ignorance. This is not to disparage the skill and training of railway workers, but merely to recognize the changes due to new conditions.

Proposal to Buy and Run Roads

The thing that the railroad unions demand, besides their immediate insistence upon very large aggregate increases in wages, is the permanence of the present public control through the outright purchase of the railroads by the Government. They have brought forward a plan for the lease of the roads to an operating corporation. This leasing corporation would be managed by a board of directors, only a third of whom would be appointed by the Government, while one-third would be named by the so-called "officials" of the railroads and the other third by the classified railway workers. The profits would be divided—a part going to the Government and a part going to the workers. Something further and more specific with regard to the plan will be found in the special article on the "Plumb plan." We are not here discussing the proposals in detail, but only some of the principles involved, and refer our readers to the article.

Worthy of Frank Discussion

It is in our opinion, then, wholly timely and thoroughly appropriate that the railway brotherhoods should have brought forward their plan in order that Congress, the newspapers and the general public may discuss it thoroughly. We have no sympathy at all with the contemptuous dismissal of the plan; much less with the very serious misstatements about it which have appeared in various quarters. By far the largest single economic problem before the country is that of the future control and management of the railroads. President Wilson some time ago announced that at the end of the present calendar year, of which only four months now remain, the Government would cease to operate the roads and they would be returned to their former owners. In the July number of this magazine we published an important article contributed by Senator Cummins, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, relative to the legislation that would be necessary in order that the resumption of private operation might be fairly satisfactory. Government operation has not proved itself to be as popular as was expected. It will be remembered that Mr. McAdoo, while combining the positions of Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of the Railroads, was supported by the President in advising Congress to extend the period of Government operation for some five years longer. In our opinion there was much to be said in favor of Mr. McAdoo's proposal. In the first place, Government operation under normal conditions has not as yet been possible; and in the second place, there is no agreement at all upon a satisfactory method of providing for a return to operation under private ownership. The failure of Congress to accept Mr. McAdoo's proposal led to the President's announcement that the roads would be returned very promptly, and to his later definite statement that the Government would relinquish its operation at the beginning of the new year.

Issues Must Be Faced

It is evident that the best intelligence of the country must now be concentrated upon the railroad question, and that there should be entire frankness in the discussion. It had been supposed that Congressmen and politicians were unduly conscious, in their attitude toward this and other economic problems, of the fact that the Presidential and congres-

politics nor relieve Congress of its responsibility. It would be necessary to provide for a revoking of the lease on short notice; and in any case we should be carrying on the business of steam-railroading as a national enterprise, while energetic private competition would be operating ever-increasing systems of distribution by motor trucks, by electric trolley lines, and so on. Frankly, we see scanty ground for the hopes of Mr. Glenn Plumb and his supporters.

False Remedies and Real Evils

When people are uneasy and discontented, they are very apt to endorse some proposal of a public kind, without stopping to think whether the thing advocated is remedial or not. What, in point of fact, is the matter with the railroad brotherhoods, and why have they committed themselves so unthinkingly to the absurdities of the Plumb plan? The answer is quite simple. Railroad employees, like millions of other people, have been disturbed by the rapid increase in the cost of things they have to buy. Through powerful organization and remarkable political strategy, they had secured their basic eight-hour day, with very considerable increases in money wages. The mounting costs of living, however, had promptly overtaken such increases and they felt themselves no better off than before. Contrary to the opinion of some people, railroad employees hate strikes and disorder, and the leaders of railway unions, like Mr. Stone and his compeers, yearn for some plan which will provide properly for the welfare of the men and obviate agitation. Their aims and motives are those of first-class American citizens who wish to see their families live in comfort and their children properly instructed. They have seized upon the Plumb plan as something offering the promise of stability, while remedying many of the old evils of capitalistic railway management and control.

What the Men Really Want

If we believed that the Plumb plan would accomplish what Mr. Warren S. Stone thinks it will do, we should certainly not oppose it; but it does not appeal to us as a timely solution of the railway problem. What the railroad brotherhoods really want is stability of conditions, reasonable hours of work, and good living wages. In short, they wish to be paid in dollars which will buy a normal quantity of food, clothes, fuel, and rent. Elsewhere in this number we are publishing a very important article by Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale University, and another by Mr. Byron Holt, of New York, upon the terrible evils to society that result from a rapid change in the purchasing power of the nominal measure of value. Professor Fisher is bold enough to propose a remedy. For many years he has been teaching students of money and finance the danger of relying through long periods upon a precise quantity of a single commodity as a standard both of exchange and of measurement. At different times in history the quantities of gold or of silver comprising such a unit as a dollar have been somewhat altered. Professor Fisher has a scientific prescription for using gold as a support of credit, while using a composite factor based upon the price of numerous useful articles as a standard for value measurement, that is, for dollar-content.

Irving Fisher's Plan

Professor Fisher believes that under his plan five dollars in wages would mean an average amount of potatoes, sugar, meat, cotton cloth, anthracite coal, house-rent, and so on. We do not ask the railway unions to abandon the Plumb plan if they wish to press it for public acceptance; but we would suggest to them, as something much more pertinent to their present predicament, the careful study of the money question and particularly of



KEEPING HIM AFTER SCHOOL
From the *World* (New York)

[The House of Representatives had agreed to take a five weeks' vacation, but at President Wilson's request this was given up in order that Congress might deal with the situation caused by rapidly increasing prices, industrial unrest, and particularly the attitude of the railway brotherhoods]

Professor Fisher's remedy for the distress caused by increased prices in the ratio of money inflation. Sooner or later, we have no doubt, something much more scientific than the present money system will have to be adopted in order that nominal wages and real wages may not part company so violently. These are the times when men are bold enough to adopt important innovations. The gold standard no longer meets the world's needs for the purposes to which it has been subjected since the demonetization of silver almost half a century ago. The wage-earning classes, in spite of the average increase in nominal wages, are to no small extent the victims of price-changes under the existing monetary system. Even greater sufferers under that system are the schoolteachers, the clergymen, the clerks and office employees, and others whose modest fixed salaries have not been greatly increased. The owners of conservative railroad bonds and other securities—such as real-estate mortgages drawing a low rate of interest—are also sufferers because their fixed incomes have lost half of their purchasing power. Why not try to agree upon a method for bringing about so desirable a reform?



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PROFESSOR IRVING FISHER, OF YALE UNIVERSITY
(Eminent political economist, and recognized authority in monetary science)

Europe's Needs Also Burden Us

While Professor Fisher is doubtless right in attributing a large part of the evil of high prices to our monetary system, he would doubtless agree with us that the exceptional faultiness of the present money standard just now is due to its inability to meet abnormal conditions. These conditions, of course, have not been produced by the money system, but by the world war. Governments acted arbitrarily to suspend the ordinary working of the law of supply and demand. Our high prices of food are due in large part to the exceptional demands still made upon us by Europe's shortage. It is a mistake to suppose that the American people are the gainers by Europe's distress, which creates an immense nominal balance of trade in our favor. The sooner Europe can produce abundantly, and cease to subject us to the toil of producing these great export supplies, the better off we shall be. We are permanently the poorer because we have shipped out of the country so much of the phosphates of our soil in the foodstuffs we have been exporting. We have been shipping away the iron and copper that the next generation will need here at home. The best help we can render ourselves is to aid Europe to recover its full volume of agricultural and industrial production.

Thrift Still a Virtue

Meanwhile, there are some practical ways by which to help reduce the cost of living. The Government's attacks upon the so-called "profiteers" will probably have helped to lower the prices of a few commodities at a few market points; but in the main these efforts will amount to little. The Government's own policies, due to war emergency, have been many times more responsible for the high prices than the misconduct of merchants. To some extent the situation can be remedied by those members of the community who can afford to withdraw patronage from the profiteers. If those who can manage to get along with their present supplies of clothing will be content for a time to wear their old suits, mended shoes, and last year's hats, there will soon be a resumption of the normal relation of supply and demand, and prices will be less prohibitory for those who are compelled to buy shoes in order that their children may go to school. It happens that the prosperous people have been spending too freely in some directions. We believe in keeping trade good, and we



THE LATE ANDREW CARNEGIE, PHILANTHROPIST

also believe that higher price levels are with us to stay for a long time; but we do not believe that trade is really helped by extravagance, and we do believe that business will be promoted by the practice of thrift and economy. Reckless spending, regardless of prices, does not conduce to real prosperity.

"Abundance" Will Bring Relief

A much better way, however, to help the situation than mere abstention from purchase or from patronizing profiteers is to be found in the increase of production all along the line. High cost of living generally means scarcity of production relative to reasonable demand for purposes of consumption. Efficiency and good-will in making every industry produce its utmost is the thing that will best meet the demands of labor for better real wages. There should be an end of strikes and lockouts, and an earnest effort to coöperate in producing textiles, shoes, building materials, and all kinds of foods.

Mr. Carnegie's Career

The death of Mr. Andrew Carnegie occurred August 11, at the moment when the problems of capital and labor were under most acute discussion. Mr. Carnegie was in his eighty-fourth year and for a long time he had devoted his efforts wholly to philanthropy. He was one of the two or three most conspicuous examples of great wealth rapidly accumulated through the exceptional conditions of the last generation. He had made his way courageously as a boy, and had earned promotion as a young railroad telegrapher until he became a railroad official in the Pittsburgh district, knowing all the conditions having to do with the transportation of iron and steel products. He associated himself with steel men of technical and financial ability and built up a great business for the Carnegie Company. There came a period of rapid merging of steel works into consolidated groups. An option was obtained from Mr. Carnegie and his associates for the Carnegie works at what was deemed an exceedingly high price, let us say $100,000,000. The holders of this option did not succeed in completing the purchase. It was perhaps a year later, when the United States Steel Corporation was being formed through the merger of a number of large units, that it was discovered that the Carnegie Company would be an aggressive competitor. It was necessary to the plans of the steel trust to buy the Carnegie plant and business on Mr. Carnegie's own terms, which were now increased some fourfold.

Vast Wealth and Its Uses

The late Mr. Pierpont Morgan, who had the courage to do things in a large way, met Mr. Carnegie's terms and conditions. Mr. Carnegie and his associates received some hundreds of millions of dollars in five per cent. first mortgage bonds, and the United States Steel Corporation set forth upon its remarkable career of good management and great prosperity. Mr. Carnegie fully realized that the vastness of his wealth was due to exceptional circumstances and not chiefly to personal efforts. He had shown in early life the qualities which were bound to bring him success; and it was largely accidental that along with personal success he was also in control of an immense fixed income. He desired to give back his wealth to the country whose industry and resources had made such wealth possible. He disclosed an intense interest in the public welfare. He told American men of wealth that they had no moral right to tie up great fortunes and pass them on to their children and grandchildren; and he proceeded resolutely to dispose of his wealth in his own lifetime while creating a series of beneficent institutions that

should go on rendering public service for a long time to come.

Notable Public Services

He endowed scientific research; blazed the way for the proper support of the teaching profession; helped to endow many colleges and universities; and, most notably, induced a great number of cities and towns to support public libraries by providing the requisite buildings. He did much to encourage the Pan-American idea by paying for the beautiful building of the Pan-American Union at Washington. He was an international figure, and a generous benefactor of his native Scotland. He was a friend and associate of the leading public men of Great Britain and America. He gave money munificently for the endowment of efforts to promote international peace, and he erected a fine building at the Hague for the housing of the Arbitration Tribunal. He created great establishments for polytechnic instruction at Pittsburgh in recognition of his career in that city as a manufacturer. As he grew older and his strength failed, he realized that he could not continue to give assiduous attention to his philanthropies, and he created the Carnegie Foundation, of which Mr. Elihu Root is the President, with an endowment exceeding $100,000,000 in the hands of a board clothed with wide discretion, within the general spheres of usefulness that Mr. Carnegie had previously selected. Quite apart from his wealth, he had made himself a personality of great and deserved influence by reason of his shrewdness, intelligence, strong convictions, and public spirit.



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MR. CARNEGIE IN THE LIBRARY OF HIS NEW YORK HOME

Capital as a Servant

It is not likely that circumstances will in the future produce many fortunes equal to that of Mr. Carnegie; but in any case his gospel of responsibility has influenced many other possessors of large wealth. As the situation stands to-day in the world, the ordinary working man is in much greater danger from the extreme socialists than from the capitalists. The capitalistic system has had its great evils; but it has also had its supreme merits. Its violent destruction means general poverty and distress. It is likely to be a long time before anything can be substituted for the private ownership and control of productive capital that would be efficient enough to justify the change. Great social and democratic progress is possible, without destroying the continuity of the existing system. There can, however, be many modifications which will improve the average condition of workers, remove the extremes of poverty and wealth, and preserve the private initiative that has been associated with Anglo-Saxon progress.

The President on "Cost of Living"

In a message to Congress, which President Wilson delivered in person on August 8, the whole subject of high prices and remedies was reviewed with broad grasp of the situation. Mr. Wilson correctly attributed the greater part of the trouble to European conditions which can be better aided when peace is finally and completely secured. Meanwhile, the President advocated various methods to prevent the hoarding and monopolizing of food products. He recommended making Government food control a permanent policy. He proposed also a system of Federal licenses for corporations engaging in interstate commerce, so that fair practices may be prescribed in the terms of the license, and violators may be excluded from the channels of trade. Finally, Mr. Wilson urged that this is no time for strikes or for curtail-



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HON. JULIUS H. BARNES, OF DULUTH, UNITED STATES WHEAT DIRECTOR

(Mr. Barnes, who had long been known as one of the foremost grain merchants of the world and an authority upon water and rail transportation, became head of the Grain Corporation when Mr. Hoover's food control was established. Recently President Wilson made Mr. Barnes also United States Wheat Director, in control of the great project of handling the 1919 crop)

ing production, but, on the contrary, a time for the largest possible output of useful commodities of every kind. Following this message, the Department of Justice and other branches of the Government became exceedingly active throughout the country in an endeavor to break up combinations in restraint of trade and to stop hoarding and improper enhancement of prices, especially as relates to food supplies. The wheat crop has fallen far short of the glowing prospects of May, although it still proves to be large. The Government handling of this $2,000,000,000 staple, in the face of unprecedented world demand, could not escape criticism; but probably no other man could have managed the business more ably than Mr. Julius H. Barnes. There is always complaint about grading, and the farmer seldom gets the high price fixed. Nobody knows what course wheat prices would take if the Government guaranty and control were removed.

Debating the Treaty

The President managed to make it plain in his address on economic conditions that a prompt ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate would be the most valuable of all remedies. He had earlier adopted the policy of calling in Republican Senators from day to day in order to answer questions regarding various provisions of the pending treaty. It may be said with confidence that as the great debate has proceeded, both in Congress and outside, the country is overwhelmingly in favor of the acceptance of the treaty, including the League of Nations. If the treaty should be ratified precisely as submitted by Mr. Wilson, it is not likely that there would be widespread dissatisfaction. It has been evident, however, from the beginning, that the requisite two-thirds vote in the Senate could not be obtained for the treaty without some amendments, or the adoption of some memorandum of reservations or interpretations. Mr. Taft, who has been the most active national leader in the advocacy of the acceptance of the League of Nations, announced late in July his willingness to accept six reservations.

Proposed Amendments

The first of these Taft amendments provides for possible retirement from the League upon due notice. The second (which has made a great stir in the Canadian press) opposes the representation of self-governing colonies on the council of the League where the home Government is duly represented. The third reserves for Congress freedom to act in every case under Article X, which relates to the employment of force for guaranteeing the various members of the League. The fourth specifies immigration and tariffs as domestic questions not to be submitted to the League. The fifth relates to the Monroe Doctrine as an American affair. The sixth gives due notice of withdrawal from the League in ten years, without waiving the right to withdraw sooner. Several days later Hon. Charles E. Hughes suggested four reservations to prevent "sacrificing essential interests of the United States." The four Hughes reservations are similar to those of Mr. Taft, and are in keeping with the views of Mr. Elihu Root as previously set forth. There has been a difference of opinion whether these points that a group of Republican Senators wish to adopt should take the form of amendments to the document itself or should be expressed in an accompanying reso-

lution. It was said last month to be probable that Mr. Wilson, who naturally argues for the treaty as it stands, would accept modifications as to Article X, the Monroe Doctrine, and possible withdrawal from the League, and prompt action seemed probable.

The Proposed Alliance

Mr. Wilson had originally intended to withhold the treaty providing for military alliance with France and Great Britain in support of France until after the adoption of the Peace Treaty and League. The Senate, however, desired to have the supplemental treaty in hand, and it was accordingly submitted by the President on July 29. Mr. Wilson's argument in its favor turns largely upon the traditional relations of the United States and France as having their origin in the aid given by Lafayette and the French Government to our efforts for independence. Undoubtedly it would be the sentiment of the American people that the results of the great war, in which France has borne so much, should be firmly supported. At great sacrifice the United States went to the aid of France and brought the war to an end. Americans do not propose that a peace thus obtained shall be flagrantly upset. But conditions will have to be met when they arise. Congress and the American people would insist upon determining the manner and method of military or naval intervention at the time, if this should be made necessary by future events. Special written treaties of alliance of this kind are not in accord with American policy; yet the spirit and the purpose of this treaty with France are in logical accord with the course that we have pursued since we entered the war more than two years ago. It is quite possible that an unwritten alliance would serve France more truly than the adoption of a formal treaty. This is a question open to frank discussion. America has no intention of repudiating the friendship which it has already exhibited in such unprecedented measure.



MAKING IT EASY TO GET ABOARD
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

[This humorous cartoon represents Mr. Taft as a modern Noah, providing a raft by means of which the Republican elephant may enter the ark of President Wilson's League of Nations. Close observers will see that the Democratic donkey is already on board]



TO GUARANTEE THE VICTORY
From the *World* (New York)

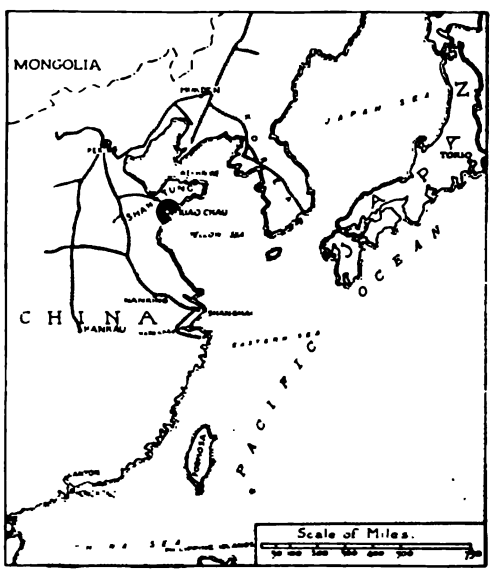
Japan and China

The question of Japan's relations to China at Kiao-Chou and in the province of Shantung has continued to be discussed in the American press and in the United States Senate with a carelessness of assertion that can hardly contribute to the strengthening of American influence in any quarter. The people of the United States are equally friendly in their sentiment toward Japan and toward China. They would be glad to see China show a political unity and dignity commensurate with the greatness and importance of the Chinese people. If China prefers internal discord, she will be at a disadvantage in the councils of the nations. Japan is a much smaller country, but resolute in purpose and farsighted in statesmanship. Japan's particular object is to obtain desperately needed supplies of coal and iron from China, in order to maintain and develop her industries. She is retaining the control of the Shantung

railway and the iron mines; and it is for the sake of these economic enterprises that she intends to "have and to hold" a terminal port at Kiao-Chou. She has no other interests, and has no political aims in the province of Shantung beyond the securing of economic advantages. If there had been less secret diplomacy, and a much greater effort to proceed in friendly accord with the Chinese rather than in hidden understandings with great European governments, Japanese statesmanship would have been more true to its standards of enlightenment. The best policy for the United States is to work in the closest possible harmony with both Japan and China, and to help find a way to harmonize the interests and policies of these two great nations. Japanese economic enterprise and leadership can be of great value to the Chinese; while, on the other hand, the good-will of the Chinese people is indispensable to the future of Japan. Mr. Wilson seems to be satisfied with Japanese assurances as now given.

Uncle Sam's Unwelcome Benevolence

It would be rather irritating, if it were not so amusing, to note the attitude of the press in various foreign countries towards long-suffering and good-tempered "Uncle Sam." America (as being fair-minded and disinterested) is besieged to help adjust a hundred problems in all parts of the world. But the moment Uncle Sam accepts such an invitation, and points out some reasonable ground of settlement, he finds himself thoroughly abused as a meddler interfering in matters with which he has no proper concern. Obviously, one expects a judge to be disinterested; but also, obviously, one expects the losing litigant to hate the judge. Whenever Uncle Sam intimates that he would be delighted to stay at home and mind his own affairs, every country in Europe is highly indignant and denounces American selfishness, looking with bitter envy upon American prosperity. No other country has ever risen to such idealistic heights as has America in the past two years. It has given some Americans a shock to find so different a spirit elsewhere. When one assumes the rôle of a benefactor, he puts himself in the wrong if he ceases to pursue the paths of self-sacrifice and generosity. Europe's gratitude to America finds its expression chiefly in the firm reliance upon favors yet to come. It has been producing something of a reaction in America to discover that other countries expect us to continue in courses of lofty altruism while they do not for their part feel obliged to follow our example. Each European nation feels that its chief duty is to advance its own interests, with the help of the United States. The more unselfish the attitude of America, the more practicable it becomes for each of these other countries to pursue its own aims. Nevertheless, Uncle Sam has chosen the missionary rôle; and he cannot withdraw from it without incurring danger as well as disgrace. Europe's difficulties are so acute, compared with ours, that "to understand is to excuse."



British Situations

Great Britain continues to struggle with economic conditions, and the area of labor disputes has been greatly widened by so grave a menace as the new striking habit on the part of public employees. Considerable bodies of policemen in London and in Liverpool a few weeks ago actually challenged the Government by going on strike. Their movement was ill-advised, because military force was available for keeping order; and the strikers were peremptorily shut out with no hope of reinstatement. The coal miners of Yorkshire were still on a determined strike as these comments were written, and the miners continue to demand the nationalization of the coal industry. The collapse of the policemen's strike was due in part to the decision of the National Union of Railwaymen, of which Mr. J. H. Thomas is the head, not to call a general strike to support the "bobbies." Liverpool, besides having a majority of the policemen on strike, had

been greatly suffering from a protracted street railroad tie-up. Although the present Lloyd George government has so large a majority in the House of Commons as a result of the general election of last December, it is not unlikely that the conditions of the country may bring about another general election in the near future. It has been predicted that the Labor Party would come into power; but while labor is making great advances in the securing of its demands, there is likely to be some reaction in England against an attitude savoring too much of Bolshevism.

Prince of Wales in America

On August 5 the Prince of Wales, heir to the British throne, sailed from Portsmouth for Canada on the cruiser *Renown*. In the earlier part of the war period it was freely said in England that crowns were at a discount and that the institution of royalty would disappear everywhere with the new era to follow the great conflict. It is true that the militant autocrats of three great European Empires, and various lesser royalties, have witnessed the tragic end of their dynasties; but the British throne appears to be stronger now than it was five years ago. King George is a democratic sovereign whose throne is not menaced by any party or element. The Prince of Wales bore his part as a soldier manfully, and is liked and esteemed wherever the British flag floats. His welcome in British North America was as loyal and hearty as could have been wished, and a most friendly greeting was awaiting him when he should cross the line and visit



VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, FORMERLY SIR EDWARD GREY
(Who will come to the United States as temporary ambassador)



A GROUP OF STRIKING ENGLISH COAL MINERS
(Next to the Irish Sinn Feiners, these coal workers have occasioned the most disturbance in the British Islands since the ending of the war)



PRINCE EDWARD OF WALES, GRANDFATHER OF THE PRESENT VISITING PRINCE, AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY BRADY IN NEW YORK WITH THE MEMBERS OF HIS SUITE, ON OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO AMERICA IN 1860

(From an original photograph copyrighted by the Review of Reviews Company)

the United States. Major George Haven Putnam, whose frequent sojourns in England keep him exceptionally well informed, and who is the active head of the American half of the society known as the "English-Speaking Union," has written for this number of the REVIEW a timely article on the status of the British royal family and incidentally upon Anglo-American relations. The late King Edward, grandfather of the present visitor, was the guest of the United States when he was himself a boyish Prince of Wales in 1860. The event was notable, and its subsequent influence is not to be minimized. It was only a short time afterwards that the Queen and her Consort helped Abraham Lincoln to find a way to tide over a crisis and keep the peace.

A New Canadian Leader

The political pot was boiling in Canada during the Prince's visit. The Liberal Party had been holding a great convention which called together many hundreds—perhaps thousands—of delegates from every part of the Dominion. The object of the several days' meeting was to choose a permanent leader to succeed the venerable Sir Wilfrid Laurier. They had also to consider the chief planks of a party platform and to put themselves in fighting order for a general election which is likely to come in the not distant future. Several very prominent men, including such a distinguished veteran as Mr. Fielding, were nominated for the leadership; but the choice fell upon a young man well known in the United States, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. About twenty years ago Mackenzie King, having graduated at Toronto, held post-graduate fellowships, first at Chicago and then at Harvard. Returning to Canada, he spent some fourteen years in official positions relating to labor, immigration, industrial problems and social welfare. In 1914 he came to New York at the instance of the Rockefeller Foundation to study the problems of labor and industrial society, and he carried on his valuable inquiries until the beginning of last year, when war work absorbed the energies and resources of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. King is in his forty-fifth year and is one of the most competent authorities in the world upon the problems that are uppermost in this reconstruction period.

An Advanced Platform

The Canadian Liberals, under Mr. King's leadership, will seek to establish close economic relations through reciprocity with the United States, while also favoring low tariffs as against Great Britain. The Ottawa convention

endorsed various social reform policies such as old age pensions, and it declared in favor of giving to Labor some representation in the management of the Dominion Government's railways. Some of the proposals on behalf of the western Canadian farmers are for state elevators and other institutions like those that North Dakota has undertaken. Mackenzie King understands the United States exceptionally well, and realizes that the political, social and economic destinies of the Canadian people are North-American rather than European.

Red Cross Aspirations

The helping hand of the United States has been extended of late to Siberia in one direction and to the Caucasus and Armenia in the other. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW a remarkable statement of the purposes of the Red Cross societies under American leadership in the form of an interview with Mr. Davison. Those who have feared that the military menace to civilization was to be followed by the menace of fanatical and violent anarchy will find some hope in Mr. Davison's outline of the noble program of the Red Cross. We have faith to believe that the two kinds of evil menace may be abated, and that enlightened programs of reconstruction, inspired by good will and guided by the best scientific knowledge may go far to alleviate the world's distress.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING
(Who succeeds Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Canadian Liberal Party)



THE PRINCE OF WALES
(Talking to his tenants in the Duchy of Cornwall on occasion of a recent visit)

Mexico —What Next?

Meanwhile, one of the most chaotic and distressful regions of the entire world is to be found in our immediate proximity. Mexico needs our help and does not know how to obtain it, while we on our part seem unable to find a constructive plan upon which to demonstrate our desire to be a friendly and helpful neighbor. It is useless to find fault with the Mexican people as a whole. The mischief makers who dominate Mexican politics through virtual brigandage are a fraction of one per cent. of the population. The masses are too ignorant for self-government. Various office-holders and editors were undoubtedly bribed for small sums by German agents during the war. The best men of Mexico have had no chance as against the revolutionary leaders. At Washington we have tried the plan of encouraging first one



ONLY TWENTY-THREE LITTLE DISTURBANCES NOW PEACE: "Well, the lid is on the main crater tight enough to celebrate"
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

military revolutionist and then another. Nothing but misery comes to Mexico from every one of these "men on horseback." It is time, perhaps, that we tried backing another element representing Mexican education, professional life, and solid business character. We are in danger of drifting to a military intervention which is far from the wishes of the real American public and would be most unfortunate. Surely there must be a better way to help the poor Mexicans than to invade their country and make war. We are publishing a very lucid article in the present number by Miss Agnes Laut, after much investigation, recounting the critical conditions in Mexico. Next month we hope to present the outlines of a constructive policy that might prove remedial. Perhaps the most important immediate task before the Government and people of the United States, as regards external affairs, is to find a way to help the Mexican people to cement bonds of permanent friendship between the two countries.

In Eastern Europe

The situation in Continental Europe has continued to be difficult; and it is not, for the time being, under control by the wise heads of the Peace Conference. Mr. Simonds contributes to this number of the REVIEW a cogent analysis of the political complications in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the Balkan countries and Turkey. He shows that as yet the principal Allies, through the agency of the Peace Conference, have not been able to exercise firm mastery. It does not follow of necessity that the proposed League of Nations would be futile and helpless; but we are compelled to see that the world has not yet settled down to a peace basis, and that anxious times are ahead. The United States must soon decide whether or not it will assume oversight in whole or in part of the peoples of Turkey. Undoubtedly this country will refuse to accept "mandatories" arranged merely to suit the convenience of the European powers that are seeking slices of the old Turkish Empire. It would be quite possible to assume oversight of the affairs of all the peoples of an undivided Turkey, with sole reference to the welfare of those peoples, whether Turkish, Armenian, Greek or Arabian; but America should not for a moment consider any relationship to Turkish affairs in connection with a scheme for the partitioning of Turkey.

Reconstruction a Hard Task

The Peace Conference at Paris is far from the end of its labors, although the German settlement diverted attention, and the dragging on of the Austrian treaty did not focus the world's interest. This treaty was to have been signed on August 6, but the Austrian delegates begged for certain modifications and further delays ensued. Austria has asked for a lightening of the financial burdens imposed in the treaty, and for a definite distribution of the required indemnities among the former units of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Recent Hungarian experiences are duly recounted in Mr. Simonds' brilliant article. Outside of Russia, the Bolshevist menace seems to have met its deserved fate. But in Russia Admiral Kolchak has been driven far back; and for the present, Lenine, Trotzky and the "Reds" seem to be gaining rather than losing. "Reconstruction" has begun, but it is proving itself a painful process. Germany and France are each trying hard to revive business activities, and unhappy Germans by the hundreds of thousands are preparing to migrate from Europe to Latin America and elsewhere.



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THE NEW GERMAN CABINET IN SESSION

(This photograph was taken at a recent sitting of the German cabinet in the Weimar Castle. From left to right, the members are: Noske, Minister of Defense; Bell, Minister of Railways; Schlicke, Minister of Labor; Dr. Bauer, Chancellor [standing]; Dr. Albert, Under State Secretary; Mathias Erzberger, Minister of Finance; Mueller, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wissell, Minister of Economics, and Giesberts, Postal Minister)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 15 to August 15, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 15.—The Senate adopts a resolution calling upon the President for a copy of a treaty alleged to have been entered into between Germany and Japan before the close of the war.

The House repasses the Sundry Civil appropriation bill (vetoed by the President), increasing the provision for disabled soldiers from $6,000,000 to $14,000,000.

July 17.—The Senate adopts a resolution calling upon the President for a copy of a letter expressing the protest of three members of the American peace delegation against the Shantung provisions of the peace treaty.

July 18.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill.

The House repasses the Agricultural appropriation bill, after eliminating the provision repealing the Daylight Saving law—which had caused the President to veto the original measure.

July 22.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by a party vote, declines to approve the President's request that an American member of the Reparations Commission be appointed prior to ratification of the peace treaty.

The House passes a drastic prohibition enforcement bill, by vote of 287 to 100; the Rules Committee begins an inquiry into the Mexican situation, with Ambassador Fletcher as the first witness; he submits a list of 217 Americans officially known to have been killed in Mexico since 1911.

July 23.—The Senate passes the Agricultural appropriation bill.

In the House, the Speaker receives the draft of a bill from the Secretary of the Navy which would permit the Navy to continue in peace time to handle commercial wireless messages.

July 24.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass) introduces a resolution calling upon the President to transmit to the Senate the proposed treaty with France, one of the provisions of which is that it should be submitted simultaneously with the peace treaty.

July 25.—In the Senate, Mr. Pittman (Dem., Nev.), a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, urges ratification of the peace treaty without reservations; if not, he maintains, other nations would be encouraged to make reservations, and reservations in any event would have no standing.

July 28.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee completes reading of the peace treaty.

The House votes to repeal the 10 per cent. tax on soda water and ice cream, and to reduce the tax on fruit juices; a resolution is passed providing for adjournment from August 2 to September 9.

July 29.—In the Senate, the amended treaty with Colombia (for the settlement of differences growing out of the Panama revolution) is unanimously reported by the Foreign Relations Committee; the "regret" of the United States, in the original draft of 1914, is omitted.

The House passes a resolution directing the Secretary of War to sell surplus army food to the public without delay.

July 31.—In the Senate, Mr. Owen (Dem.,

Okla.) and Mr. Ransdell (Dem., La.) urge ratification of the peace treaty; the Foreign Relations Committee begins public hearings on the treaty.

In both branches, identical bills are introduced proposing six months universal training for all young men between the ages of 18 and 20; in the House the bill is introduced by Mr. Kahn (Rep., Cal.) chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, and in the Senate by Mr. Chamberlain (Dem., Ore.).

August 1.—The Senate receives from the President a brief protocol of the peace treaty with Germany, indicating precisely how certain provisions are to be carried out.

In the House, the Speaker and the Republican floor leader receive letters from the President asking that recess be postponed because of the railway-wage and cost-of-living crises.

August 4.—The Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs receive from the Secretary of War a bill providing for three-months military training for all youths in their nineteenth year.

August 6.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee questions Mr. Lansing—Secretary of State and one of the American delegates at the Peace Conference—regarding controverted points in the treaty.

The House Committee on Interstate Commerce questions Warren S. Stone, chief leader of the railroad employes, and Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, regarding the Plumb plan for nationalization embodied in a bill introduced by Mr. Sims (Dem., Tenn.).

August 7.—In the Senate debate upon the league of nations, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) proposes that the Senate require acceptance by at least four other nations of such reservations as may be adopted.

August 7-9.—The House Committee on Interstate Commerce hears Mr. Glenn E. Plumb explain his plan for the nationalization of the railroads (see page 278).

August 8.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by the President on the necessity for reducing the cost of living; he recommends extension of Government food control, regulation of cold storage, the sale of surplus supplies, the marking of goods with the price paid to producer, and an additional appropriation for Government agencies to inform the public of fair prices.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee refers the Colombia treaty to a sub-committee with instructions to draft a reservation protecting American oil interests.

August 11.—The Senate Judiciary Committee begins consideration of the prohibition enforcement bill, modifying some of the most drastic provisions in the House measure.

The Senate receives from the President a reply to requests for certain data relating to the Peace Conference; he reports that he knows of no negotiation between Germany and Japan during the war, and that he has no information of an attempt by Japanese peace commissioners to intimidate Chinese delegates; he declines to transmit the memorandum of three American peace commissioners protesting against the Shantung provision, because it contains confidential references to other governments.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations questions Secretary Lansing regarding peace treaty matters; he testifies that his first knowledge of Japan's actual secret agreement with the Allies regarding disposition of German colonies in the Pacific came nearly two years after the United States entered the war.

August 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, delivers an extended address in criticism of the proposed League of Nations, which he terms a "deformed experiment."

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 16.—The Secretary of War approves plans for the reorganization of the National Guard; under existing appropriations an aggregate strength of 106,000 is possible, with emergency expansion to 440,000.

July 17.—The Alabama Senate rejects the woman-suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution.

July 22.—The Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, arrives in the United States after an absence of nearly eight months as a member of the American peace delegation.

July 23.—The Navy Department's war censorship of cable messages is abolished.

July 24.—One of the House sub-committees investigating War Department expenditures makes a report charging that, "to protect the canners," the Department has failed to dispose of surplus food valued at $ 00.

A [illegible] judge in Connecticut ho[illegible] at so-called 2.75.



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SELLING THE FIRST LOT OF SURPLUS ARMY FOOD, AT NEWARK, N. J.

(Through the enterprise of their Mayor, Charles P. Gillen, the people of Newark, N. J., were able to purchase food direct from the Government several weeks before consumers in other communities. The photograph shows Mayor Gillen, at the right, selling bacon in a police station)

per cent. beer is of the class known as intoxicating liquors, and as such its sale is prohibited.

The proposed woman-suffrage amendment is rejected by both branches of the Georgia legislature.

The Shipping Board announces plans for the construction of two passenger liners, to be the largest steamers afloat and to make the trans-atlantic voyage within four days.

July 25.—Foreign commerce of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30 is officially reported as $7,225,000,000 of exports (three times the amount for 1914) and $3,096,000,000 of imports.

July 27.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Glass, estimates that revenues during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, will total $6,500,000,000 (including $1,000,000,000 due on Victory Loan subscriptions); he believes that the Government's expenditures will not be greater than these revenues.

July 28.—Charles E. Hughes, former Justice of the Supreme Court, suggests several reservations to be incorporated in the instrument of ratification of the peace treaty, to make the treaty wholly acceptable to American public opinion.

The Arkansas Legislature ratifies the Federal woman-suffrage amendment—the twelfth State to approve it.

July 30.—The Montana Senate ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment, following similar action in the House on the previous day.

July 31.—The telephone and telegraph systems of the country are returned to their owners, after a year of operation by the Postmaster General.

The Shipping Board announces conclusion of negotiations for the sale of 100 small steel steamers, presumably for foreign ownership; the deal involves $80,000,000.

August 1.—The President approves and transmits to the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce a recommendation for the creation of a body to investigate railway wage questions and make mandatory decisions.

F. W. Taussig resigns as chairman of the United States Tariff Commission.

August 2.—The Nebraska Legislature completes ratification of the woman-suffrage amendment.

In the Kentucky Democratic primary, Gov. James D. Black is renominated, defeating Judge John D. Carroll; Edwin J. P. Morrow, is unopposed in the Republican primary.

The voters of the Eighth District in Kentucky return a Republican to Congress for the first time in twenty-two years, Capt. King Swope defeating Judge Charles A. Hardin (Dem.).

August 3.—The Internal Revenue Bureau reports that 3,472,890 persons made income tax returns for 1917, the tax paid amounting to $675,250,000.

August 6.—The Attorney General announces that the evidence obtained by investigations into the combination of packers indicates clear violation of the anti-trust laws and that prompt action will be taken.

August 9.—The War Department states that 3,165,642 officers and men have been demobilized since the armistice, leaving 550,000 in the army.

August 10.—Attorney General Palmer, leading the Government's fight to check food profiteering, requests the active coöperation of State agencies in a "fair price" campaign.

August 12.—The War Labor Board ends its existence, owing to lack of funds; in fifteen months the Board adjusted more than 1200 labor disputes.

August 13.—The Attorney General orders the prosecution of nineteen cement manufacturers in Eastern States, alleging conspiracy to fix abnormal prices.

August 14.—President Wilson accepts a request from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for an open conference at the White House to discuss the peace treaty.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 15.—Winston Churchill, British Secretary for War, delivers an address on parties and policies which is widely understood to mean that a new coalition group is planned.

July 18.—A bill passed by the French Chamber of Deputies, extending the suffrage to women, is reported unfavorably by the electoral committee of the Senate.

July 20.—A new ministry is formed in Spain (succeeding that of Antonio Maura), with Joaquin Sanchez Toca as Premier.

July 21.—The British House of Commons ratifies the peace treaty, passing the second and third readings of the ratification bill.

July 22.—In the French Chamber, Premier Clemenceau receives a vote of confidence, 289 to 176, after the Socialists had boasted of power to overthrow the ministry.

July 23.—The German Minister of Finance makes public his program for raising 25,000,000,000 marks (approximately $6,000,000,000), more than two-thirds of which will come from new sources.

July 24.—The British House of Commons is informed that recent disturbances in Egypt resulted in the killing of 800 natives and wounding of 1200; casualties to Europeans and the military were 60 killed and 150 wounded.

July 25.—A coal crisis in Great Britain is ended by heroic labors at compromise by Premier Lloyd George and the leaders of the Miners'. Federation; a piecework scheme is offered by the Government and accepted.

The Diet of Finland elects Prof. Kaarlo Juho Stahlberg as President of the Republic.

July 29.—An attempted revolution in Honduras under Vice-President Membreno and Gen. Gutierrez is checked by energetic measures on the part of President Bertrand.

August 1.—Bela Kun, for five months dictator in Hungary, is compelled by the Soviet cabinet and Allied pressure to end his authority.

It is reported from Paris that the All-Russian Government of Admiral Kolchak, at Omsk, is fast losing ground.

The Peace Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies recommends ratification of the Versailles treaty.

August 6.—The Hungarian Government of Jules Peidll is overthrown by gendarmes, and Archduke Joseph assumes power.



© Western New-paper Union

BOSTON WORKERS WALKING TO BUSINESS DURING A STREET-CAR STRIKE

August 7.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer warns that if the country continues spending at the present rate it will lead to national bankruptcy.

August 8.—The British House of Commons adopts a bill providing for a seven-hour day in the mines, in accordance with the report of the Sankey Coal Commission.

August 11.—The Prince of Wales lands from a battleship at a fishing village near St. Johns, Newfoundland, beginning an extended tour of Canada and the United States.

August 12.—Archduke Joseph, head of the new Hungarian Government, affirms his fidelity to the Republic and declares that there will be no return to a monarchical form of government.

August 13.—The British House of Commons adopts a measure empowering the Government to fix wholesale and retail prices.

August 14.—M. Lovasky forms a Cabinet in Hungary, his colleagues including former Premier Peidll.



A SCENE DURING THE BROOKLYN CAR STRIKE

(The old Post Office at the left, and the new Municipal Building in the background)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 18.—The Allied Council at Paris places the British General Allenby in charge of all British, French, Greek, and Italian troops of occupation in Asia Minor.

July 20.—The complete text of a peace treaty, offered by the Allied and associated powers, is handed to the Austrian delegates at St. Germain, near Paris.

The State Department at Washington announces that the Mexican Government has agreed to exhaust every means to prosecute and punish those responsible for the murder of John W. Correll, an American citizen, near Tampico.

July 22.—The United States informs Mexico that if murders should continue, the United States would be compelled to adopt a radical change in policy.

July 23.—The Mexican Government, in explaining the assault and robbery recently committed against a boatload of American sailors, maintains that the sailors ventured "imprudently" and with "lack of precaution" beyond safety limits.

It is reported from the American relief headquarters in Tiflis that Turks and Tartars are advancing and that if military protection is not afforded the Armenian nation will be crushed.

July 24.—The King of England accepts the American Government's invitation to the Prince of Wales to visit the United States on the occasion of his forthcoming tour of Canada.

July 26.—The Allied Governments inform the Hungarian people that if food and supplies are to be made available,



CHICAGO CITIZENS TRAVELING HOMEWARD DURING THE TRANSIT STRIKE

and if peace is to be settled, the Hungarians must remove the terrorist government of Bela Kun.

August 4.—The Japanese Government issues a statement explaining its policy in regard to the Chinese province of Shantung; denial is made that Japan claims any territorial rights and withdrawal is promised when an agreement is concluded with Japan.

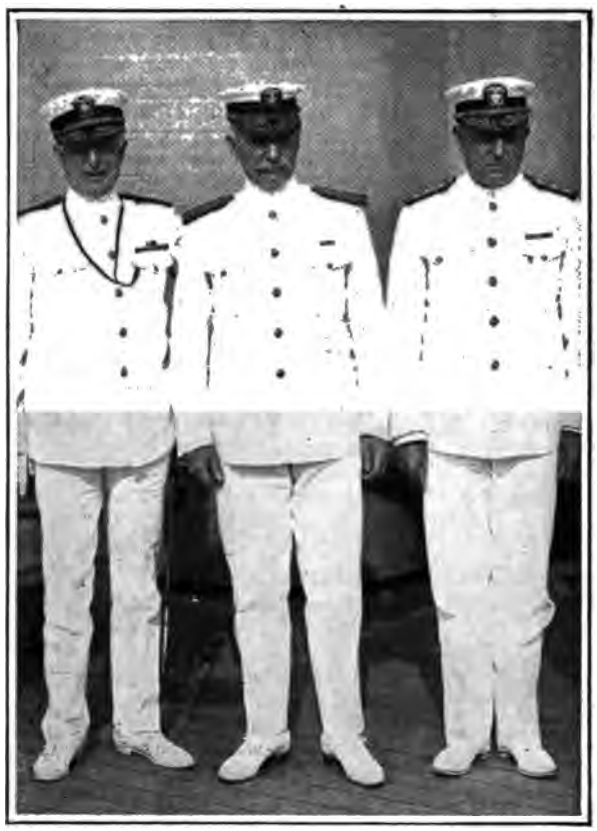
Budapest, the Hungarian capital, is occupied by Rumanian troops (in spite of Allied protests), in retaliation for Hungarian occupation of Bucharest in 1916.

August 6.—President Wilson issues a statement on the Shantung question, to supplement and clarify the Japanese declaration; he affirms that Japan's statement of policy before the Peace Conference contained no reference to the necessity for China's execution of the agreement of 1915.

Austria's "observations" on the peace terms offered are handed to the Allied mission at St. Germain.

August 7.—King Ferdinand, of Rumania, arrives in Budapest, and the Rumanian Government and military leaders continue to ignore the demands of the Peace Conference that they withdraw.

August 13.—It is announced at London that Viscount Grey, former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will serve temporarily as British Ambassador to the United States to deal particularly with questions arising out of the peace settlement.



THE NEW COMMANDERS OF THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC FLEETS, WITH THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

(At the right is Admiral Henry B. Wilson, now in command of the Atlantic Fleet. In the center is Admiral William S. Benson, Chief of the Bureau of Naval Operations. At the right is Admiral Hugh Rodman, commanding the recently enlarged Pacific Fleet)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 16.—Several hundred ocean-going and coastwise vessels are forced to remain in New York harbor by a strike of firemen, who demand three shifts and a $15 monthly increase of wages.

July 17.—Local transportation services in Boston are paralyzed by a strike of employees, who demand new wage increases.

July 19.—Street railway operators in Rhode Island go on strike, demanding 55 cents per hour.

London celebrates the end of the war with a great Victory Parade, participated in by French troops under Marshal Foch and American troops under General Pershing.

July 20.—The traction strike in Boston is ended by an arbitrator's award of an eight-hour day, with a wage scale from 53 to 62 cents an hour.

July 20-22.—Race rioting occurs in Washington, as a climax to many weeks of minor clashes between blacks and whites, five persons being killed; order is finally restored by troops from nearby posts.

July 21.—A dirigible airship sailing over Chicago explodes; the engine and gasoline tanks crash through the roof of an office building and cause the death of thirteen persons.

July 26.—The newly created Pacific fleet of the United States Navy passes through the Panama Canal, the largest vessels and the largest fleet ever to use the waterway.

July 27.—The Y. M. C. A. reports on receipts and expenditures for war work; $125,282,859 was received, of which $27,465,854 remains on hand; $30,000,000 was spent in home camps, $43,000,000 with the expeditionary forces, and $14,000,000 for work with the Allied armies and among prisoners.

July 27.—Four days of race rioting in Chicago's South Side "Black Belt" result in the killing of 31 persons and injury to more than 500; order is finally restored by the militia.

July 30.—In a triplane at Roosevelt Field, N. Y., Roland Rholfs creates a new altitude record of 30,700 feet (nearly six miles); he finds a temperature of 25 degrees below zero and a gale of 100 miles an hour.

August 1.—Railway shopmen throughout the country strike for higher wages, an increase from 68 to 85 cents an hour.

August 2.—The heads of the four brotherhoods of railroad employes issue a statement proposing Government ownership of the roads, the employees to receive "a share in the saving from economies"; the statement declares that "the railroad employees are in no mood to brook the return of the lines to their former control."

The International Labor Congress at Amsterdam comes to an end.

A Caproni airplane flying from Venice to Milan with 14 passengers falls from a height of 3,000 feet, all on board being killed.

August 6.—Representatives of fourteen railroad unions make a united demand upon the Director-General of Railroads for wage increases, to be met by Government appropriation; they express disapproval of the plan for a wage commission and ask immediate adoption of their proposal for Government ownership.

Local transit in Brooklyn, the most populous Borough of Greater New York, is crippled by a strike of motormen and conductors, who demand principally recognition of the national union.

August 8.—The Government's crop report shows a falling off during July as a result of unfavorable weather, indicated wheat production diminishing 221,000,000 bushels and corn 27,000,000.

A strike of actors in New York City closes twelve of the principal theaters.

August 9.—The rapid transit strike in Brooklyn, N. Y., is brought to an end pending arbitration.

OBITUARY

July 16.—Emil Fischer, professor of chemistry in the University of Berlin and Nobel Prize winner in 1902, 67.

July 22.—Charles E. Hendrickson, former Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, 76.

July 23.—Sir Edward Hopkinson Holden, the London banker and one of the world's financial authorities, 71. . . . J. Willard Ragsdale, Representative in Congress from South Carolina, 46. . . . George H. Primrose, the famous minstrel, 66. . . . Alfred Levy, Grand Rabbi of France, 78. . . . Count Taisukei Itogaki, founder of the Japanese Liberal Party, 82.

July 24.—La Verne W. Noyes, the Chicago manufacturer and philanthropist, 70.

July 25.—Patrick Cudahy, head of an important meat-packing firm, 70. . . . Nathaniel Gould, the English author of nearly one hundred novels, 61.

July 26.—Frederick Sargent, a distinguished mining and electrical engineer, 60. . . . Sir Edward John Poynter, the English painter, president of the Royal Academy, 83. . . . Henry A. Strong, of Rochester, N. Y., prominent in the camera and film industry, 81.

July 28.—Major Gen. Marshall I. Ludington, U. S. A., retired, veteran of the Civil, Indian, and Spanish wars, 80.

July 29.—George W. Storey, the English authority on perspective in painting, 76.

July 31.—Thomas Henry Poole, of New York, designer of many ecclesiastical buildings, 59.

August 1.—Oscar Hammerstein, the theatrical and operatic manager, 72.

August 4.—Rev. Mytton Maury, D.D., a prominent Episcopal clergyman of New York, and editor of a geographical series, 80.

August 6.—Dr. Edwin Munsell Bliss, editor and author of books on missions, 70.

August 7.—Will N. Harben, author of novels based on life in the South, 61.

August 9.—Ernst Heinrich Haeckel, professor of zoölogy in the University of Jena for nearly half a century and famous exponent of the doctrine of evolution, 85. . . . Ruggiero Leoncavallo, the Italian operatic composer, 63. . . . Benjamin Bussey Huntoon, of Kentucky, a leader in the education of the blind, 83. . . . Ralph Albert Blakelock, the artist, 72.

August 10.—Rear Adm. William George Buehler, U. S. N., retired, 82.

August 11.—Andrew Carnegie, the multi-millionaire iron and steel manufacturer and philanthropist, 82.

August 12.—Warren L. Green, president of the American Bank Note Company, 53.





FITTING THE SOLDIER FOR ADVANCEMENT IN CIVIL LIFE

(At various post schools, and particularly at the American E. F. University in Beaune, France, the Army has afforded opportunity for the soldier to complete his education or to learn a trade. The illustration at the left shows a carpentry class in France; the other is a typical school room where individual instruction is given)

CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS



WONDER WHO HE IS?
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE CONSUMER ON THE RACK
From the *World* (New York)



THEY ARE BEING WELL FED
From the *Star* (St. Louis)

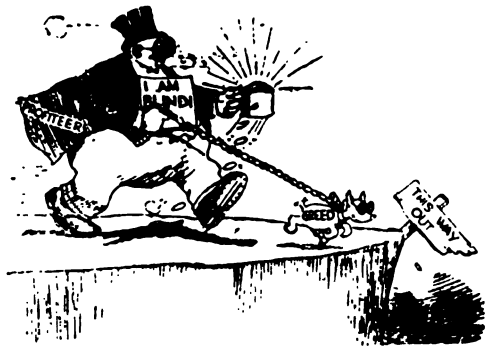


A MORE IMMEDIATE SITUATION
From the *Free Press* (Detroit, Mich.)

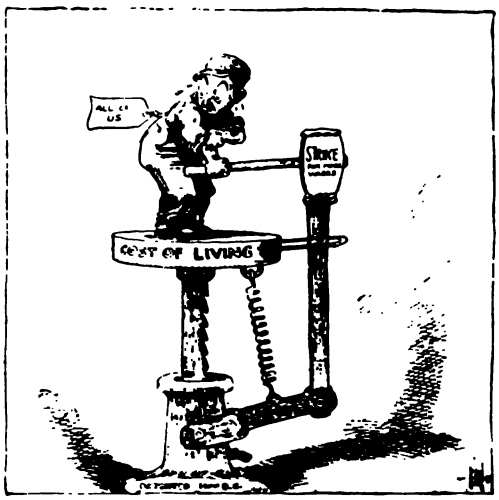


VICTOR AND VICTIM

MR. SMILLIE: "It's a great triumph we won for the miners. A lot more pay and a lot less work."
WORKING WOMAN: "Yes, and coal up six shillings. What may be fun for you means death for me."
From *Punch* (London)



ON HIS WAY
From the *News* (Chicago)



A STORY WITHOUT WORDS
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



"KAISER BILL DIDN'T HAVE THE RIGHT SYSTEM"
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

The Big Four may propose, but the People shall dispose.

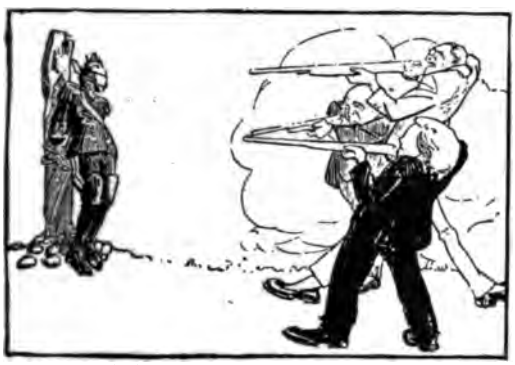
From *L'Asino* (Rome)



BACK TO THE LIMELIGHT

THE OLD ACTOR: "I'm afraid I'm past playing the hero; but it's something to know that I shall have a star part as the villain."

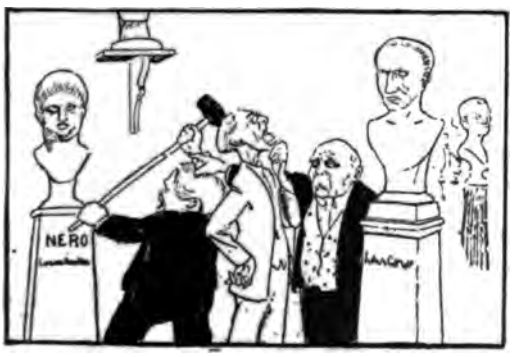
From *Punch* (London)



1. The Kaiser will naturally be condemned and shot. But is he really guilty?



2. They will soon say that the fault lies deeper, and so Bismarck will have to be dug up.



3. When Bismarck's remains have been strewn to the winds it will probably be found that the real guilt lies with Caesar or Nero.



4. But while the hunt is being pursued in these directions the real culprits will be having a fine time in Paris, London, New York, Rome, Berlin, and Vienna.

WHERE IS THE GUILTY PARTY?—From *Hvepsen* (Christiania, Norway)



THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES
The good fairies (Brotherhood, Harmony and Idealism) surround the cradle, while outside the door the black witch (Revenge) awaits her opportunity
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

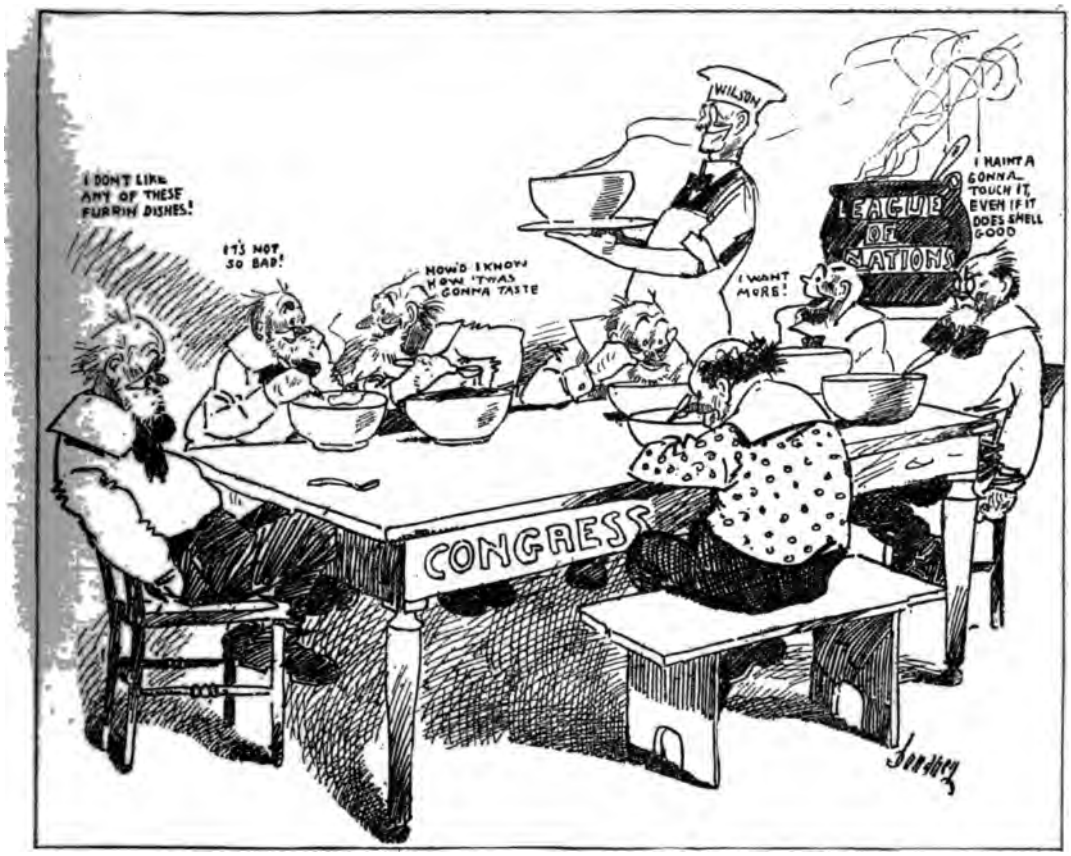


PEACE THE SOWER
From *Punch* (London)

IT is all very well for the European cartoonists to represent Europe's cordial greeting to the long-heralded Peace, but their brethren in America have a different story to tell with their pencils. On the opposite page the attitude of the Senate towards the



QUO VADIS?
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



GETTING A TASTE OF IT
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

League of Nations comes in for caustic cartoon comment. Various viewpoints are presented on page 258, following.



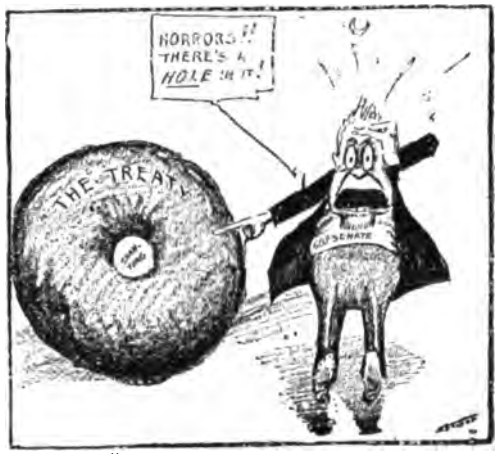
SAFETY FIRST
From the *Leader* (Great Falls, Mont.)
Sept.—3



SAM: "GET IT TOGETHER AGAIN AND GET OUT OF THE WAY!"
From the *Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio)



COOLING OFF
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco, Cal.)



WHY NOT "LOOK AT THE DOUGHNUT, NOT AT THE HOLE?"
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)



THE MISSIONARY
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



CALLING IN ANOTHER SPECIALIST
From the *World* (New York)



THE FRANCO-BRITISH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE
CLEMENCEAU: "Peace is concluded. Now let us forge the sword for the next European war."
From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



A LEAKY UMBRELLA IS BETTER THAN NONE
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



A SIGN OF THE TIMES
From the *Times* (New York)



SHE WON'T GIVE MUCH MILK IF SHE ISN'T TURNED OUT TO PASTURE
From *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon)



TAKES A BIG NET TO LAND A BIG FISH
From *The American* (New York)



THAT ACHING TOOTH AGAIN
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)

On this page we leave for a time the League of Nations discussion to revert to a few very practical problems that also bear a more or less direct relation to the Versailles treaty—Mexico, Germany's foreign trade, and our own merchant marine. London *Punch* has its laugh at Uncle Sam's new cocktail.



THE NEW COCKTAIL
UNCLE SAM: "That's the stuff to give 'em!"
From *Punch* (London)



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA IN TROUBLE
"Come on, they won't let us into the 'Great Nations' hotel. Let's try to get into the 'Small Nations' lodging house"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

Among the neutral countries of Europe throughout the war none produced a greater number of striking and significant cartoons than little Holland. Many of these were of the highest artistic excellence. In the one at the top of this page, reproduced from *De Amsterdammer,* there is almost an audible chuckle over the plight in which the great overlords and bullies of former times now find themselves.



A FEW POINTS ON ARTICLE X!
From the *Herald* (New York)



BEAUTY AND THE BEAST
From the *World* (London)



CIVILIZATION
From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

In the London *World's* new version of "Beauty and the Beast," on the opposite page, Peace is almost lost to view in the jungle where World Unrest is lurking.



"GIVE ME THOSE RAILROADS!"
From the *World* (New York)



THE DAILY NIGHTMARE
From *The Passing Show* (London)



THE PACKERS MAY BE OUR SERVANTS, BUT—!—!—!
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)

HUNGARY, THE BALKANS, AND THE LEAGUE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION

IN the month which has just passed developments in Hungary have served to raise in a precise form all the more vital questions, not alone affecting the League of Nations, but the general peace settlement of Europe. In my last article I pointed out the various problems in Central and Eastern Europe which were becoming a grave menace to the permanence of peace. In the present article I intend to discuss the Hungarian episode in its many aspects, and make a more cursory examination of the situation south of the Danube in Europe, and in Western Asia.

To begin at the beginning—what is the Hungarian question?

At the moment of the outbreak of the World War, the fifth anniversary of which passed last month, Hungary was a partner with Austria in that Dual Monarchy which had been reorganized in the last century on the simple if brutal principle that ten millions of German-Austrians and ten millions of Magyars, having divided the great Hapsburg Empire in half, the Germans taking the north and the Hungarians the south, were free to oppress the various subject races. The rise of the Slav numbers had compelled the Austrians to make certain concessions to the Poles in Galicia, who in their turn exercised a right of constraint over several millions of Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia.

The Balkan Wars, which had ended by the erection of a strong Serbia and the stimulation of a new Rumanian patriotic desire for national integration, carried an immediate and deadly threat to Hungary. The Hungarian minority had, from time immemorial, oppressed millions of Rumanians and of Southern Slavs lying along the boundaries of Serbia and Rumania, while Austria and Hungary held together other millions of Southern Slavs in the old Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The occasion of the World War, so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, was a consciousness of the growing separatist spirit of the Southern Slavs, who now definitely sought the liberation of all Austrian and Hungarian territory between the Drave and the Adriatic, which would deprive Hungary as well as Austria of any access to the sea. Hungary was even more immediately threatened than Austria by the Slav renaissance, while to this menace there was added for Hungary the danger growing from the threatening attitude of Rumania.

During the progress of the World War the Slav troops from the Adriatic provinces, like the Czechs to the north, practically refused to fight against the Russians and the Serbs. Only against the Italians did they really display those fighting qualities which had long been characteristic of their race. This was because they and the Italians were rivals for Austrian and Hungarian territory on the Adriatic. When Rumania entered the war on the Allied side Hungary was for several weeks in deadly peril. Rumanian armies flowed into Transylvania and Germany was compelled to send Falkenhayn and many German divisions to the south and these sufficed to crush Rumania as German troops had already conquered Serbia in the previous year.

A year ago, when German hopes began to fail, the Hapsburg Monarchy crumbled to swift ruin. Allied armies not only reached Sofia in Bulgaria but passed the Danube and approached Budapest. The Slav provinces resolved to join the Serbs in that state which now rejoices in the name of the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenians, while the Rumanians, taking up arms again, invaded Hungary, occupied Transylvania and pressed on into the Hungarian plain.

This was the situation which the Paris Peace Conference had to confront. The Serbs on the southwest laid claim to all the Hungarian territory south of the Drave and

to a portion of the Banat. The Rumanians laid claim to all of the Banat, all of Transylvania, and a very considerable area to the north of the Banat and west of Transylvania inhabited in the main by Rumanian-speaking people.

The first step towards restoring order, when the Paris Conference assembled, was necessarily to fix an Armistice line. So far as the Serbs were concerned, the Drave River was satisfactory, but in the case of the Rumanians there was no natural barrier on which to pass a line. Nevertheless, a line was fixed which fell far short of satisfying Rumanian ambitions, while it was fatal to Hungarian hopes.

II. HUNGARY GOES BOLSHEVIST

When this decision of the Paris Conference was served upon the Karolyi government that government faced this dilemma: To agree to the Armistice line was to consent immediately to the occupation of between 50 and 60 per cent. of the old Hungarian state by South Slav, Rumanian, and Czechoslovak armies, with the inevitable implication that this occupation would at no distant date transform itself into annexation, and Hungary would find itself reduced from a state with an area greater than Italy and a population of twenty-two millions, to a state with some six or seven millions of people and an area less than half of its former extent. It would have neither sea-coast nor natural frontiers. It would, in fact, be smaller than either Rumania or the new Jugo-Slavia. To refuse meant to invite an invasion.

With startling rapidity the Karolyi government avoided both horns of this dilemma by turning over control of Hungary to the relatively insignificant revolutionary movement headed by Bela Kun. In a word, Hungary "went Bolshevist," not because Bolshevism had yet effected a considerable lodgment in Hungary, not because there was anything approaching the conditions which already existed in Russia, but purely and simply in the hope that, faced with an extension of Bolshevism to Hungary, the Allies, in order to regain Hungary, would make concessions which would save some portion of the Hungarian estate which had been assigned to Hungary's neighbors.

It is well to recognize that, at the moment when Hungary did this thing, the Paris Conference had just made a gesture to Lenine, it had invited the Russian Bolshevists to come to Prinkipo, it had become patent that this invitation would not be accepted, while the mere issuance of the invitation had indicated how weak and timorous was Allied policy with respect of Bolshevism. The Hungarians calculated, and calculated correctly, that the sudden appearance of Bolshevism in Budapest would produce a panic in Paris. Out of this panic they hoped to extract concessions. The panic resulted. Out of the panic Germany did succeed in extracting concessions, particularly in the matter of the Polish frontiers. Hungary was less successful because neither the Rumanians nor the Serbians had the slightest intention of abandoning their claims, nor were Czechoslovaks more willing to make concessions, and the Allies shrank from assuming the position of compelling their allies and friends to give up territory to which their claims under Mr. Wilson's formula of self-determination were at least arguable.

We have had, therefore, a long period of anarchy and chaos in Hungary. The Hungarian troops have fought the Rumanians, the Czechoslovaks, and the Serbs. They have found encouragement from the Italians, who were interested in anything which weakened the Southern Slavs. They have been helped by an English liking and even friendship for the Hungarians, which is of very old standing, and by an unpopularity of the Rumanians which had developed as the Rumanians more and more indicated their purpose to fix their own frontiers without respect for Paris decisions.

Finally, we had last month a culmination of the situation. To restore peace and order in Europe it was absolutely essential to eliminate Bolshevism in Hungary. To eliminate Bolshevism it was necessary to find armies to defeat the Bolshevist-controlled forces of the Hungarian Government. The Allies sent an ultimatum to the Bela Kun government demanding that it quit, and threatened to send armies. But at the last moment it found itself unable to supply the armies. Neither the British nor the French, and much less the American people, were ready to furnish a hundred thousand men to fight a campaign to overthrow Bela Kun or enforce the mandates of the Paris Conference, while the Bolshevist government in Budapest was just as responsive to the moral influences of Paris as a Congo cannibal would be to a writ of the Supreme Court of the United States.

III. Rumania Intervenes

But while there was developing this situation of defiance to the Paris Conference by the Hungarian Government, Rumania suddenly set her armies in motion on the road to Budapest. For this particular moment Rumania had been waiting. Her delegates had left the Paris Conference totally dissatisfied with the treatment of her claims, both in Hungary and Russia. She was resolved to enforce her demands both in Bessarabia and in Transylvania and the Banat. She was, in fact, occupying all of Bessarabia and much of Transylvania. Now that the Budapest government had defied the Allies, Rumania elected herself as the mandatory of the Paris Conference.

What followed was thoroughly ridiculous. Bela Kun, who had successfully defied the Paris Conference, which had only moral influence to exert upon him, fled abruptly when Rumanian armies approached Budapest, and his successors turned in haste to the Paris Conference and appealed for aid against the Rumanians, pointing out that Hungary had complied with the Allied ultimatum and disposed of Bela Kun. In fact, not a moral exhortation of the Paris Conference but the military pressure of the Rumanian armies had decided the question, and Hungary, which went Bolshevist—that is to say, went mad—for political purpose, now became sane with equal rapidity for the same object, passed from Bolshevism to reaction in a night and recalled a Hapsburg to direct the government.

Thereupon the Allies were called upon to issue another ultimatum, this time to the Rumanians, forbidding them to enter Budapest or to molest Hungary, which had now suddenly become the ward of the Paris Conference, and this ultimatum reached the Rumanian army in time to cheer its formal entry into the Hungarian capital. That it could prevent an occupation was unthinkable.

We had then, after a little more than two years, a remarkable change of fortune. In December, 1916, Hungarian troops had occupied Bucharest and shared in the systematic looting of that city and of the whole of Rumania west of the Sereth River. Now Rumanian armies were in Budapest, with Hungary as completely at the mercy of Rumania as Rumania was in the hands of Hungary thirty months before.

What Rumania would do when she had occupied Budapest was patent. The Hungarians had stripped Rumania of every railroad locomotive and every piece of machinery, of every instrument of agriculture and of all foodstuffs and war material that they could lay their hands on. Locusts could not have made a cleaner sweep of a country than they had done. That Rumania would do likewise was certain, particularly as in part she would be only resuming control of her own property, precisely as the French and Belgians were authorized, under the Treaty of Versailles, to take back machinery stolen from them during the German occupation.

Moreover, a larger problem was instantly revealed. Not only was Rumania now likely to revenge herself for the past, but she was equally likely, with the power in her own hands, to draw her frontiers to satisfy herself, the more because the Allies had already revealed the fact that they were unable to assemble armies to act against Bela Kun in Hungary. If the Paris Conference could not get troops to fight against a Bolshevist government in that Hungarian state which had been an enemy country for more than four years, was it likely that it could assemble armies to fight against the Rumanians, who had been allies, who had fought gallantly, been betrayed and compelled to endure unspeakable hardships? Was it conceivable that the French army, some of whose officers had reorganized the Rumanian army, would consent to attack Rumania in order to enable the Paris Conference to draw the frontiers between Hungary and Rumania in accordance with Hungarian rather than Rumanian aspirations?

IV. The Whole Question

I have examined this Hungarian incident at this length because it raises squarely the whole question as to the League of Nations. The Rumanian course in Hungary is the first clear challenge, backed by force, to the decisions of the Paris Conference—which is for the moment the voice of the League of Nations—just as the Italian outburst over Fiume was the first expression, unaccompanied by force or by immediate action. In both cases the issue is the same. The Paris Conference has undertaken to say, with respect of two nations recently allies of the powers who dominate that Conference, that the national aspirations of the Italian and the Rumanian peoples are wrong, founded upon imperialistic and evil principles, and shall not prevail. In both cases the nations

affected have responded with instant and unmistakable indignation and defiance. Fiume remains to all intents and purposes in Italian hands, and, despite the Allied notice, Rumanian troops entered Budapest and occupy all of the territory claimed by Rumania.

Now, what is the Conference of Paris going to do about it? What is the League of Nations going to do about it? It can exercise a certain pressure upon Italy if it chooses. It can refuse foodstuffs, raw material, and loans. The result will be one of two things: either the Italian Government will make an immediate alliance with Germany, from whom Italy can get, not foodstuffs, but a certain amount of raw material; or starvation and industrial paralysis will produce revolution in Italy, with evil effects upon France and Great Britain. But in either case permanent hostility of the Italian people to Great Britain, France, and the United States is assured. A friend of mine told me of a letter received from Rome the other day which reports that on the Fourth of July only two American flags were flown in Rome, and a polite suggestion led to the lowering of one of them early in the day. This is a long distance from the enthusiasm with which the Italians welcomed the President of the United States six months earlier. Italian soldiers have killed French in Fiume. Italy, which was yesterday an ally of Great Britain, France, and the United States, now feels for all three a bitterness she never had for Germany even during the last war.

As to Rumania, her representatives left the Paris Conference several months ago when it declined to recognize claims which were at least more equitable than Italian demands in the German-speaking districts of the Tyrol and the Slav regions back of Trieste, in both of which Italian possession was recognized by the Paris Conference. Whatever may be said of the Sarre Basin, French claims there do not as nearly conform to Mr. Wilson's fourteen points as Rumanian claims in Bessarabia and the Banat.

We see, then, in the case of Italy and in the case of Rumania that the fundamental conception of the League of Nations breaks down in the presence of nationalistic and racial emotions and aspirations of two nations. As far back as the time when the western frontiers of Germany were being fixed we saw it break down in the presence of the French demand that the Rhine should be a military barrier against German attack. This initial breakdown of the League-of-Nations principles was avoided when Great Britain and France guaranteed, subject to the assent of the American Senate, to come to the assistance of France, without condition, if Germany should pass the Rhine.

In other words, France, Italy, and Rumania have each challenged the whole basis of the League of Nations, the French on the ground of national security, the Italians for reasons of national security and racial unity, and the Rumanians on the principle of racial unity mainly.

In the case of France we met the challenge by offering France "something equally as good," provided the United States Senate would endorse Mr. Wilson's promises. But if the United States Senate shall reject the Anglo-French-American treaty, then, inevitably, we shall have again to deal with the French claim for the Rhine barrier, for then the situation will be what it was before President Wilson gave his pledge, and France, whose armies now occupy the Rhine barrier, will feel herself free to make that occupation permanent. We met the Italian demands for Fiume and Dalmatia by Mr. Wilson's note addressed to the Italian people, which was a "misfire" and resulted in the rally of the Italian people to their own national aspirations. We met the Rumanian situation by issuing an injunction, forbidding the Rumanian army to enter Budapest, and the Rumanian army ignored the injunction.

V. GREECE

Now, in addition to the three complications which I have mentioned, a fourth has arisen in the case of Greece. Venizelos came to the Paris Conference ready to lend his great influence to the League-of-Nations idea, but determined to gain for Greece security from any more Bulgar invasions, and this security could only be found by the cession to Greece of the Egean coast of Thrace, in which the population was decidedly more Hellenic than Bulgar. Greece finds herself opposed by Italy in Epirus and in the Islands of the Egean. She finds also that Bulgarian claims to the sea-coast between the Struma and the Maritza rivers, which would place Salonica forever in jeopardy, are not only championed by America, who is supporting the Bulgarians against the Greeks as it is supporting the Hungarians against the Jugo-Slavs, but she finds also that the Americans are opposing Greek aspirations in the Egean exactly as they were countering Rumanian

ambitions in the Banat and Italian hopes at Fiume.

The result was inevitable. We had recently a statement from Paris that Venizelos had ceased to have faith in the League of Nations. We had the rapidly extending Greek resentment at American and Allied attitude to Hellenic aspirations which exactly followed the course of similar outbursts in Rome and Bucharest. Why should the United States, which had no concern with the frontiers of Thrace, set its face firmly against the restoration to Greece of territories which for nearly two thousand years had been Greek and were still inhabited by Greek people? Such was the question of Athens. Why should the American people, with no concern as to the problems of the Maros and the Theiss, champion the Hungarian, recently the enemy of America, against the Rumanian, as recently an ally? This was the question of Bucharest, while for Rome the American position with respect to Fiume remains incomprehensible.

Thus in three cases, rising one after the other, a collision between the theories of the League of Nations and the facts of nationalism has resulted, not in the subordination of nationalism to the principles of the League of Nations, but in the development of new international animosities and resentments, while in a fourth case, that of the Franco-German frontier, French acquiescence in the decision of the League of Nations has only been purchased at the price of a military alliance which is again in striking conflict with the underlying ideas of the League of Nations.

Moreover, the Rumanian case presents squarely the ultimate question. Rumania has defied the League of Nations and occupied Budapest. Rumania has asserted the right to fix her frontiers with Hungary in accordance with what she conceives to be the rights of the case. Are we going to war with Rumania to compel her to comply? She will evacuate Budapest, of course. She will evacuate the Hungarian regions to which she lays no claim, taking with her whatever her armies have seized of machinery and foodstuffs, which will not suffice to replace similar material taken from her by Hungarian armies two and a half years ago. Shall we go to war to compel her to make restitution for what she stole from Hungary, part of which Hungary stole from her, and all of which is not adequate compensation for Hungary's recent stealings?

But if we don't coerce Rumania how can we coerce Italy, whose moral claims are perhaps weaker but whose military force is unquestionably greater? And if we do not support the Hungarians, who have now appealed to the Paris Conference for protection against the Rumanians, what attraction will the protection of the League of Nations have for any country hereafter, since it will have shown itself powerless alike to protect the weak and to restrain the strong? Will not the Hungarians in consequence seek to restore their fortunes by looking for allies and thus reverting to the old principle of alliance and the balance of power?

VI. An American Mandatory for Constantinople?

Meantime still another problem has arisen which has unmistakable importance for the American people. The Paris Conference has understood that the United States would accept the mandatory for Constantinople, for Armenia, and not impossibly for the whole of the old Turkish Empire. The impression of the European representatives, when I left Paris three months ago, was that America was already prepared, at Mr. Wilson's suggestion, to accept the Constantinople and Armenian mandatories. During the past month the British Government has served notice upon the United States that it expects to withdraw its troops from Armenia and the Caucasus within a fixed time and asking that American troops replace them.

In the same way the making of frontiers in Eastern Thrace, in Asia Minor, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia waits upon American decision.

If America is prepared to accept the mandatory for all of the old Turkish Empire there will be no question of Greek claims in Eastern Thrace and even Greece herself will be prepared to waive these claims, realizing that time and American occupation will make for Hellenism.

The Turk, if even a fiction of his old Empire is preserved, may consent to an American organization of his state, while the Armenian will welcome an American rule with an enthusiasm which he feels for no other race.

Precisely in the same way a bitter and dangerous dispute between the French and the British over the frontiers of Syria, in which is involved another of those secret treaties of so much public discussion is now

heard, will be automatically adjudicated if America agrees to take the Armenian mandatory, since the territory in dispute would naturally fall into the American sphere.

But to accept a mandatory for the Turkish Empire from Constantinople to Syria and from Smyrna to Erzerum would certainly demand an army which at the outset could hardly be estimated at under 100,000, and might have to be double the size. We should find ourselves in the west confronted by Greek claims all along the Egean coast; we should find ourselves in the east forever in the presence of a Russian resumption of that press southward which was only interrupted by the revolution. Between the Cilician Gates and the Upper Euphrates we should stand in an area where British and French claims conflict, while about Constantinople we should find ourselves face to face with Russian, Bulgarian, and Hellenic aspirations.

If the United States declines to take Constantinople and Armenia as mandatories, in my judgment the whole League-of-Nations idea and experiment will collapse. It will then be necessary to partition Turkey, and in that partition Italy, France, and Great Britain among the great powers, Russia, when she becomes a great power again, as well as Bulgaria and Greece among the smaller nations; all have claims which have already led to disagreements and point the way ineluctibly to even greater disputes. There is no frontier that can be drawn which will separate the respective tribes of Asia Minor in accordance with the rights of self-determination or with any regard for the physical geography and economic necessities of the territory. Bad as was the Turkish régime, it would hardly be improved if it were replaced by half a dozen separate sovereignties and the creation of half a dozen rival spheres of influence and exploitation.

On the other hand, if the United States definitely sends armies to Asia Minor and undertakes the reorganization of the Turkish Empire, then it assumes a moral obligation not merely to protect the Armenians and the Greeks from the Turks but to protect the Turks as well from the Greeks and the Armenians, Greeks and Turks from the ultimate ambitions of the Italians, the Russians, and, in a lesser degree, the French and the British. We shall have to say "No" and back our "No" by a readiness to fight if the Italians insist upon the occupation of Adalia, if the French press their claims to Sivas and Diabekr. We shall have to fight the Russians if out of Bolshevism there presently comes a new nationalism which seeks the old objective of Constantinople.

VII. Crisis

Therefore it must be perfectly apparent that we are approaching a crisis and all the principles asserted in our new settlements must soon be vindicated or abandoned. The League of Nations, as I have pointed out, has already found itself four times in conflict with national ambitions or national necessities, in the case of France, Italy, Rumania and Greece. It has so far been unable to make progress in Russia and the stupendous problem of the Turkish Empire waits upon the willingness of the United States to assume one of the greatest obligations which was ever imposed upon a people, an obligation carrying with it only moral rewards and involving stupendous material sacrifices and not impossibly a considerable cost in American life.

On the other side, if the Paris Conference cannot now vindicate its authority, if it cannot now protect Hungary against Rumania, Jugo-Slavia against Italy, if the United States does not accept Mr. Wilson's treaty of insurance for France, then it seems inevitable that we shall shortly find ourselves back where we were before the World War with momentous consequences, the first of which will be that the European nations, big and little, will once more turn to a system of alliances in order to obtain that immediate security which is essential to all of them even at the risk of that ultimate war which was five years ago the final circumstance in the system of alliances which had been built up by the previous generation.

HIGH PRICES; AND A REMEDY

BY IRVING FISHER

(Professor of Political Economy, Yale University)

[In our issue for June appeared an important article by Professor Irving Fisher showing that there was no prospect that the existing level of high prices would be likely to move downward in the near future. In the present article, this eminent authority boldly advocates a fundamental solution for the problem of the shifting value of the dollar. His remedy is not an overnight inspiration, but the result of years of study and of open discussion. Professor Fisher has recently made many addresses, and much of the material of the present article has been presented to critical audiences, first at Yale and then before groups of bankers and business men. Not a few men of practical experience and of the highest authority agree with Professor Fisher's views and consider his plan entirely feasible.—THE EDITOR.]

THE increase in wages secured by the Railway Brotherhoods three years ago has been neutralized by the subsequent rise of prices and the Brotherhoods are now again demanding legislative help. This time, doubtless to fix attention on the reason which, as they believe, justifies their demand, they ask not for higher money wages but for a lower cost of living.

The fear of a Railway tie-up precipitated the present frantic discussion over the high cost of necessities. Accordingly, the President on August 8 addressed Congress on the subject. The most significant part of his message was that in which he showed by figures that the high prices "are not justified by a shortage in supply, either present or prospective." For instance, although the supply of creamery butter had increased in a year 129 per cent., its price advanced from 41 cents to 53 cents per pound.

Unfortunately, the President does not try to apply this fundamental fact to reach a correct diagnosis of the situation. He contents himself with echoing the popular outcry against "profiteering." Doubtless profiteering can be mitigated, and it is devoutly to be hoped that it will be and that its real extent will be laid bare. But, on the basis of the known movements of retail and wholesale prices and other known facts, it is clear that the public has greatly exaggerated the importance of profiteering and has mistaken what is an effect of rising prices for their cause.

Consequently, no amount of control or of punishment for profiteering can materially change the general level of prices. No remedy based on a false diagnosis will cure the patient.

Two days after the President's address Mr. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, in reply to a request from the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, gave very interesting and illuminating facts, regarding our currency expansion (from $4,100,000,000, at the beginning of the war to $5,100,000,000, at its close). He exculpates the Federal Reserve System by showing that half of the increase in Federal Reserve Notes was in substitution for gold. The other half, he claims, is due to higher wages and prices, and not they to it. In this, he is, I believe, mistaken. Of course, a banker finds need of more Federal Reserve Notes when pay rolls are increased; but why are pay rolls increased? Because wages are chasing the High Cost of Living. And the High Cost of Living is what we are trying to explain! So we find ourselves just where we started.

Governor Harding seems intent on defending the banking system of which he is the head. I would not, for a moment, lay the blame for the "H. C. of L." on that system. But Governor Harding's statement does not go down to the fundamental relationship of money to prices. He says, as to gold, "The board assumes that it is recognized that no legislation is necessary." The truth is that our inflation is chiefly due to the billion dollars of gold which the war brought us from Europe.

The present war will go down in history as probably the greatest destabilizer of price levels the world has known.

Prices in North America are double what they were before the war and in Europe more than double—in some countries probably more than tenfold.

We now possess, as we did not in the Civil War, a device for measuring the ave-

rage change in prices. This is what is known as an "index number."

Thus, if one commodity has risen 4 per cent. since last month, and another 10 per cent., the average rise of the two is midway between 4 per cent and 10 per cent., or 7 per cent. It is $4 + 10 \div 2 = 7$. If we call the price level of the two articles last month 100 per cent., then 107 per cent. is the "index number" for the prices of the two articles this month. The same principle, of course, applies to any number of commodities.

Many different systems of index numbers are now before the public—such as those of Bradstreet, Dun, Gibson, the *Annalist,* the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Canadian Department of Labor, the London *Economist,* the London *Statist,* and the British Board of Trade. The present index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics covers 300 commodities.

The Index Number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the best Index Number we have, shows an average price level in 1918 of 196 for wholesale prices and 168 for retail prices of food on the basis of 100 per cent. for 1913, the year before the war; showing that wholesale prices have, on the average, almost exactly doubled. The index number for wholesale (March) is also 200 and for retail (April) 182.

Going back to 1896, we find the index number of wholesale prices was 67. That is, the level of wholesale prices has risen almost exactly threefold (67 to 196) since that date and is now almost exactly the same as under the depreciated greenback standard in 1865.

Putting it another way, as compared with the biggest dollar we ever had, that of 1896, our present dollar will buy only as much as 35 cents would then buy, so in comparison, therefore, our present dollar almost literally "looks like thirty cents."

Why are prices so high? Will they drop? Can they be stabilized?

Monetary Factors

The truth is that the chief causes of the rise of prices in war time are monetary.

It is almost invariably true that the great price movements of history are chiefly monetary. This is shown, in the first place, by the fact that countries of like monetary standards have like price movements. Thus —to consider gold-standard countries— there has usually been a remarkable family resemblance between the curves representing the rise and fall of the index numbers of the United States, Canada, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria and Italy. Again, the price movements in silver countries show a strong likeness, as in India and China between 1873 and 1893.

On the other hand, we find a great contrast between gold and silver countries or between any countries which have different monetary standards.

In the present war the data are still too meager to enable us to express all the relations in exact figures, but we may arrange the different countries in the approximate order in which their prices have risen. The order of the nations corresponds, in general, with the order in which the currency in those nations has been inflated by paper—as well as with the order in which their monetary units have depreciated in the foreign exchange markets.

This order—of ascending prices and of inflated currency—is as follows, beginning with the least rise and inflation: India, Australia, New Zealand, United States, Canada, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, Holland, England, Norway, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia.

The ups and downs of prices correspond with the ups and downs of the money supply. Throughout history this has been so.

The present war furnishes important examples of this. In the United States the curve for the quantity of money in circulation and the curve for the index number of prices run continuously parallel, the price curve following the money curve after a lag of one to three months. It was in August, 1915, that the quantity of money in the United States began its rapid increase. One month later prices began to shoot upward, keeping almost exact pace with the quantity of money. In February, 1916, money suddenly stopped increasing, and two or three months later prices stopped likewise. Similar striking correspondences have continued to occur with an average lag between the money cause and the price effect of about one and three-quarters months.

On the whole, the money in circulation in the United States rose from three and one-third billions in 1913 to five and a half billions in 1918, and bank deposits from thirteen to twenty-five billions, both approximately corresponding to the rise in prices.

Taking a worldwide view, the money in circulation in the world outside of Russia

has increased during the war from fifteen billions to forty-five billions and the bank deposits in fifteen principal countries from twenty-seven billions to seventy-five billions. That is, both money and deposits have trebled; and prices, on the average, have perhaps trebled also.

The Bolsheviki are a law unto themselves. They have issued eighty billion dollars of paper money, or more than the circulation in all the rest of the world put together. Consequently prices in Russia have doubtless reached the sky, though no exact measure of them, since the Bolshevist régime, is at hand.

The increase of over thirty billions in the money of the world (outside of Russia) is, as O. P. Austin says, "more, *in its face value,* than all the gold and all the silver turned out by all the mines of all the world in the 427 years since the discovery of America."

The conclusion toward which the foregoing and other arguments lead is that in this war as in general in the past, the great outstanding disturber of the price level has always been money.

Money is so much an accepted convenience in practise that it has become a great stumbling-block in theory. Since we talk always in terms of money and live in a money atmosphere, as it were, we become as unconscious of it as we do of the air we breathe.

It is curious that every time inflation of any kind has visited a country the public has had to be reëducated. The evils of colonial and continental paper money were forgotten by the generation of the Civil War, and the evils of the greenbacks of that war were forgotten by most people in the last war.

Will Prices Drop?

Are prices soon to drop?

As I have stated several months back, in my opinion, prices are not going to fall much. We are on a *permanently* higher price level, and the sooner the business men of the country take this view and adjust themselves to it the sooner will they save themselves and the Nation from the misfortune which will come if we persist in our present false hope based on a false analogy with our Civil War experience.

Let us examine the factors upon which any future price movements must depend.

(1) *Gold will not return to circulation.*—No great effect in the direction of falling prices can be expected from any return of gold into daily circulation. Such a reversion would be contrary to monetary experience everywhere. When people have learned to leave their gold and silver in the banks and use paper money and checks instead they will find the additional convenience so great that they will never fully return to the old practice.

(2) *No great outflow of gold through international trade.*—It should be noted that many of the former reasons for a flow of gold from America abroad have disappeared. We used to owe Europe a huge balance of interest payments upon the American securities she held. The situation is reversed to-day. Moreover, Europe must pay us money for the materials we shall send her for reconstruction, or at least pay us interest on credit we shall extend her. Thus our exports will probably exceed our imports during the reconstruction period. We used to pay ocean freight money to foreign carriers; to-day the American merchant will keep in American hands tens of millions of dollars of ocean freight money. The huge volume of American tourist travel abroad, for whose expense we had to settle, has stopped and can not resume for a year at least. For all these reasons the lines are laid for a movement of gold from Europe here rather than for a movement of gold from America to Europe.

"Yes, but," people say, "wait until trade is resumed between the United States and Europe, then surely 'low-priced European goods' will flow over here in such enormous volume that they will liquidate all annual obligations to us in goods." It is true that, ultimately, Europe must pay her obligations to us in goods, but it will take many years. Meanwhile she needs our tools, machinery, and raw materials for reconstruction.

At the present time European goods are not "low-priced" (however little the money wages of European labor will buy). Prices in Europe since the war began have risen more than they have in the United States.

(3) *Reduction of outstanding credit.*—The chief dependence of those who predict lower prices is on a reduction of the superstructure of credit resting upon our gold rather than on any reduction in the volume of this gold itself. They look for a contraction of paper money and of the volume of deposits subject to check, which circulate throughout the country.

But the main cause for the present extension of bank credit is the Liberty Loan. Subscribers for the loans have not paid for their bonds in full. Many of them deposit the bonds with the banks as security for loans to be repaid later.

It is also worth keeping in mind that Liberty bonds and other Government securities held here do not wholly cease being a source of credit expansion when the individual subscribers have completed their payments on the bonds and really own them. These new bonds are unrivaled security for further borrowings from banks for commercial purposes, and they will continue to be so until the Government which issues them redeems them.

The availability of the vast issues of war bonds as bases for future credit expansion, coupled with the fact that our banking system has still many unused reefs, sure to be taken out later, when business wishes to spread more sail, is the chief reason why prices will keep up permanently; that is, for many years.

Between the period of temporary and the period of permanent effects, there may be a slight dip in the price level, say six months or a year from now.

Looking into the still more remote future, there will be in Europe, particularly on the Continent, a vast increase in deposit banking. The need of the governments there for funds during war times hastened the introduction of deposit banking. Money went out of circulation into bank vaults, and there became the basis for circulating credits. This means a new habit which will lead to a great currency expansion. Far-away countries, like India and China, are also learning to use deposit banking. It is as if a new source of gold supply had been discovered. What has been discovered is a new way of using the gold supply.

The world, during the course of the war, has thus started, or has hastened, an equivalent of the price revolution of the sixteenth century.

What of It?

If, for each one of us, the rise of income were to keep up exactly with the rise in cost of living, then the high cost of living would have no terrors; it would be merely on paper. But no such perfect adjustment ever occurs or can occur. Outstanding contracts and understandings in terms of money make this out of the question.

Consider a working girl who put a hundred dollars in the savings-bank in 1913. To-day, if she has allowed it to accumulate at interest, she has $120. But when she tries to spend this $120, she finds that things cost nearly double what they did in 1913. Thus she gets for her entire $120 to-day much less than she could haye bought for her original $100 at the beginning. After five years of self-denial, where is her reward, her interest? She has been (without the intention of anybody) cheated out of all her interest and much, even, of her principal through the depreciation of the "dollars" in terms of which her savings-bank account has been kept! The bondholder is in the same plight. If he has been "living on his interest" the purchasing power of his principal has been decreasing, so that really, although without knowing it, he has been living on capital.

Trust funds, philanthropic foundations, hospitals and endowed universities have really lost almost half the value of their prewar endowment during the war, for their funds were invested in bonds.

Likewise the salaried men and the wage-earners suffer—that is, the cost is borne by those with relatively "fixed" incomes.

The kernel of the matter is that those who made the greatest sacrifices because of the war were not those who paid over the taxes but those having so called "fixed" or relatively fixed incomes. This great class—bondholders, salaried men and wage-earners—have often had to sacrifice almost half their real income or purchasing power. This was their indirect tax and was far more burdensome than any direct war taxes.

The truth is, the war was largely paid for, not by taxes or loans but by the High Cost of Living. The result is that the effort to avoid discontent of taxpayers has created or rather aggravated the discontent over high prices. Every rise in the cost of living brings new recruits to the labor malcontents who feel victimized by society and have come to hate society.

They cite, in their indictment, the high price of necessities and the high profits of certain great corporations, both of which they attribute, not to the aberrations of our monetary yardstick but to deliberate plundering by "profiteers" or a social system of "exploitation." They grow continually more suspicious and nurse an imaginary grudge against the world. We are being threatened by more quack remedies—revo-

lutionary socialism, syndicalism, and Bolshevism. Radicalism rides on the wave of high prices.

As a matter of fact, the real wages in 1918, that is, their purchasing power, was only 80 per cent. of the real wages of 1913. That is, while the retail prices of food advanced 68 per cent., wages in money advanced only 30 per cent. The real wages of 1913 were in turn less than in earlier years.

Thus there is, now, and long has been, a real basis for labor discontent.

Lord D'Abernon, in a recent speech in the House of Lords, says: "I am convinced and cannot state too strongly my belief that 80 per cent. of our present industrial troubles and our Bolshevikism which is so great a menace to Europe are due to this enormous displacement in the value of money."

When the history of this war is written, it may well be that we shall find that the growing popular unrest caused, just before the war, by the high cost of living, the atmosphere of suspicion engendered, and the desire for relief through a policy of commercial expansion, had something to do in giving a pretext for, if not causing, the great war itself. In fact, before the war, rising costs of living were manufacturing socialists all over the world, including Germany, and the German Government may have weighed, as one of the expected dynastic advantages of war, the suppression of the growing internal class struggle which this high cost of living was bringing on apace.

Remedies

What can be done about it? So far as the past is concerned, comparatively little. Bygones must largely be bygones. So far as wages and salaries are concerned, the remedy must be to raise them rather than to lower the High Cost of Living. While some kinds of work have had excessive wages during the war, this has not been true in general, public opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. I quite agree with Mr. Gompers that the wage level should not be lowered if it could. On the contrary, it should be raised to catch up with prices, just as was done after the Civil War. But in regard to contracts little relief for past injuries can be expected. We would best use the past as a lesson for the future. That is what I understand by "reconstruction."

The real culprit being the dollar, remedy is to fix the purchasing powe dollar.

The plan I shall here outline has the approval of a large number of economists, business men, and organ including President Hadley of Yale mittee of economists appointed to the purchasing power of money in to the war; Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City I New York; George Foster Peabod eral Reserve banker of New Yor Perrin, Federal Reserve Agent of Sa cisco; Henry L. Higginson, the banker of Boston; Roger W. Babsor istician; John Hays Hammond, engineer; John V. Farwell, of member of the Yale Corporation; States Senator Robert L. Owen, on authors of the Federal Reserve A Senator Shafroth; the late Senato lands; Sir David Barbour, one of t inators of the Indian gold exchang ard; the Bridgeport Chamber of Co the Society of Polish Engineers; t England Purchasing Agents' Ass The American Federation of La voted to investigate such plans.

A book on this plan is now (Macmillan).

Our dollar is now simply a fixed of gold—a unit of weight, masquer a unit of value. A twentieth of a of gold is no more truly a unit of general purchasing power than a p sugar or a dozen eggs. It is almos surd to define a unit of value, or purchasing power, in terms of weig define a unit of length in terms of We would scarcely define a yard any stick which weighs an ounce!

What good does it do us to be that our dollar weighs just as much Does this fact help us in the least the high cost of living? We com the dollar, and justly, that it will n far as it used to.

We want a dollar which will alw the same aggregate quantity of bread beef, bacon, beans, sugar, clothing, f the other essential things that we for. What is needed is to stabilize o ardize the dollar just as we have standardized the yardstick, the weight, the bushel basket, the pint horse-power, the volt, and, indeed, units of commerce except the dollar

All these units of commerce have passed through the evolution from the rough and ready units of primitive times to the accurate ones of to-day, when modern science puts the finest possible point on measurements of all kinds. Once the yard was defined, in a rough and ready way, as the girth of the chieftain of the tribe and was called a gird. Later it was the length of the arm of Henry the First, later the length of a bar of iron in the Tower of London, and still later a certain fraction of a more exact metal meter in Paris.

Except the dollar, none of the old rough and ready units are any longer considered good enough for modern business. The dollar is the only survival of those primitive crudities. Imagine the modern American business man tolerating a yard defined as the girth of the President of the United States! Suppose contracts in yards of cloth to be now fulfilled which had been made in Mr. Taft's administration!

We tolerate our erratic dollar only because the havoc it plays is laid to other agencies. If its victims knew the truth about the dollar it would be put in a straitjacket at the very next session of Congress.

In order to secure a dollar constant in its purchasing power over goods in general, it should, in effect, be a composite of those very goods in general. For instance, we might imagine a composite commodity dollar consisting of 2 board feet of lumber; 1/20 of a bushel of wheat; ½ of a pound of meat; 30 pounds of coal; 1 pound of sugar; 1 ounce of butter; one egg; 1/100 of a pair of shoes, etc.

That assortment would always cost a dollar simply because a dollar is that assortment. In short, it would be just as simple then to keep the price of the composite package of say 100 commodities invariable (however widely its constituents might vary among themselves) as it is now to keep the price of gold invariable. The price of that composite would always be a dollar, just as to-day the price of gold is always $20.67 an ounce.

Perhaps some scornful critic is now eager to point out how inconvenient, not to say grotesque, such a dollar would be if it were in circulation or were used for export or import. With its 30 pounds of coal, it is far too heavy to carry; with its wood and hay, it is far too bulky for the pocket; its solitary egg would [illegible] il; while to divide a pair of shoes int[illegible]dred parts would ruin them. Gold is to be preferred because it is imperishable, easily divisible, easily portable, and easily salable.

And these are precisely the attributes which led us to select gold; and not, as some people mistakenly assume, any attribute of stability.

How to Stabilize the Dollar, Wages, Prices

By all means, then, let us keep the metal gold for the good attributes it has—portability, durability, divisibility, salability—but let us correct its instability, so that one dollar of it will at all times buy approximately that composite basketful of goods. Money to-day has two great functions. It is a medium of exchange and it is a standard of value. Gold was chosen because it was a good medium, not because it was a good standard.

And so, because our ancestors found a good medium of exchange, we now find ourselves saddled with a bad standard of value! The problem before us is to retain gold as a good medium and yet to make it into a good standard; not to abandon the gold standard but to rectify it; not to rid ourselves of the gold dollar but to make it conform in purchasing power to the composite or goods-dollar.

Under the plan here to be presented, gold is retained as the ultimate means of redemption. There would be essentially the same mechanism by which gold freely enters or leaves the circulation. But the gold dollar would become a standard of value instead of a standard of weight. We now have a gold standard that is forever fluctuating. It is a gold standard with the "standard" left out! The proposal is really to put the standard into the gold standard—to standardize the dollar.

The method of rectifying the gold standard consists in suitably varying the weight of the gold dollar. The gold dollar is now fixed in weight and therefore variable in purchasing power. What we need is a gold dollar fixed in purchasing power and therefore variable in weight. I do not think that any sane man, whether or not he accepts the theory of money which I accept, will deny that the weight of gold in a dollar has a great deal to do with its purchasing power. More gold will buy more goods. Therefore more gold than 25.8 grains will, barring counteracting causes, buy more goods than 25.8 grains will buy. If to-day the dollar, instead of being 25.8 grains, or about

one-twentieth of an ounce, of gold, were an ounce or a pound or a ton of gold, it would surely buy more than it does now, which is the same thing as saying that the price level would be lower than it is now.

A Mexican gold dollar weighs about half as much as ours and has less purchasing power. If Mexico should adopt the same dollar that we have and that Canada has, no one could doubt that its purchasing power would rise—that is, the price level in Mexico would fall. Since, then, the heavier or the lighter the gold dollar is the more or the less is its purchasing power, it follows that, if we add new grains of gold to the dollar just fast enough to compensate for the loss in the purchasing power of each grain, or vice versa, take away gold to compensate for a gain, we shall have a fully "compensated dollar," stationary instead of fluctuating, when judged by its purchasing power.

But how, it will be asked, is it possible, in practise, to change the weight of the gold dollar? The feat is certainly not impossible, for it has often been accomplished. We ourselves have changed the weight of our gold dollar twice—once in 1834, when the gold in the dollar was reduced 7 per cent., and again in 1837, when it was increased one-tenth of 1 per cent. If we can change it once or twice a century, we can change it once or twice a month!

Abolish Gold Coin

And if we circulate paper representatives of gold exclusively, instead of including any gold coins, these frequent changes in the weight of the gold dollar can be made even more easily than the occasional changes were made which history records. In actual fact, gold now circulates almost entirely through "yellowbacks," for gold certificates. The gold itself, often not in the form of coins at all but of "bar gold," lies in the Government vaults.

A bar of gold nine-tenths fine weighing 25,800 grains is just as properly to be called one thousand dollars of 25.8 grains each as if that bar were cut up into a hundred separate pieces and each were stamped into a ten-dollar gold piece. The thousand gold dollars already exist embedded or welded together in that gold bar, while the right of ownership in them circulates in the form of the paper "yellowbacks."

It would, therefore, be a little more than expressing in law an existing custom if gold coins were abolished altogether.

The abolition of gold coin would make no material change in the present situation. Gold would, just at present, be brought by the gold miner to the mint or the assay office or other Government depository, and he would, just as at present, receive paper tokens or yellowbacks in return. This sale of gold to the Government for yellowbacks —that is, this free deposit—is really the essence of the so-called "free coinage." It is thus that gold gets into circulation, through its representatives, the yellowbacks.

Moreover, the gold in the Treasury would serve, just as at present, for the redemption of the gold certificates. The jeweler, or gold exporter, would, just as at present, obtain gold for his purposes by exchanging yellowbacks for gold at the Treasury.

Thus free coinage (or deposit) and free redemption would go on substantially as at present, the one increasing and the other decreasing the volume of certificates—that is, the virtual gold in circulation. The essential mechanism of our gold-standard system may be pictured as a lake of gold in circulation in the form of yellowbacks fed by "free coinage" (or deposit) by miners, and drained by free redemption, or withdrawal by jewelers or exporters.

If gold thus circulated only in the form of paper representatives it would evidently be possible to vary at will the weight of the gold dollar without any such annoyance or complication as would arise from the existence of coins. The Government would simply vary the quantity of gold bullion which it would exchange for a paper dollar —the quantity it would give or take at a given time. As readily as a grocer can vary the amount of sugar he will give for a dollar, the Government could vary the amount of gold it would give for a dollar. To-day the Government will give 25.8 grains of gold bullion to the jeweler or exporter for each dollar of certificates he pays in; next month it might give 26 grains or only 24 grains.

But, it will now be asked, what criterion is to guide the Government in making these changes in the dollar's weight? Am I proposing that some Government official should be authorized to mark the dollar up or down according to his own caprice? Most certainly not. A definite and simple criterion for the required adjustments is at hand—the now familiar "index number" of prices. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, which now

publishes an index number, the Bureau of Standards, or other suitable Government office would be required to publish this number at certain stated intervals, say monthly.

Change the Gold Dollar Monthly

That is, each month the bureau would calculate from current market prices how much would have to be paid for the composite basket of goods. This figure it would publish and proclaim; and this figure would then afford the needed official sanction to the Secretary of the Treasury to change the rating of the gold dollar—that is, to change the amount of gold which the mint would give or take for a gold certificate, and thus increase or diminish the purchasing power of that certificate.

If, for instance, the index number representing the current price of our composite basket of goods is found to be 1 per cent. above the ideal par—that is, above the one dollar price it had at first—this fact will indicate that the purchasing power of the dollar has gone down; and this fact will be the signal and authorization for an increase of 1 per cent. in the weight of the gold dollar. What is thereby added to the purchasing power of the gold dollar will be automatically registered in the purchasing power of its circulating certificate.

If you ask how I know that this 1 per cent. increase in the weight of the gold dollar is just sufficient to drive the index number back to par, I answer that I don't know, any more than I know, when the steering wheel of an automobile is turned, that it will prove to have been turned just enough and not too much. Many things may interfere in a month. But if the correction is not enough, or if it is too much, the index number next month will tell the story. Absolutely perfect correction is impossible, but any imperfection will continue to reappear and so cannot escape ultimate correction.

Suppose, for instance, that next month the index number is found to remain unchanged at 101. Then the dollar is at once loaded an additional 1 per cent. And if, next month, the index number is, let us say, 100½ (that is, one-half of 1 per cent. above par), the one-half of 1 per cent. will call for a third addition to the dollar's weight, this time of one-half of 1 per cent. And so, as long as the index number persists in staying even a little above par, the dollar will continue to be loaded each month, until, if necessary, it weighs an ounce or a ton, for that matter. But, of course, long before it can become so heavy, the additional weight will become sufficient; so that the index number will be pushed back to par—that is, the circulating certificate will have its purchasing power restored.

Summary

This plan would put a stop, once for all, to a terrible evil which for centuries has vexed the world, the evil of dislocating contracts and monetary understandings. All contracts, at present, though nominally carried out, are really tampered with as truly as if false weights and measures were used for delivering coal or grain. Business, now periodically disturbed by the pranks of our mischievous dollar, would be put on a securer foundation than ever before; for the greatest and most universal uncertainty or gamble, all the more disastrous because unseen—the gamble in gold—would be removed.

The world is now looking to us, as never before, for leadership. It is our golden opportunity to set world standards. If we adopt a stable standard of value, it seems certain that other nations, as fast as they can straighten out their affairs, resume specie payments, and secure, again, stable pars of exchange, will follow our example. After gold and silver fell apart in 1873, the nations, one after another, adopted the common standard of gold; and now, after the falling asunder of all the pars of international exchange from this world war, the new order will probably be set by whatever nation first seizes the opportunity and takes the lead.

The more the evidence in the case is studied the deeper will grow the public conviction that our shifting dollar is responsible for colossal social wrongs and is all the more at fault because these wrongs are usually attributed to other causes. When the intelligent public who can apply the remedy realize this, action will follow and we shall secure a boon for all future generations, a true standard for contracts, a stabilized dollar.

ambitions in the Banat and Italian hopes at Fiume.

The result was inevitable. We had recently a statement from Paris that Venizelos had ceased to have faith in the League of Nations. We had the rapidly extending Greek resentment at American and Allied attitude to Hellenic aspirations which exactly followed the course of similar outbursts in Rome and Bucharest. Why should the United States, which had no concern with the frontiers of Thrace, set its face firmly against the restoration to Greece of territories which for nearly two thousand years had been Greek and were still inhabited by Greek people? Such was the question of Athens. Why should the American people, with no concern as to the problems of the Maros and the Theiss, champion the Hungarian, recently the enemy of America, against the Rumanian, as recently an ally? This was the question of Bucharest, while for Rome the American position with respect to Fiume remains incomprehensible.

Thus in three cases, rising one after the other, a collision between the theories of the League of Nations and the facts of nationalism has resulted, not in the subordination of nationalism to the principles of the League of Nations, but in the development of new international animosities and resentments, while in a fourth case, that of the Franco-German frontier, French acquiescence in the decision of the League of Nations has only been purchased at the price of a military alliance which is again in striking conflict with the underlying ideas of the League of Nations.

Moreover, the Rumanian case presents squarely the ultimate question. Rumania has defied the League of Nations and occupied Budapest. Rumania has asserted the right to fix her frontiers with Hungary in accordance with what she conceives to be the rights of the case. Are we going to war with Rumania to compel her to comply? She will evacuate Budapest, of course. She will evacuate the Hungarian regions to which she lays no claim, taking with her whatever her armies have seized of machinery and foodstuffs, which will not suffice to replace similar material taken from her by Hungarian armies two and a half years ago. Shall we go to war to compel her to make r itution for what she stole from Hungary, t of which Hungary stole from l al which is not adequate comp Hungary's recent steali ?

But if we don't coerce Rumania h we coerce Italy, whose moral claims haps weaker but whose military forc questionably greater? And if we support the Hungarians, who have r pealed to the Paris Conference for pr against the Rumanians, what attracti the protection of the League of have for any country hereafter, since have shown itself powerless alike to the weak and to restrain the strong? not the Hungarians in consequence restore their fortunes by looking fo and thus reverting to the old principle ance and the balance of power?

VI. An American Mand for Constantinople?

Meantime still another problem ha which has unmistakable importance American people. The Paris Confer understood that the United States accept the mandatory for Constantinc Armenia, and not impossibly for th of the old Turkish Empire. The im of the European representatives, whe Paris three months ago, was that was already prepared, at Mr. Wilso gestion, to accept the Constantinople menian mandatories. During the pas the British Government has servec upon the United States that it ex withdraw its troops from Armenia Caucasus within a fixed time and ask American troops replace them.

In the same way the making of f in Eastern Thrace, in Asia Minor, i and in Mesopotamia waits upon A decision.

If America is prepared to accept tl datory for all of the old Turkish there will be no question of Greek cl Eastern Thrace and even Greece will be prepared to waive these clain izing that time and American occ will make for Hellenism.

The Turk, if even a fiction of Empire is preserved, may consent American organization of his state, w Armenian will welcome an Americ with an enthusiasm which he feels other race.

Pre y in the same way a bitt d ate between the Fren the frontiers of Sy another of those public discussion

rill be automatically adjudicated if agrees to take the Armenian man- ince the territory in dispute would r fall into the American sphere.

accept a mandatory for the Turkish from Constantinople to Syria and nyrna to Erzerum would certainly an army which at the outset could e estimated at under 100,000, and iave to be double the size. We nd ourselves in the west confronted c claims all along the Egean coast; d find ourselves in the east forever resence of a Russian resumption of is southward which was only inter- y the revolution. Between the Ci- ates and the Upper Euphrates we tand in an area where British and laims conflict, while about Constan- ve should find ourselves face to face ssian, Bulgarian, and Hellenic aspi-

United States declines to take Con- le and Armenia as mandatories, in ment the whole League-of-Nations experiment will collapse. It will necessary to partition Turkey, and partition Italy, France, and Great among the great powers, Russia, e becomes a great power again, as Bulgaria and Greece among the nations, all have claims which have led to disagreements and point the luctibly to even greater disputes. s no frontier that can be drawn ill separate the respective tribes of nor in accordance with the rights of rmination or with any regard for ical geography and economic neces- he territory. Bad as was the Turk- ie, it would hardly be improved if it laced by half a dozen separate sov- s and the creation of half a dozen ieres of influence and exploitation. ie other hand, if the United States y sends armies to Asia Minor and es the reorganization of the Turk- ire, then it assumes a moral obliga- t merely to protect the Armenians Greeks from the Turks but to pro- tect the Turks as well from the Greeks and the Armenians, Greeks and Turks from the ultimate ambitions of the Italians, the Russians, and, in a lesser degree, the French and the British. We shall have to say "No" and back our "No" by a readiness to fight if the Italians insist upon the occupation of Adalia, if the French press their claims to Sivas and Diabekr. We shall have to fight the Russians if out of Bolshevism there presently comes a new nationalism which seeks the old objective of Constantinople.

VII. Crisis

Therefore it must be perfectly apparent that we are approaching a crisis and all the principles asserted in our new settlements must soon be vindicated or abandoned. The League of Nations, as I have pointed out, has already found itself four times in conflict with national ambitions or national necessities, in the case of France, Italy, Rumania and Greece. It has so far been unable to make progress in Russia and the stupendous problem of the Turkish Empire waits upon the willingness of the United States to assume one of the greatest obligations which was ever imposed upon a people, an obligation carrying with it only moral rewards and involving stupendous material sacrifices and not impossibly a considerable cost in American life.

On the other side, if the Paris Conference cannot now vindicate its authority, if it cannot now protect Hungary against Rumania, Jugo-Slavia against Italy, if the United States does not accept Mr. Wilson's treaty of insurance for France, then it seems inevitable that we shall shortly find ourselves back where we were before the World War with momentous consequences, the first of which will be that the European nations, big and little, will once more turn to a system of alliances in order to obtain that immediate security which is essential to all of them even at the risk of that ultimate war which was five years ago the final circumstance in the system of alliances which had been built up by the previous generation.

HIGH PRICES; AND A REMEI

BY IRVING FISHER

(Professor of Political Economy, Yale University)

[In our issue for June appeared an important article by Professor Irving Fisher showi there was no prospect that the existing level of high prices would be likely to move dov in the near future. In the present article, this eminent authority boldly advocates a fund solution for the problem of the shifting value of the dollar. His remedy is not an overni spiration, but the result of years of study and of open discussion. Professor Fisher has made many addresses, and much of the material of the present article has been presented to audiences, first at Yale and then before groups of bankers and business men. Not a few practical experience and of the highest authority agree with Professor Fisher's views and c his plan entirely feasible.—THE EDITOR.]

THE increase in wages secured by the Railway Brotherhoods three years ago has been neutralized by the subsequent rise of prices and the Brotherhoods are now again demanding legislative help. This time, doubtless to fix attention on the reason which, as they believe, justifies their demand, they ask not for higher money wages but for a lower cost of living.

The fear of a Railway tie-up precipitated the present frantic discussion over the high cost of necessities. Accordingly, the President on August 8 addressed Congress on the subject. The most significant part of his message was that in which he showed by figures that the high prices "are not justified by a shortage in supply, either present or prospective." For instance, although the supply of creamery butter had increased in a year 129 per cent., its price advanced from 41 cents to 53 cents per pound.

Unfortunately, the President does not try to apply this fundamental fact to reach a correct diagnosis of the situation. He contents himself with echoing the popular outcry against "profiteering." Doubtless profiteering can be mitigated, and it is devoutly to be hoped that it will be and that its real extent will be laid bare. But, on the basis of the known movements of retail and wholesale prices and other known facts, it is clear that the public has greatly exaggerated the importance of profiteering and has mistaken what is an effect of rising prices for their cause.

Consequently, no amount of control or of punishment for profiteering can materially change the general level of prices. No remedy based on a false diagnosis will cure the patient.

Two days after the President's address Mr. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, in reply to a request fr Senate Committee on Banking and rency, gave very interesting and ill ting facts, regarding our currency sion (from $4,100,000,000, at the beg of the war to $5,100,000,000, at its He exculpates the Federal Reserve by showing that half of the increase i eral Reserve Notes was in substituti gold. The other half, he claims, is higher wages and prices, and not they In this, he is, I believe, mistaken. Of a banker finds need of more Feder serve Notes when pay rolls are incr but why are pay rolls increased? B wages are chasing the High Cost of I And the High Cost of Living is wh are trying to explain! So we find ou just where we started.

Governor Harding seems intent c fending the banking system of which the head. I would not, for a mome the blame for the "H. C. of L." o system. But Governor Harding's stat does not go down to the fundamental tionship of money to prices. He says, gold, "The board assumes that it is nized that no legislation is necessary." truth is that our inflation is chiefly the billion dollars of gold which th brought us from Europe.

The present war will go down i tory as probably the greatest destabili price levels the world has known.

Prices in North America are double they were before the war and in- E more than double—in some countries ably more than tenfold.

We now possess, as we did not i Civil War, a device for measuring th

rage change in prices. This is what is known as an "index number."

Thus, if one commodity has risen 4 per cent. since last month, and another 10 per cent., the average rise of the two is midway between 4 per cent and 10 per cent., or 7 per cent. It is $4 + 10 \div 2 = 7$. If we call the price level of the two articles last month 100 per cent., then 107 per cent. is the "index number" for the prices of the two articles this month. The same principle, of course, applies to any number of commodities.

Many different systems of index numbers are now before the public—such as those of Bradstreet, Dun, Gibson, the *Annalist,* the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Canadian Department of Labor, the London *Economist,* the London *Statist,* and the British Board of Trade. The present index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics covers 300 commodities.

The Index Number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the best Index Number we have, shows an average price level in 1918 of 196 for wholesale prices and 168 for retail prices of food on the basis of 100 per cent. for 1913, the year before the war; showing that wholesale prices have, on the average, almost exactly doubled. The index number for wholesale (March) is also 200 and for retail (April) 182.

Going back to 1896, we find the index number of wholesale prices was 67. That is, the level of wholesale prices has risen almost exactly threefold (67 to 196) since that date and is now almost exactly the same as under the depreciated greenback standard in 1865.

Putting it another way, as compared with the biggest dollar we ever had, that of 1896, our present dollar will buy only as much as 35 cents would then buy, so in comparison, therefore, our present dollar almost literally "looks like thirty cents."

Why are prices so high? Will they drop? Can they be stabilized?

Monetary Factors

The truth is that the chief causes of the rise of prices in war time are monetary.

It is almost invariably true that the great price movements of history are chiefly monetary. This is shown, in the first place, by the fact that countries of like monetary standards have like price movements. Thus —to consider gold-standard countries— there has usually been a remarkable family resemblance between the curves representing the rise and fall of the index numbers of the United States, Canada, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria and Italy. Again, the price movements in silver countries show a strong likeness, as in India and China between 1873 and 1893.

On the other hand, we find a great contrast between gold and silver countries or between any countries which have different monetary standards.

In the present war the data are still too meager to enable us to express all the relations in exact figures, but we may arrange the different countries in the approximate order in which their prices have risen. The order of the nations corresponds, in general, with the order in which the currency in those nations has been inflated by paper—as well as with the order in which their monetary units have depreciated in the foreign exchange markets.

This order—of ascending prices and of inflated currency—is as follows, beginning with the least rise and inflation: India, Australia, New Zealand, United States, Canada, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, Holland, England, Norway, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia.

The ups and downs of prices correspond with the ups and downs of the money supply. Throughout history this has been so.

The present war furnishes important examples of this. In the United States the curve for the quantity of money in circulation and the curve for the index number of prices run continuously parallel, the price curve following the money curve after a lag of one to three months. It was in August, 1915, that the quantity of money in the United States began its rapid increase. One month later prices began to shoot upward, keeping almost exact pace with the quantity of money. In February, 1916, money suddenly stopped increasing, and two or three months later prices stopped likewise. Similar striking correspondences have continued to occur with an average lag between the money cause and the price effect of about one and three-quarters months.

On the whole, the money in circulation in the United States rose from three and one-third billions in 1913 to five and a half billions in 1918, and bank deposits from thirteen to twenty-five billions, both approximately corresponding to the rise in prices.

Taking a worldwide view, the money in circulation in the world outside of Russia

THE PLUMB PLAN AND THE RAILWAYS

AN ANALYSIS AND A CRITICISM

ON August 2 Representative Sims introduced into Congress the bill providing for the so-called "Plumb Plan" for railway control, backed by the fourteen unions of railway employees (numbering nearly 2,000,000 members) and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

More than thirty different plans for the disposition and control of the railways had already been presented to Congress, but not all of them put together have aroused nearly so much attention and discussion as this strongly-urged proposal of the railroad workers. Both the manner of presentation and the substance of the plan gave the country a distinct shock. One railway union official announced through the newspapers that if this revolutionary plan were not accepted, the workers would tie up the roads so that they would never run again. It is only fair to say that this threat was repudiated by other labor leaders.

The presentation of the "Plumb Plan" was accompanied by demands for huge increases in wages for practically all classes of railway employees, amounting in the aggregate to about $800,000,000 a year. Without waiting for an answer to these demands, in some cases without even presenting them, certain classes of railway workers, chiefly shopmen, went on strike, to the number—according to union officials—of 250,000.

Traffic Held Up by Strikes

Railroad traffic in New England and parts of the South and of the Middle West was thrown into a state of confusion, and more than two weeks after the question was raised had made but little progress toward normal conditions. This was the first occasion on which all the railroad employees have simultaneously presented demands for increased wages.

Their leaders justified the action in statements to President Wilson and to Congress on the score of the continued increase in the cost of living and expressed themselves as willing to accept—indeed, as preferring—a reduction in the cost of living as against higher wages.

Senator Cummins and the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee officially informed President Wilson that he had power, without further legislation, to deal with this wage question; and he took measures for investigation and adjustment of the matter which were not, however, satisfactory to the Brotherhoods. The President also reminded the Brotherhoods that the worst thing possible for all concerned in the present difficult phase of reconstruction was to have production held up by strikes, and he refused to deal with striking employees in the matter of higher wages until they should have gone back to work. By the middle of August, many of the striking shopmen had realized the wisdom of President Wilson's attitude and were returning to their jobs.

What the "Plumb Plan" Is

Thus the suddenly accelerated excitement and discussion in the problem of the railroads was due to two distinct developments: (1) the sudden insistence by railway labor on a revolutionary plan for the ownership and control of the railroads, and (2) their equally sudden and unanimous demand for great increases in wages.

Their plan for the future of the railroads, formulated by the general counsel of the Brotherhoods, Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, provides for the Government's purchase of all the railroad lines from their private owners with United States bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest; for the operation of the roads under lease by a board of fifteen directors, five to be appointed by the President, five to be elected by the railroad operating officials and five to be elected by the classified employees. There would be no capital stock issued. The Interstate Commerce Commission would fix the rates. When the revenues of the roads exceeded the operating expenses, plus interest on the purchase money and sinking fund, the current surplus would be divided equally between the Government

and the employees, with the limitation that when the Government's share of the surplus earnings exceeded 5 per cent. of the gross revenues of the roads, rates would be reduced 5 per cent.

The employees would receive their share of the profits as a dividend on labor and an incentive to efficiency. The Government would use its half of the surplus earnings to pay for extensions and improvements where the communities to benefit from such extensions could not furnish the money. The amount of the compensation to be paid the present private owners of the road would be fixed by the courts; until it were so fixed these private owners would receive just half of the rental, or "standard return," now paid by the Government under the war-time arrangement.

Claims for this Program

This, the most radical proposal of large dimensions that has ever come from labor in America, has found but scanty approval in Congress or with the public, partly because of the nature of the plan itself, and partly because of the arrogant assertion of some labor leaders in pushing it. It is, however, a very live issue; labor interests have formed a league to convince the country of its advisability, and apparently no efforts on their part will be spared to make it a leading political issue in the elections next year. Large sums will be raised for convincing the public as to the merits of the plan.

Its supporters claim that it is only justice to give the workers, on whose efficiency the successful operation of the roads depends, their share in the control and management of the transportation business, and that efficiency and justice cannot be achieved by any other means. They maintain that the present capital accounts of the roads are vastly inflated and that great savings can be effected by arbitrarily cutting down these capital accounts, and paying for the abbreviated valuation with 4 per cent. bonds.

Mr. Plumb promises that railroad rates will ultimately, under this plan, be reduced to one and one-half cents per mile for passenger fares, and to about two-thirds of the present rates for transportation of commodities.

He argues that, although on the face of it the ten directors elected by the operating officials and classified employees would be able to raise wages sky high, the provision by which the operating officials receive dividends at twice as large a rate as those paid to classified workers would always prevent collusion between these two classes of directors in raising wages, because the official class would benefit more, relatively, from dividends than from wage increases. It is further claimed that the sinking fund would operate successfully to retire the bonds and that in good time the people would own their own railroads and get service at cost of operation with no charge whatsoever for the use of property.

Some Practical Effects of the Plan

Such a disposition of the railway properties—which represent, probably, about 8 per cent. of the total wealth of the American people—would not be the same thing as giving the roads to the railroad employees. But it would amount to much more than making a present of the roads to them.

In Soviet Russia, when the workers seize a factory and make themselves the owners and operators of it, the factory becomes their property, with all its gains and with all its losses. Under the "Plumb plan" the workers do not become owners of the railways, which remain the property of the United States. But the workers would receive all divisible profits, when there were any profits, and would not be responsible for any losses, when there were any losses; for, although the plan turns over half of the surplus earnings to the Government, it is provided that this share of the Government's is to go into extensions and improvements, which would of course be for the practical benefit of the employees in making larger or more certain their own dividends.

This is a consideration all the more important because the program does not provide for paying in prosperous years the nation's losses in making up deficits in lean years. In the prosperous years the employees would take the surplus earnings; in lean years taxpayers would pay the deficit.

It is, however, inconceivable to any business man that, with a directorate as proposed, the expenditures for wages would leave any prosperous years at all. If experience goes for anything, there would be continual deficits to be made up by the whole nation, and rates to the public higher than anything that has been heard of in this country. This view will, we think, be supported by a hasty glance, in following paragraphs, at the course and effect of railroad wages during the past few years.

Dealing With the Security Holder

In working out a price possible to be paid for the railroads, advocates of the Plumb plan propose to scale down the present book value of eighteen or twenty billions to perhaps twelve billions; which means in practise that many railroad bondholders would lose a portion of their holdings and most railroad stockholders would be wiped out. The support for the claim that this is just is the doctrine that security holders must not benefit by the "unearned increment" value of their property, and, further, that even the profits which they wisely and thriftily "ploughed back" into the property must be confiscated.

In other words, the owners of a railroad, who, through the past generation, have refrained from milking their road by declaring dividends to the full amount of earnings, and who have used part of the profits which were legitimately theirs under a lawful system of private ownership to maintain and improve and extend their railroad so that it might serve the public better, and be more valuable to the nation and to themselves—such railroad owners and managers would now see part of their property confiscated, whereas if they had gouged out of the road every dollar of earnings in dividends, they would be in fine case under the Plumb plan.

Penalties for Thrift

Its advocates are holding up to public condemnation the practise of certain roads of issuing new stock against money spent out of profits for improvements and extensions and selling such stock to their stockholders for par, or less than market price—although this course of financing, as against persistent borrowing through bond issues, is the chief distinction of a financially well-managed and solvent road, as against the bankrupt and inefficient line, a tragedy to its stockholders and a nuisance to the public.

A young man or young woman who during the past years has invested hard-earned savings in the stock of our standard railroads, impelled by the counsels of investment authorities and all public teachings as to the security and worth and dignity in doing one's bit to furnish money for the maintenance and extension of this basic industry of the nation, would, under the present proposal, see these savings immediately wiped out in part or entirely. The tens of thousands of such instances would not be so hard to contemplate, either, as other tens of thousands in which people no longer young and dependent on modest investments in the standard group of American securities would suddenly see their means of support disappear.

Loose Accusations

Mr. Plumb and his employers are making violent statements as to past and present cases of mismanagement and fraud in the railroad business. There have been such cases, and the unpleasant results to innocent investors and to the public need not be multiplied many times by a new and wholesale confiscation. It is perfectly obvious that in a whole field of industry measured by many billions of capital there could not but be individual cases of mismanagement and wrong dealing.

A fair observer must decide that on the whole human nature has not been abnormally faulty in the running of the railroad business; that there has been a continual and vast improvement, and that within the last ten years the business of conducting the transportation lines has compared very favorably in honesty and open dealing with business in any other large field.

The tempestuous accusations of Mr. Plumb and his fellow-advocates have been for the most part in general form without specifications, and where there were specific instances mentioned they narrowed down to well known cases such as the Rock Island, Chicago & Alton, and certain other incidents in railroad history that have been aired and condemned a hundred times.

To the average business man in the United States, the Plumb plan for the new railway era would mean dire injustice to the security holders, huge deficits to be paid by taxes from the public, high railroad rates and poor service; and for the railroad employees themselves the plan would mean certain confusion, strife, jealousy, and finally loss, as against an orderly and businesslike disposal of the problem.

But even if the many million owners, direct and indirect, of the railroads heartily deserved to be hamstrung financially, no one in the least degree conversant with practical financial affairs believes that Government railroad-purchase bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest would now be worth par in the security markets. With the necessity so recently shown of paying 4¾ per cent.

even in the flush and enthusiasm of ictory loan, the proposal to consider ent. bonds backing up the Plumb worth par is simply preposterous.

The Author of the Plan

Glenn E. Plumb, who has come so r and vividly into the public view his authorship and advocacy of this ng program is the general counsel ilroad Brotherhoods. He is a grad- Oberlin College and of the Harvard hool, and practised law in Chicago, been retained on many occasions in ainst street railways. He is a man years, a forcible speaker, and has nsiderable period studied the prob- the American railroads.

New Wage Demands

ng to the second division of the new from railway labor, it is worth glance at the recent course of events ailway-wage movement, and also at nt financial condition of the proper- are called on for an additional wage f $800,000,000 a year.

umber of railroad employes in the States is now close to 2,000,000. Five o a considerably smaller number of s — operating, however, on no a number of miles of railroads— in wages about $1,300,000,000 a Two years later the railroad wage gone up to $1,470,000,000. In 1917 1,739,000,000. In the next year it nated at $2,900,000,000. In 1919 current estimates make the total xpenditure $3,000,000,000. The ry demands now made would, if bring the total to $3,800,000,000. lled laborers, who in 1916 were re- $50 a month on the average, are eiving $86 a month—it should be red that these and the following re averages for different classifica- labor, and that individuals in each tion receive less, while some receive an the average. Machinists who rs ago earned $100 a month, now on the average; skilled laborers in eous employment on the roads now receive $144 as against $77 three years ago; freight engineers average to-day $207 a month as against $154 in 1916; passenger engineers average $211 as against $177; conductors get $190 as against $156; electricians receive $144 as against $79 in 1916.

Members of the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods have, in the past three years, received an average increase of $800 a year.

It is estimated that railway employees as a whole have had a 76 per cent. increase in wages since 1916, as against 74 per cent. in cotton manufacturing; 64 per cent. in cigar manufacturing; 87 per cent. in men's clothing manufacturing; and 57 per cent. in the automobile industry. It is noticeable that so far as the percentages of increases in wages are concerned, it is the lower order of wage earners who have received the larger ratios of increase, as was necessary and proper in face of the constantly increasing prices of the necessities of life.

The Ability of the Roads to Pay

In the past five years, the gross annual receipts of the American railroads have increased, in very round figures, from $3,000,000,000 to $5,000,000,000; but, owing to the higher cost of wages, equipment, fuel, and other supplies, Mr. Frank Fayant estimates that the average yield on the $18,000,000,000 of capital invested in the railroads is now only about 2½ per cent. The Interstate Commerce Commission has considered that any return less than 5 per cent. is within the danger zone.

While the costs of railroads represented by purchase of commodities and of labor, have increased over 90 per cent. since the beginning of the war, the rates charged to the public have risen only about 35 per cent. This tells the story. It is literally true that the Government guarantee of income under the war-time arrangement is all that keeps the railroads financially alive.

This situation is reflected in the shrinkage in railroad bonds, for the past two years alone, of over $1,500,000,000; while Mr. Byron Holt estimates the shrinkage during these two years in the $9,000,000,000 of railroad stocks as probably more than $2,000,000,000.

MEXICO: THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM

BY AGNES C. LAUT

MEXICO is the unsolved problem of America to-day.

Unfortunately, the problem is not confined to America, but affects England, Canada, France and Holland in a way that might involve good relationship with these nations, that might, indeed, if left unsolved, lead to war. If left unsolved, subject to the exigencies of politics and jingoism and propaganda, war might result.

A Clean-Up Demanded—on Financial Grounds

To these foreign nations, Mexico owes in bonds and defaulted interest on bonds, a sum exceeding $500,000,000 and increasing every day these obligations remain unhonored. This total takes no account of the loss of foreign property and the lives of foreigners during the nine years of revolution in Mexico; and while the nations of the world will ever be averse to another war over mere finances, the fact remains Mexico cannot be rehabilitated without a loan from foreign finance; and that loan Mexico obviously can never obtain unless she guarantees her former unpaid obligations. The honoring of these defaulted debts —a ridiculously small total considering Mexico's wealth and the debts of other nations—is the very *sine qua non* of Mexico being able to pull herself together and end the anarchy that has crucified her people for nine long, terrible, untellable years.

Also the financiers of America are being asked to finance other nations, Belgium, Russia, Italy, France. It is so obvious it hardly needs stating that the investors of America will not finance these needy and deserving countries unless they have international guarantee of security on what they loan; and if Mexico is permitted to repudiate her obligations, why may not those other nations—if convulsed by future disorders—be permitted to repudiate their obligations too?

Mexico's financial bankruptcy must be cleaned up, not only for her own sake, but for the sake of the whole world of finance and diplomacy.

It is telling no diplomatic secrets to reveal that in January and again in March and yet twice again since spring, the governments of these foreign nations formally notified Mexico that she would neither be admitted to the League of Nations, nor receive financial help for the future, till she gave some guarantee of a clean-up.

The clean-up is mandatory; but how; and who?

On Humanitarian Grounds

But the thing cuts deeper, much deeper, than finance. It is now on the broad ground of humanity, on which both the Mexican people and the American people can agree. Both want Mexico pacified and rehabilitated. Neither life, nor property has been safe in Mexico for nine years. This statement needs no proof. On Mexican expeditions and on the border patrol, we have spent more than $150,000,000 in six years. Why have we spent it? To keep the disorders that have bled Mexico white from invading our own border. That is the best proof that Mexico is as far from pacified to-day as she was when the Madero Revolution broke the peace in 1910. More than 300 Americans have been murdered in Mexico by actual detailed count; but, unaccounted for, are far more than 500 American lives, not taking any tally of French and British subjects murdered, for whom both France and England are now demanding explanation.

Scarcely had the Mexican Ambassador to Washington assured the world that Mexico was reducing disorders when the facts came out that within one month a British mine-owner had been murdered, three Americans had been kidnapped for ransom, a Frenchman inland had been shot, a Canadian rancher in Oaxaca had been hacked almost to pieces, the crew of an American war vessel had been robbed, a Scottish oil concern had been confiscated

ıother American pay-roll had been
The facts belied the promises, and
hings have been going on for nine

keep the facts steadily in mind—this
terrible tragedy of the unsolved
ın problem—for one murder that
ers have suffered, for one outrage,
kidnapping, for one plundering raid
Tehuantepec to the American border,
ıe Gulf to the Pacific—for the chaos
ersal—the Mexican people have suf-
thousand fold and are suffering to-
When word came out four years ago
ghteen nuns had died of abuse re-
at the hands of bandits and two hun-
ıd barely recovered, the world shud-
ınd hushed the facts; but how many
know that in whole villages of the
Country, not a girl nor woman has
these ruffian butcheries, as late as
ıd June of this year.
dren have been orphaned by the
tion in the hundreds of thousands;
u can see them snatch in ravenous
for the egg shells from your plate,
eat at any out-of-doors restaurant, or
e kernels from a cob of corn rescued
street sweeper's dust pan. These
hings tell their own tale and carry
wn evidence.
the ground of finance, Mexico must
ıed up for two reasons—to avert war
enable her to begin with a clean
ut on the ground of humanity, she
e cleaned up because the day has
in the history of the world when na-
ıay pass by on the other side asking
ımemorial question of the world's
iminal—Am I my brother's keeper?
hese facts both Mexicans and Ameri-
e agreed. Put the six best Mexicans
uld be picked for the nation and the
t Americans on a jury with these
fore them and no special pleader, and
would be the unanimous verdict—for
ıl reasons and for humane reasons,
must be cleaned up.

Evils of Insincere Propaganda

the tragedy of this unsolved problem
exico has been the cruel sport of poli-
ıincere politics; and that means lying
ında; and the lying propaganda has
face-value, as fact.
hear of one American party airily
"the buck" to the other party, and
ıer party jauntily planning to pass "the buck" gaily back to its friend "the enemy." Meanwhile, a country, the richest country in the whole world, lies crucified, and in the words of an aged hacienda owner, whose sons have been killed in the revolutions following revolutions and whose daughters have suffered worse than death—a nation lifts its eyes to a heaven that seems very far, indeed, asking—"How long, Oh Lord, how long?"

Let me give examples of how making Mexico the sport of party politics works; and these examples apply to both sides of the border. When Mr. Bryan was in the State Department, we came the nearest to war with Mexico that we have been since 1848. Americans were ordered out of Mexico. At once the air was charged with clamorous shout and countershout—most of it noise to keep the truth from being known. Mexico was split into a dozen revolutionary factions. The party that shrieked the loudest—"Anti-foreign!"—"Cut the gringoes' throats!"—hoped to unify the other factions under it; so they shrieked loud enough to be heard from Tehuantepec to Athabasca. At once the pacifists north of the border took up the counter cry—"Anti-intervention! Wolf, wolf!" "Murder! Financial interests trying to plunge the United States into a bloody war for the sake of dirty dollars!"

Not a single fact was given in all this shouting to prove or disprove the charges and counter-charges; but we came so near to war that we hurt American prestige more in six months than we have been able to restore it in six years.

Now, what as a *matter of fact* was actually happening beneath all the clamor of charge and counter-charge? Did the Mexicans want "to cut the gringoes' throats?" Did they want to see the Americans driven out? Was the whole tragic farce a damnable trick to force intervention? Were "American exploiters" trying to bleed a little nation fighting with its back to the wall for democracy? Forget the cries and counter-cries! Here's what was happening. I give only two examples. I could give a dozen; and I may add that I investigated them on the spot, not second-hand.

In one famous mining district within six months of the time the Americans withdrew, thousands of people—chiefly the very old and the very young—died of starvation and malnutrition because industry had shut down, and there were no wages, and food had

one-twentieth of an ounce of gold were an ounce or a pound or a ton of gold, it would surely buy more than it does now which is the same thing as saying that the price level would be lower than it is now.

A Mexican gold dollar weighs about half as much as ours and has less purchasing power. If Mexico should adopt the same dollar that we have and that Canada has, no one could doubt that its purchasing power would rise—that is, the price level in Mexico would fall. Since, then, the heavier or the lighter the gold dollar is the more or the less is its purchasing power, it follows that, if we add new grains of gold to the dollar, just fast enough to compensate for the loss in the purchasing power of each grain, or vice versa, take away gold to compensate for a gain, we shall have a fully "compensated dollar" stationary instead of fluctuating, when judged by its purchasing power.

But how, it will be asked, is it possible, in practise, to change the weight of the gold dollar? The feat is certainly not impossible, for it has often been accomplished. We ourselves have changed the weight of our gold dollar twice—once in 1834, when the gold in the dollar was reduced 6 per cent., and again in 1837, when it was increased one tenth of 1 per cent. If we can change it once or twice a century, we can change it once or twice a month!

Abolish Gold Coin

And if we circulate paper representatives of gold exclusively, instead of including any gold coins, these frequent changes in the weight of the gold dollar can be made even more easily than the occasional changes were made which history records. In actual fact, gold now circulates almost entirely through "yellowbacks," for gold certificates. The gold itself, often not in the form of coins at all but of "bar gold," lies in the Government vaults.

A bar of gold nine-tenths fine weighing 25,800 grains is just as properly to be called one thousand dollars of 25.8 grains each as if that bar were cut up into a hundred separate pieces and each were stamped into a ten-dollar gold piece. The thousand gold dollars already exist embedded or welded together in that gold bar, while the right of ownership in them circulates in the form of the paper "yellowbacks."

It would, therefore, be a little more than expressing in law an existing custom if gold coins were abolished altogether.

The abolition of gold coin would make no material change in the present situation. Gold would, just at present, be brought by the gold miner to the mint or the assay office or other Government depository, and he would, just as at present, receive paper tokens or yellowbacks in return. This sale of gold to the Government for yellowbacks—that is, this free deposit—is really the essence of the so-called "free coinage." It is thus that gold gets into circulation, through its representatives, the yellowbacks.

Moreover, the gold in the Treasury would serve, just as at present, for the redemption of the gold certificates. The jeweler, or gold exporter, would, just as at present, obtain gold for his purposes by exchanging yellowbacks for gold at the Treasury.

Thus free coinage (or deposit) and free redemption would go on substantially as at present, the one increasing and the other decreasing the volume of certificates—that is, the virtual gold in circulation. The essential mechanism of our gold-standard system may be pictured as a lake of gold in circulation in the form of yellowbacks fed by "free coinage" (or deposit) by miners, and drained by free redemption, or withdrawal by jewelers or exporters.

If gold thus circulated only in the form of paper representatives it would evidently be possible to vary at will the weight of the gold dollar without any such annoyance or complication as would arise from the existence of coins. The Government would simply vary the quantity of gold bullion which it would exchange for a paper dollar—the quantity it would give or take at a given time. As readily as a grocer can vary the amount of sugar he will give for a dollar, the Government could vary the amount of gold it would give for a dollar. To-day the Government will give 25.8 grains of gold bullion to the jeweler or exporter for each dollar of certificates he pays in; next month it might give 26 grains or only 24 grains.

But, it will now be asked, what criterion is to guide the Government in making these changes in the dollar's weight? Am I proposing that some Government official should be authorized to mark the dollar up or down according to his own caprice? Most certainly not. A definite and simple criterion for the required adjustments is at hand—the now familiar "index number" of prices. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, which now

publishes an index number, the Bureau of Standards, or other suitable Government office would be required to publish this number at certain stated intervals, say monthly.

Change the Gold Dollar Monthly

That is, each month the bureau would calculate from current market prices how much would have to be paid for the composite basket of goods. This figure it would publish and proclaim; and this figure would then afford the needed official sanction to the Secretary of the Treasury to change the rating of the gold dollar—that is, to change the amount of gold which the mint would give or take for a gold certificate, and thus increase or diminish the purchasing power of that certificate.

If, for instance, the index number representing the current price of our composite basket of goods is found to be 1 per cent. above the ideal par—that is, above the one dollar price it had at first—this fact will indicate that the purchasing power of the dollar has gone down; and this fact will be the signal and authorization for an increase of 1 per cent. in the weight of the gold dollar. What is thereby added to the purchasing power of the gold dollar will be automatically registered in the purchasing power of its circulating certificate.

If you ask how I know that this 1 per cent. increase in the weight of the gold dollar is just sufficient to drive the index number back to par, I answer that I don't know, any more than I know, when the steering wheel of an automobile is turned, that it will prove to have been turned just enough and not too much. Many things may interfere in a month. But if the correction is not enough, or if it is too much, the index number next month will tell the story. Absolutely perfect correction is impossible, but any imperfection will continue to reappear and so cannot escape ultimate correction.

Suppose, for instance, that next month the index number is found to remain unchanged at 101. Then the dollar is at once loaded an additional 1 per cent. And if, next month, the index number is, let us say, 100½ (that is, one-half of 1 per cent. above par), the one-half of 1 per cent. will call for a third addition to the dollar's weight, this time of one-half of 1 per cent. And so, as long as the index number persists in staying even a little above par, the dollar will continue to be loaded each month, until, if necessary, it weighs an ounce or a ton, for that matter. But, of course, long before it can become so heavy, the additional weight will become sufficient; so that the index number will be pushed back to par—that is, the circulating certificate will have its purchasing power restored.

Summary

This plan would put a stop, once for all, to a terrible evil which for centuries has vexed the world, the evil of dislocating contracts and monetary understandings. All contracts, at present, though nominally carried out, are really tampered with as truly as if false weights and measures were used for delivering coal or grain. Business, now periodically disturbed by the pranks of our mischievous dollar, would be put on a securer foundation than ever before; for the greatest and most universal uncertainty or gamble, all the more disastrous because unseen—the gamble in gold—would be removed.

The world is now looking to us, as never before, for leadership. It is our golden opportunity to set world standards. If we adopt a stable standard of value, it seems certain that other nations, as fast as they can straighten out their affairs, resume specie payments, and secure, again, stable pars of exchange, will follow our example. After gold and silver fell apart in 1873, the nations, one after another, adopted the common standard of gold; and now, after the falling asunder of all the pars of international exchange from this world war, the new order will probably be set by whatever nation first seizes the opportunity and takes the lead.

The more the evidence in the case is studied the deeper will grow the public conviction that our shifting dollar is responsible for colossal social wrongs and is all the more at fault because these wrongs are usually attributed to other causes. When the intelligent public who can apply the remedy realize this, action will follow and we shall secure a boon for all future generations, a true standard for contracts, a stabilized dollar.

RISING PRICES AND SECURITY VALUES

BY BYRON W. HOLT

RAPIDLY rising prices are a most powerful revolutionary force in commerce, industry, society, and politics. They play havoc with interest rates, realty values, operating costs, and incomes. They produce great changes in the distribution of wealth. They promote speculation, extravagance, and thriftlessness.

In 1906, in "The Gold Supply and Prosperity," I said:

> Rising prices of commodities and property encourage speculation in commodities, stocks and real estate and discourage honest industry. A prolonged period of rapidly rising prices is reasonably certain to become a period of unrest, discontent, agitation, strikes, riots, rebellions, and wars.

This was written in 1906 after the price level had, as a result of gold depreciation, risen about 40 per cent. in ten years. At Chautauqua, on July 13, 1914 (when prices were about 60 per cent. higher than in 1896), I said that because the effects of rising prices are cumulative "the radicalism of the next decade will probably exceed that of any decade in the world's history."

These statements and predictions were postulated on gold depreciation and the expectation that prices would continue to advance for ten years at an average rate of 2 to 3 per cent. a year.

The predictions of 1906 and 1914 would probably have been verified even if the world war had not occurred and caused prices to advance 129 per cent. from August 1, 1914, to August 1, 1919, according to Bradstreet's index number of prices.

This unexpected, and perhaps unparalleled, advance in prices has shaken the industrial, commercial, financial, and political world as it was never before shaken; has produced seething discontent and labor and political disturbances; and has to-day made the high cost of living the paramount question in all the nations of the earth. If prices continue to advance as rapidly as they have been advancing in the last three months (16 per cent), the score or more of minor wars now disturbing Europe may develop into another major war, even before the peace treaty is ratified or the League of Nations is born.

Necessarily, then, so powerful and revolutionary a force as is a prolonged period of rapidly rising prices, must greatly affect security values. Generally speaking, it depreciates the values and prices of bonds and preferred stocks, and appreciates the values and prices of common stocks. The exceptions as to stocks are, however, very numerous.

Why Interest Rates Rise

When prices are rising rapidly there is a great demand for money to invest in property that is appreciating in value. Such property includes not only the commodities themselves but land, buildings, machinery, mines, docks, ships, cars, etc. When these are rising rapidly in value every one whose eyes are open is borrowing money from those who are blind to the speculative opportunities that exist.

Thus, wide-awake manufacturers and merchants are borrowing money with which to buy more materials and goods than they need for immediate use. Farmers are buying more land, and real-estate men more lots and houses than they need. Everybody is speculating in commodities and opportunities of production and is trying to get ahead of everybody else. The monopoly and forestalling game goes on at an accelerating speed as prices rise faster and faster.

It is evident that the more rapidly prices are rising the greater will be the speculative demand for money and the higher will be the rates of interest. Money rates are nearly always high in periods of rising prices, and low in periods of falling prices.

Long-continued high money rates mean low prices for bonds and preferred stocks. It is largely because prices have risen more rapidly in the last three years than ever before and interest rates have been extremely high that many good bonds and preferred

stocks have sold at record low prices, since 1916, and are now not far from their bottom prices. They are not likely to advance much until permanently lower interest rates are in sight. Interest rates will not decline much until prices cease to rise rapidly. If, however, prices were stabilized, interest rates and the prices of bonds and stocks with fixed incomes would quickly tend toward normal.

The rise of prices due to more and cheaper money is accentuated by speculation or "profiteering." A land craze is now raging in the West. Many farms in Iowa have risen $100 an acre in four months. Some of them are being bought and sold several times a month on 5 and 10 per cent. margins. Thousands of land, food, and clothing speculators are to-day riding in limousines, smoking expensive cigars and living riotously and extravagantly on their paper or speculative profits. Because speculation is being overdone there will be a collapse some day. It is not certain that this day will be postponed by all of the belated efforts of politicians to reduce the high cost of living. The situation calls for statesmen and economists. Further meddling with economic laws may result in more harm than good.

Why Some Stocks Rise

Of course, when property values are rising rapidly the common stocks of corporations that own these properties tend to advance. If, as is usually the case, the properties are mortgaged, the common stocks will, other things being equal, advance not only to keep pace with the rise in the property but to offset the shrinkage in the value of the bonds. Thus, if a corporation with $1,000,000 of bonds and $1,000,000 of stock owned lands or mines that were worth $2,000,000 in 1915, and its lands or mines have since doubled in value, the present value of the stock is $3,000,000. The great rise in industrial stocks in the last three years is largely accounted for by the increased equities resulting from higher prices for real property.

The common stocks that have not advanced in price are mostly those of public-service and of gold-mining corporations, the prices of whose products or services are fixed by law or custom. These include the stocks of railroads, street railways, gas, water, electric-light, telephone corporations, etc., none of which are free, as are most manufacturing and pr[illegible] corporations, to advance the prices of what they have to sell and, in this way, to recoup their losses from increasing costs of operation.

The great declines in the prices of the stocks of our railroads and street railways, in the last few years, are due to the inability of these corporations to offset their increased labor and material costs by higher prices for their products. A large proportion of our street railways, whose fares have not been increased, are now in the hands of receivers. A very large percentage of our railroads would now be bankrupt, if the Government had not advanced rates 25 per cent. and guaranteed net earnings far above those actually being realized.

It may be opportune to suggest some of the more important ways in which rising prices affect security values. Because the prices of bonds decline and the prices of most industrial stocks advance under the influence of rising prices, those who invested carefully and cautiously in 1914 have lost heavily during the last three years, while those who have been reckless and have speculated in industrial stocks have rapidly grown rich. Those who borrowed freely and went into debt in order to buy industrial stocks or tangible property have prospered, while those who saved and loaned money have, through the shrinkage in the value of the dollars loaned, really lost a large part of their savings. In this way rising prices, by decreasing the incomes from "safe" investments in high-grade bonds and preferred stocks and by increasing the profits of speculators, encourage extravagance, recklessness, thriftlessness, and dishonesty.

Rising prices work to the advantage of the debtors—the rich—and to the disadvantage of the creditors—the middle class. All who have money in savings or other banks or who hold insurance policies are creditors. There are, perhaps, three times as many creditors as debtors.

The wage and salary-earning class also suffers when prices rise, for wages and salaries (especially the salaries of teachers, policemen, etc.) do not advance as fast as do prices. Discontent is thus engendered.

Instability in the dollar makes business a gamble and leads to uncertainty and insecurity. Stability, if it can be secured by Professor Fisher's standardized dollar, or in any other way, would, as I believe, soon quiet the present discontent, stop baneful speculation and extravagance, and lead the world back to thrift and contentment.

THE PLUMB PLAN AND THE RAILWAYS

AN ANALYSIS AND A CRITICISM

ON August 2 Representative Sims introduced into Congress the bill providing for the so-called "Plumb Plan" for railway control, backed by the fourteen unions of railway employees (numbering nearly 2,000,000 members) and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

More than thirty different plans for the disposition and control of the railways had already been presented to Congress, but not all of them put together have aroused nearly so much attention and discussion as this strongly-urged proposal of the railroad workers. Both the manner of presentation and the substance of the plan gave the country a distinct shock. One railway union official announced through the newspapers that if this revolutionary plan were not accepted, the workers would tie up the roads so that they would never run again. It is only fair to say that this threat was repudiated by other labor leaders.

The presentation of the "Plumb Plan" was accompanied by demands for huge increases in wages for practically all classes of railway employees, amounting in the aggregate to about $800,000,000 a year. Without waiting for an answer to these demands, in some cases without even presenting them, certain classes of railway workers, chiefly shopmen, went on strike, to the number—according to union officials—of 250,000.

Traffic Held Up by Strikes

Railroad traffic in New England and parts of the South and of the Middle West was thrown into a state of confusion, and more than two weeks after the question was raised had made but little progress toward normal conditions. This was the first occasion on which all the railroad employees have simultaneously presented demands for increased wages.

Their leaders justified the action in statements to President Wilson and to Congress on the score of the continued increase in the cost of living and expressed themselves as willing to accept—indeed, as preferring—a reduction in the cost of living as against higher wages.

Senator Cummins and the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee officially informed President Wilson that he had power, without further legislation, to deal with this wage question; and he took measures for investigation and adjustment of the matter which were not, however, satisfactory to the Brotherhoods. The President also reminded the Brotherhoods that the worst thing possible for all concerned in the present difficult phase of reconstruction was to have production held up by strikes, and he refused to deal with striking employees in the matter of higher wages until they should have gone back to work. By the middle of August, many of the striking shopmen had realized the wisdom of President Wilson's attitude and were returning to their jobs.

What the "Plumb Plan" Is

Thus the suddenly accelerated excitement and discussion in the problem of the railroads was due to two distinct developments: (1) the sudden insistence by railway labor on a revolutionary plan for the ownership and control of the railroads, and (2) their equally sudden and unanimous demand for great increases in wages.

Their plan for the future of the railroads, formulated by the general counsel of the Brotherhoods, Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, provides for the Government's purchase of all the railroad lines from their private owners with United States bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest; for the operation of the roads under lease by a board of fifteen directors, five to be appointed by the President, five to be elected by the railroad operating officials and five to be elected by the classified employees. There would be no capital stock issued. The Interstate Commerce Commission would fix the rates. When the revenues of the roads exceeded the operating expenses, plus interest on the purchase money and sinking fund, the current surplus would be divided equally between the Government

and the employees, with the limitation that when the Government's share of the surplus earnings exceeded 5 per cent. of the gross revenues of the roads, rates would be reduced 5 per cent.

The employees would receive their share of the profits as a dividend on labor and an incentive to efficiency. The Government would use its half of the surplus earnings to pay for extensions and improvements where the communities to benefit from such extensions could not furnish the money. The amount of the compensation to be paid the present private owners of the road would be fixed by the courts; until it were so fixed these private owners would receive just half of the rental, or "standard return," now paid by the Government under the war-time arrangement.

Claims for this Program

This, the most radical proposal of large dimensions that has ever come from labor in America, has found but scanty approval in Congress or with the public, partly because of the nature of the plan itself, and partly because of the arrogant assertion of some labor leaders in pushing it. It is, however, a very live issue; labor interests have formed a league to convince the country of its advisability, and apparently no efforts on their part will be spared to make it a leading political issue in the elections next year. Large sums will be raised for convincing the public as to the merits of the plan.

Its supporters claim that it is only justice to give the workers, on whose efficiency the successful operation of the roads depends, their share in the control and management of the transportation business, and that efficiency and justice cannot be achieved by any other means. They maintain that the present capital accounts of the roads are vastly inflated and that great savings can be effected by arbitrarily cutting down these capital accounts, and paying for the abbreviated valuation with 4 per cent. bonds.

Mr. Plumb promises that railroad rates will ultimately, under this plan, be reduced to one and one-half cents per mile for passenger fares, and to about two-thirds of the present rates for transportation of commodities.

He argues that, although on the face of it the ten directors elected by the operating officials and classified employees would be able to raise wages sky high, the provision by which the operating officials receive dividends at twice as large a rate as those paid to classified workers would always prevent collusion between these two classes of directors in raising wages, because the official class would benefit more, relatively, from dividends than from wage increases. It is further claimed that the sinking fund would operate successfully to retire the bonds and that in good time the people would own their own railroads and get service at cost of operation with no charge whatsoever for the use of property.

Some Practical Effects of the Plan

Such a disposition of the railway properties—which represent, probably, about 8 per cent. of the total wealth of the American people—would not be the same thing as giving the roads to the railroad employees. But it would amount to much more than making a present of the roads to them.

In Soviet Russia, when the workers seize a factory and make themselves the owners and operators of it, the factory becomes their property, with all its gains and with all its losses. Under the "Plumb plan" the workers do not become owners of the railways, which remain the property of the United States. But the workers would receive all divisible profits, when there were any profits, and would not be responsible for any losses, when there were any losses; for, although the plan turns over half of the surplus earnings to the Government, it is provided that this share of the Government's is to go into extensions and improvements, which would of course be for the practical benefit of the employees in making larger or more certain their own dividends.

This is a consideration all the more important because the program does not provide for paying in prosperous years the nation's losses in making up deficits in lean years. In the prosperous years the employees would take the surplus earnings; in lean years taxpayers would pay the deficit.

It is, however, inconceivable to any business man that, with a directorate as proposed, the expenditures for wages would leave any prosperous years at all. If experience goes for anything, there would be continual deficits to be made up by the whole nation, and rates to the public higher than anything that has been heard of in this country. This view will, we think, be supported by a hasty glance, in following paragraphs, at the course and effect of railroad wages during the past few years.

Dealing With the Security Holder

In working out a price possible to be paid for the railroads, advocates of the Plumb plan propose to scale down the present book value of eighteen or twenty billions to perhaps twelve billions; which means in practise that many railroad bondholders would lose a portion of their holdings and most railroad stockholders would be wiped out. The support for the claim that this is just is the doctrine that security holders must not benefit by the "unearned increment" value of their property, and, further, that even the profits which they wisely and thriftily "ploughed back" into the property must be confiscated.

In other words, the owners of a railroad, who, through the past generation, have refrained from milking their road by declaring dividends to the full amount of earnings, and who have used part of the profits which were legitimately theirs under a lawful system of private ownership to maintain and improve and extend their railroad so that it might serve the public better, and be more valuable to the nation and to themselves—such railroad owners and managers would now see part of their property confiscated, whereas if they had gouged out of the road every dollar of earnings in dividends, they would be in fine case under the Plumb plan.

Penalties for Thrift

Its advocates are holding up to public condemnation the practise of certain roads of issuing new stock against money spent out of profits for improvements and extensions and selling such stock to their stockholders for par, or less than market price—although this course of financing, as against persistent borrowing through bond issues, is the chief distinction of a financially well-managed and solvent road, as against the bankrupt and inefficient line, a tragedy to its stockholders and a nuisance to the public.

A young man or young woman who during the past years has invested hard-earned savings in the stock of our standard railroads, impelled by the counsels of investment authorities and all public teachings as to the security and worth and dignity in doing one's bit to furnish money for the maintenance and extension of this basic industry of the nation, would, under the present proposal, see these savings immediately wiped out in part or entirely. The tens of thousands of such instances would not be so hard to contemplate, either, as other tens of thousands in which people no longer young and dependent on modest investments in the standard group of American securities would suddenly see their means of support disappear.

Loose Accusations

Mr. Plumb and his employers are making violent statements as to past and present cases of mismanagement and fraud in the railroad business. There have been such cases, and the unpleasant results to innocent investors and to the public need not be multiplied many times by a new and wholesale confiscation. It is perfectly obvious that in a whole field of industry measured by many billions of capital there could not but be individual cases of mismanagement and wrong dealing.

A fair observer must decide that on the whole human nature has not been abnormally faulty in the running of the railroad business; that there has been a continual and vast improvement, and that within the last ten years the business of conducting the transportation lines has compared very favorably in honesty and open dealing with business in any other large field.

The tempestuous accusations of Mr. Plumb and his fellow-advocates have been for the most part in general form without specifications, and where there were specific instances mentioned they narrowed down to well known cases such as the Rock Island, Chicago & Alton, and certain other incidents in railroad history that have been aired and condemned a hundred times.

To the average business man in the United States, the Plumb plan for the new railway era would mean dire injustice to the security holders, huge deficits to be paid by taxes from the public, high railroad rates and poor service; and for the railroad employees themselves the plan would mean certain confusion, strife, jealousy, and finally loss, as against an orderly and businesslike disposal of the problem.

But even if the many million owners, direct and indirect, of the railroads heartily deserved to be hamstrung financially, no one in the least degree conversant with practical financial affairs believes that Government railroad-purchase bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest would now be worth par in the security markets. With the necessity so recently shown of paying 4¾ per cent.

interest even in the flush and enthusiasm of a war Victory loan, the proposal to consider 4 per cent. bonds backing up the Plumb plan as worth par is simply preposterous.

The Author of the Plan

Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, who has come so suddenly and vividly into the public view through his authorship and advocacy of this astonishing program is the general counsel of the railroad Brotherhoods. He is a graduate of Oberlin College and of the Harvard Law School, and practised law in Chicago, having been retained on many occasions in cases against street railways. He is a man of fifty years, a forcible speaker, and has for a considerable period studied the problems of the American railroads.

New Wage Demands

Turning to the second division of the new demands from railway labor, it is worth while to glance at the recent course of events in the railway-wage movement, and also at the present financial condition of the properties that are called on for an additional wage charge of $800,000,000 a year.

The number of railroad employes in the United States is now close to 2,000,000. Five years ago a considerably smaller number of employees — operating, however, on no greater a number of miles of railroads— received in wages about $1,300,000,000 a year. Two years later the railroad wage bill had gone up to $1,470,000,000. In 1917 it was $1,739,000,000. In the next year it was estimated at $2,900,000,000. In 1919 the best current estimates make the total wage expenditure $3,000,000,000. The peremptory demands now made would, if granted, bring the total to $3,800,000,000.

Unskilled laborers, who in 1916 were receiving $50 a month on the average, are now receiving $86 a month—it should be remembered that these and the following figures are averages for different classifications of labor, and that individuals in each classification receive less, while some receive more, than the average. Machinists who three years ago earned $100 a month, now get $196 on the average; skilled laborers in miscellaneous employment on the roads now receive $144 as against $77 three years ago; freight engineers average to-day $207 a month as against $154 in 1916; passenger engineers average $211 as against $177; conductors get $190 as against $156; electricians receive $144 as against $79 in 1916.

Members of the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods have, in the past three years, received an average increase of $800 a year.

It is estimated that railway employees as a whole have had a 76 per cent. increase in wages since 1916, as against 74 per cent. in cotton manufacturing; 64 per cent. in cigar manufacturing; 87 per cent. in men's clothing manufacturing; and 57 per cent. in the automobile industry. It is noticeable that so far as the percentages of increases in wages are concerned, it is the lower order of wage earners who have received the larger ratios of increase, as was necessary and proper in face of the constantly increasing prices of the necessities of life.

The Ability of the Roads to Pay

In the past five years, the gross annual receipts of the American railroads have increased, in very round figures, from $3,000,000,000 to $5,000,000,000; but, owing to the higher cost of wages, equipment, fuel, and other supplies, Mr. Frank Fayant estimates that the average yield on the $18,000,000,000 of capital invested in the railroads is now only about 2½ per cent. The Interstate Commerce Commission has considered that any return less than 5 per cent. is within the danger zone.

While the costs of railroads represented by purchase of commodities and of labor, have increased over 90 per cent. since the beginning of the war, the rates charged to the public have risen only about 35 per cent. This tells the story. It is literally true that the Government guarantee of income under the war-time arrangement is all that keeps the railroads financially alive.

This situation is reflected in the shrinkage in railroad bonds, for the past two years alone, of over $1,500,000,000; while Mr. Byron Holt estimates the shrinkage during these two years in the $9,000,000,000 of railroad stocks as probably more than $2,000,000,000.

MEXICO: THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM

BY AGNES C. LAUT

MEXICO is the unsolved problem of America to-day.

Unfortunately, the problem is not confined to America, but affects England, Canada, France and Holland in a way that might involve good relationship with these nations, that might, indeed, if left unsolved, lead to war. If left unsolved, subject to the exigencies of politics and jingoism and propaganda, war might result.

A Clean-Up Demanded—on Financial Grounds

To these foreign nations, Mexico owes in bonds and defaulted interest on bonds, a sum exceeding $500,000,000 and increasing every day these obligations remain unhonored. This total takes no account of the loss of foreign property and the lives of foreigners during the nine years of revolution in Mexico; and while the nations of the world will ever be averse to another war over mere finances, the fact remains Mexico cannot be rehabilitated without a loan from foreign finance; and that loan Mexico obviously can never obtain unless she guarantees her former unpaid obligations. The honoring of these defaulted debts —a ridiculously small total considering Mexico's wealth and the debts of other nations—is the very *sine qua non* of Mexico being able to pull herself together and end the anarchy that has crucified her people for nine long, terrible, untellable years.

Also the financiers of America are being asked to finance other nations, Belgium, Russia, Italy, France. It is so obvious it hardly needs stating that the investors of America will not finance these needy and deserving countries unless they have international guarantee of security on what they loan; and if Mexico is permitted to repudiate her obligations, why may not those other nations—if convulsed by future disorders—be permitted to repudiate their obligations too?

Mexico's financial bankruptcy must be cleaned up, not only for her own sake, but for the sake of the whole world of finance and diplomacy.

It is telling no diplomatic secrets to reveal that in January and again in March and yet twice again since spring, the governments of these foreign nations formally notified Mexico that she would neither be admitted to the League of Nations, nor receive financial help for the future, till she gave some guarantee of a clean-up.

The clean-up is mandatory; but how; and who?

On Humanitarian Grounds

But the thing cuts deeper, much deeper, than finance. It is now on the broad ground of humanity, on which both the Mexican people and the American people can agree. Both want Mexico pacified and rehabilitated. Neither life, nor property has been safe in Mexico for nine years. This statement needs no proof. On Mexican expeditions and on the border patrol, we have spent more than $150,000,000 in six years. Why have we spent it? To keep the disorders that have bled Mexico white from invading our own border. That is the best proof that Mexico is as far from pacified to-day as she was when the Madero Revolution broke the peace in 1910. More than 300 Americans have been murdered in Mexico by actual detailed count; but, unaccounted for, are far more than 500 American lives, not taking any tally of French and British subjects murdered, for whom both France and England are now demanding explanation.

Scarcely had the Mexican Ambassador to Washington assured the world that Mexico was reducing disorders when the facts came out that within one month a British mine-owner had been murdered, three Americans had been kidnapped for ransom, a Frenchman inland had been shot, a Canadian rancher in Oaxaca had been hacked almost to pieces, the crew of an American war vessel had been robbed, a Scottish oil concern had been confiscated,

and another American pay-roll had been stolen. The facts belied the promises, and these things have been going on for nine years.

But keep the facts steadily in mind—this is the terrible tragedy of the unsolved Mexican problem—for one murder that foreigners have suffered, for one outrage, for one kidnapping, for one plundering raid from Tehuantepec to the American border, from the Gulf to the Pacific—for the chaos is universal—the Mexican people have suffered a thousand fold and are suffering today. When word came out four years ago that eighteen nuns had died of abuse received at the hands of bandits and two hundred had barely recovered, the world shuddered and hushed the facts; but how many people know that in whole villages of the South Country, not a girl nor woman has escaped these ruffian butcheries, as late as May and June of this year.

Children have been orphaned by the Revolution in the hundreds of thousands; and you can see them snatch in ravenous hunger for the egg shells from your plate, as you eat at any out-of-doors restaurant, or pick the kernels from a cob of corn rescued from a street sweeper's dust pan. These little things tell their own tale and carry their own evidence.

On the ground of finance, Mexico must be cleaned up for two reasons—to avert war and to enable her to begin with a clean slate; but on the ground of humanity, she must be cleaned up because the day has passed in the history of the world when nations may pass by on the other side asking the immemorial question of the world's first criminal—Am I my brother's keeper?

On these facts both Mexicans and Americans are agreed. Put the six best Mexicans that could be picked for the nation and the six best Americans on a jury with these facts before them and no special pleader, and there would be the unanimous verdict—for financial reasons and for humane reasons, Mexico must be cleaned up.

Evils of Insincere Propaganda

It is the tragedy of this unsolved problem that Mexico has been the cruel sport of politics, insincere politics; and that means lying propaganda; and the lying propaganda has passed, face-value, as fact.

We hear of one American party airily passing "the buck" to the other party, and the other party jauntily planning to pass "the buck" gaily back to its friend "the enemy." Meanwhile, a country, the richest country in the whole world, lies crucified, and in the words of an aged hacienda owner, whose sons have been killed in the revolutions following revolutions and whose daughters have suffered worse than death—a nation lifts its eyes to a heaven that seems very far, indeed, asking—"How long, Oh Lord, how long?"

Let me give examples of how making Mexico the sport of party politics works; and these examples apply to both sides of the border. When Mr. Bryan was in the State Department, we came the nearest to war with Mexico that we have been since 1848. Americans were ordered out of Mexico. At once the air was charged with clamorous shout and countershout—most of it noise to keep the truth from being known. Mexico was split into a dozen revolutionary factions. The party that shrieked the loudest—"Anti-foreign!"—"Cut the gringoes' throats!"—hoped to unify the other factions under it; so they shrieked loud enough to be heard from Tehuantepec to Athabasca. At once the pacifists north of the border took up the counter cry—"Anti-intervention! Wolf, wolf!" "Murder! Financial interests trying to plunge the United States into a bloody war for the sake of dirty dollars!"

Not a single fact was given in all this shouting to prove or disprove the charges and counter-charges; but we came so near to war that we hurt American prestige more in six months than we have been able to restore it in six years.

Now, what as a *matter of fact* was actually happening beneath all the clamor of charge and counter-charge? Did the Mexicans want "to cut the gringoes' throats?" Did they want to see the Americans driven out? Was the whole tragic farce a damnable trick to force intervention? Were "American exploiters" trying to bleed a little nation fighting with its back to the wall for democracy? Forget the cries and counter-cries! Here's what was happening. I give only two examples. I could give a dozen; and I may add that I investigated them on the spot, not second-hand.

In one famous mining district within six months of the time the Americans withdrew, thousands of people—chiefly the very old and the very young—died of starvation and malnutrition because industry had shut down, and there were no wages, and food had

stopped coming in from the United States. In another district, famous for American industry and smelling, as the pacifists say, of "oil," which was supplying the Allied Navies of the world with fuel to win the war, the Mexicans organized among themselves a protective league to protect American property and keep the supply of fuel going out to the Allies. In those months in which they were solely in charge and not one American agent was on the field, not a dollar's worth of American property was molested. Does that read to you as if Mexicans hated Americans and wanted "to drive the gringoes out"?

As another example: Early this year the charge was made in a certain section of the Mexican press and copied in a small section of the American press that a certain very powerful American corporation—which I do not name because the charge was false—had financed the Madero Revolution and was now financing the Diaz faction. I happened to know the man who made that charge and to esteem him personally very highly. He believed what he had written; so one morning, when we were sauntering through the Alameda Park of Mexico City, I asked him frankly for name, date and amount.

"Why, don't you know," he asked smiling at my simplicity, "that those people gave Gustavo Madero $750,000 ($375,000 U. S. Currency) to finance the Madero Revolution? And they are the only people who can have the same motive in wishing Felix Diaz to overthrow Carranza. So-and-so [mentioning a man who was trying to work up a new election cry in Mexico] told me all about it."

"Then," I answered, "the man lied to you; and he did it to get the lie in the American press to confuse issues in the elections coming on in the United States. That money was simply stolen from a sale of rail bonds to French investors. It was repaid as soon as Madero came to power; and the Mexican who did the stealing was shot in the Tragic Ten Days of the Plaza Fight, and the French broker, who helped him to make the steal is now serving seven years in the penitentiary of Paris for the theft. The thing has been proved openly in the courts of law in Paris."

In fact, details of the theft were then running in the French press. The American correspondent was so astonished that he came to a dead stop in his saunter. When I came back to the United States, I found that lie being copied and recopied and amplified.

Then, when I went into the Diaz country, the pitifulness of the story was laughable. So far was Felix Diaz from being financed by anybody that his followers, numbering 40,000, could not muster arms for 5000. They were destitute of clothing, of supplies, of arms, of ammunition. They were begging with tears in their eyes for aid—aid which I happen to know has not been extended to them by any financial power in the United States, Canada, England, France, however much they may get from expatriates working through Guatemala, which is at daggers drawn with the Mexican Administration, from an old quarrel, forming no part of this record of facts.

There is one way to put the quietus on such tales—for the American press to demand name, place, time, amount. If true, bring action against the corporation, as was done to the French broker in Paris. If untrue, let the corporations sue the press for libel. Mexico has suffered enough from a campaign of lies. Redemption can only come through letting the light in on facts.

Why Mexico Became Pro-German

So much for dealing with Mexico as the sport of politics and propaganda. Of the diplomatic way of dealing with Mexico, the least said the better. It has been an egregious blunder that has led to a tragic crucifixion; and I for one think the time has come for a resurrection of Mexico to the New Day that is dawning over a suffering world.

It was German trickery that led Mexico astray with propaganda trickery in the first place; and if the question is asked why Mexico was so easily led into pro-Germanism, it is time to strip explanations down to the naked rock-bed. Mexico did not espouse pro-Germanism because she loved Germany more, or the United States less. From neither French nor British had the Mexicans any secret fears of domination; of both Germans and Americans, justly or unjustly, they did harbor such apprehensions. Of Germans, commercially, and of Americans, nationally. Then why did Mexican leaders espouse pro-Germanism? Because they were desperate for money. They had had five years of revolution and "revolooting" when the Great War broke out. Every revolutionary leader had begun sans money, sans men. For the men, he held out promise of

loot; but money was needed desperately; and the German propagandists were liberal paymasters privately and publicly. That is the real secret of Mexico's pro-Germanism. That is the real secret of the hate lashed up against "the gringoes." Germany wanted Uncle Sam busy on a war with Mexico, which would leave Germany a free hand in Europe. It was another of the tragic blunders in Mexican diplomacy. It is over and done with. Let us forget it.

The Reign of Loot

So much for Mexico as the sport of politics and diplomacy—both have been blunders that ended in tragedy, which brings us back to Mexico on the broader basis of finance and humanity.

And make no mistake about it—finance and humanity are bound up together in Mexico. If you smash at finance and keep the financiers from helping Mexico, you continue the crucifixion of the people.

After nine years of revolution, Mexico is not pacified. Five revolutionists of first rank, who cannot by any stretch of abuse be called bandits, are still in the field unconquered. Carranza has not been able to conquer them, or he would. He could not conquer them if he would. Ponder that statement! It is not a paradox. I do not make any personal charge against Carranza, for I do not know what is in the man's heart for his suffering people. I only know he has failed to stop their suffering. Why?

Because his hands are tied by the very powers that created him. His generals held their followers by reward of loot. They cannot hold their followers in any other way without money to pay them. Railroads have been destroyed. Mines have been destroyed. Haciendas have been destroyed. Banks have been looted. Factories have been paralyzed. Where is the money to come from to pay the soldiers except in loot? Except in a few garrisons, they must loot by night to keep alive by day. Carranza cannot hold his generals unless they are permitted to loot. The generals cannot hold the soldiers unless they are permitted to loot. Money he cannot borrow unless he can guarantee security; and security he cannot guarantee under the present system. The July State elections were practically annulled by the military. Next year come the Federal elections. Is there a single candidate whom all the leaders will support? Not one! They have said that over their own signatures. Obregon and Gonzales, the two likely candidates, are rivals and enemies from other quarrels; and if either were selected not one of the leading revolutionists would lay down arms. That, too, the revolutionists have said over their signatures.

And yet if Mexico could be pacified—what? She could be the richest country in the world in five years. With the area of Germany, France, Italy and part of Spain, Mexico produces all that Canada can produce, all that the United States can produce, all that the tropics can produce—hardwoods, cereals, fruits, oils, metals of every variety—for which a devastated world is clamoring at offer of highest prices; and Mexico's foreign debt is a joke compared to the war-weary world's debts. Yet of her fifteen million people, nine million who can neither read nor write exist in abject poverty close to the line of hunger. They are in little better condition to-day than when Cortez came four hundred years ago.

What is the matter?

The matter is that from Cortez to Carranza every single power that has risen on the ruins of Mexico has taken the reins of power for personal ends and not public benefit. Revolution has been spelled revo-lootion from Cortez to Carranza. I do not say that this was the fault of either leader. I have tried to keep the record free from personal charges, confined strictly to facts. All Mexican leaders from Cortez to Carranza have professed to love the land on which they consciously or unconsciously engrafted systems that overturned their nation.

From Cortez to Carranza, the same curse has wrought the ill—the curse of a nation exploited by its rulers. Whose is the fault, I do not know. I only know the fact—there lies a nation crucified at our doors. Mexicans do not want armed intervention. Americans do not want armed intervention. Both want the situation cleaned up.

THE PRINCE OF WALES VISITS AMERICA

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

ON the Fourth of July, 1918, a meeting was held in London, under English direction, to commemorate the national holiday of the United States. It was presided over by Lord Bryce, the Briton who has shown himself of the greatest value as a connecting link between the two countries. Bryce knows more than almost any American, about the character and the history of American institutions, and it is through his influence and the service of his great book on the government of our Republic that these institutions are coming to be understood by the constitutional students of Great Britain.

The address given by Bryce as chairman, presented a forcible and eloquent statement of the relations of the two countries as they had been and as they ought to be. Bryce's address was followed by that of Winston Churchill, who was present at the meeting as the official representative of His Majesty's Government, and whose speech was a carefully studied historic summary. For the earlier period of the relations between America and England, Churchill followed the lines of Trevelyan's "History of the American Revolution." He emphasized the fact that the Colonials were fighting not against the people of England, but against the King's government.



Central News Photo Service

A RECENT PICTURE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

George III. had succeeded, for the time at least, in imposing upon Great Britain a government based upon Prussian principles. His attempt to institute a similar Prussianized government for the British Colonies in America failed, and it was, as Trevelyan had pointed out and as Churchill emphasized, because of the success of the Colonies in withstanding the theories of George III. and his advisers for government by divine right, that the establishment of liberal government in England was advanced by a generation.

George III. was the last of the English kings who attempted to retain the absolute control of the foreign policy and the foreign relations of Great Britain. Both Bryce and Churchill naturally laid emphasis upon the part that America and England were taking together in the great European war, a war on behalf of representative government against government by divine right, and they both laid stress upon the importance of the work that the two commonwealths had to do together in securing and maintaining representative government throughout the world.

Our Ambassador, the late Walter Hines Page, was prevented by illness from being present at this gathering, and I had the privilege of speaking for America in response to

the utterances of Bryce and of Churchill. I took the ground that the sympathetic commemoration by Great Britain of the one hundred and forty-second anniversary of the declaration of independence, the act which had separated the American colonies from the British Empire, was a fitting time for a new declaration to be made on the part of both the countries, a declaration of interdependence.

The purpose of such a declaration would be to make clear that the two great commonwealths had need of each other and belonged together, not only in the fight that was at that time being carried on in France, but in the further issues that were to be determined after the great war had been brought to an end.

I took the ground that such a meeting was in itself an event of historic importance, an event for which there was in fact no precedent in history.

I said that, to use a slang term from our side of the Atlantic, my American forefathers had had no use for George III. with his Prussian theories of government which he had endeavored to impose upon Americans with the aid of Hessian troops; but that we were quite prepared in this great fight for civilization to accept the lead of England, which was fighting under the kingship of George V. I spoke of His Majesty as a fine-natured English gentleman whose years of service to his country gave evidence that he thoroughly understood, and was prepared loyally to fulfil, the obligations of an English constitutional monarch.

The Place of Royalty in the Modern British System

It is not easy for American citizens, however much they may be interested in English conditions, to understand just what part is played in Great Britain by the constitutional monarch of to-day. There is temptation, on the one hand, to assume that the monarch, remaining permanently in office, is still a power in the land, and that his will has got to be consulted, or at least considered, in the decision of all great issues, domestic and foreign. On the other hand, the opinion is not infrequently expressed that the monarch is a mere figurehead, whose absence could make no possible difference in the action taken at one time or the other in the general direction of the affairs of Great Britain and of the commonwealth. The truth lies, of course, between these views.



KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND

It is true that while the signature of George, R. I., is affixed to certain documents and while appointments continue to be made in the name of His Majesty, the King has but a very small direct part to play either in the decision which gives the force of law to a Parliamentary enactment or in the selection of the men who are to fill the offices known as Crown appointments. The bills which have passed the Commons and have secured, as after a little delay it is now inevitable that they must secure, the consent of the House of Lords, are approved by the King, under the advice of the Prime Minister of the day, as a matter of routine. It is many years since a King of England has ventured to place his authority against that of Parliament and to refuse to approve what comes to him with the vote of the two Houses.

The men selected as Bishops, Viceroys, Colonial Governors, etc., take their posts under the authority of the King, but the selection is in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred made either directly by the Prime Ministers, or in the name of the Prime Minister by the head of the department having personal knowledge of the work to be done and of the men assumed to be best fitted for the purpose. The official powers of the King have, from decade to decade, been les-



THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT, HENRY AND GEORGE AND PRINCESS MARY

sened, attenuated, so to speak; but there still remains a large opportunity for personal influence, legitimate influence, an influence that can be made to count, and that has counted, in framing the general policy followed by any one ministry in the management of international affairs, and often in the selection of officials for work within the Kingdom. Ministers, ministries and majorities pass, but the King remains; he is, of course, a permanent member of the Privy Council, and he is in a position, therefore, to retain in his memory the continuity of the work and of the decisions of such Council.

Queen Victoria and the "Trent" Incident

Queen Victoria was a monarch ruling under modern ideas, but with some inheritance of the kingly theories of her grandfather, George III. She was keenly interested in retaining in her own hands as far as possible some measure of influence on England's foreign affairs. She insisted that no document of importance should go out from the foreign office until the draft of the same had been passed upon by herself and her approval had been indicated by the addition of her initial, "V." Americans have reason to remember with interest that on one occasion at least this persistence of the Queen in keeping some personal supervision over the messages from the Foreign Secretary proved of inestimable service to our Republic.

At the time of the capture of the *Trent,* November, 1861, Palmerston and Russell, who had decided in concert with John Delane, of the *London Times,* and with Louis Napoleon, that the time had come to break up the American Republic, had put into shape a demand for the return of the commissioners whom Captain Wilkes had captured from the British steamer. This demand was worded in a form in which it could have been accepted by no self-respecting government. It was the intention of Palmerston and Russell that it should not be accepted, and that its presentation in Washington should result in the dismissal of the British Ambassador and in a declaration of war. Louis Napoleon was quite eager to coöperate with Great Britain in intervention, and intervention at that time would have meant the breaking up of the Republic. A personal experience of my own gave a curious confirmation of this general understanding of the position taken by Palmerston and his associates.

I met on an Atlantic steamer twenty-five years back, a man of my own generation who had, as a youngster of seventeen, been private secretary to his father, Judge Mann, the first Confederate Commissioner to London. My fellow passenger described to me how Palmerston, who could not receive the Commissioner officially, made frequent visits to the office in Pall Mall, East, in order to discuss with Judge Mann the best methods for England's coöperation in the cause of the Confederacy. He described one such visit made on the day of the arrival of the news of the capture of the *Trent.* He said: "My father, a conservative diplomat, had not permitted the youngster to be present at the previous conversations, but on this night he was so happy and so excited that he did not think to send me out of the room. I recall the two tall speakers standing before the map of the States (we did not call them the United States) and deciding where the British and French fleets should strike. The French fleet was to take possession of New York, while the British vessels were to sail up the Potomac with the plan of meeting General Johnson and his army in Washington where the terms of separation would be decided."



THE THREE GENERATIONS
(The late King Edward, the present King George, and the present Prince of Wales)

The insolent dispatch, which might very possibly have brought about such a result, was read by Queen Victoria to Prince Albert, who was already an invalid with the illness that proved to be final, but who was still acting as the Queen's secretary. Albert told the Queen that this dispatch meant war and the coöperation of England in the establishment of a nation founded on slavery. He refused to believe that the Queen would approve of any such action, and he was certain that the British people would not. Victoria was quite ready to take Albert's counsel in the matter. The offending dispatch was cancelled and Albert dictated to the Queen (he was too weak to write) the dispatch that finally came. The cancelled document and the new draft went back to Lord John Russell with the report that the Queen could not approve of the message as first worded. Palmerston and Russell were very indignant and permitted the word to leak out to Fleet Street and the Strand that, not for the first time, a foreign Prince (Albert) was interfering with the national policy of Great Britain.

The man in the street in London was quite prepared in such a matter to give his sympathy to the British Minister. Groups of excited citizens surged up to Buckingham Palace and broke Albert's windows. They did not know (he probably did not know himself) how ill a man he was. He died a few weeks later, but his last act was one of great service to the Republic and to the world. Palmerston and Russell threatened to resign, but Victoria stood firm. They did not resign and the dispatch as finally received by Lincoln and Seward carried the text that had been dictated by Albert and written by Victoria. Lincoln was able to suggest to Seward the famous sentence in the wording of the American dispatch, agreeing to surrender the commissioners, "We are well pleased that Her Majesty's Government should have accepted the old-time contention that vessels of peace shall not be searched on the high seas by vessels of war."

This American contention had been one of the causes of the war of 1812-'15, but no reference to it had been made in the Treaty of Ghent, and the first formal acceptance by England of the American doctrine was given half a century later in the demand for the surrender of the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell.

King Edward's Tact in Diplomacy

King Edward VII. avoided raising any such contention as that which had been maintained by his mother in regard to the right to supervise the character and wording of documents on foreign affairs. His personal relations, however, constituted a very important influence during the years of his reign on the foreign affairs of Great Britain. It is now pretty well understood by the historians that it was through Edward's tact and prescience in bringing about the understanding with France that the foundations were laid for the alliance of the two states which have fought this bitter war through together and have, through their own substantial entente, saved representative government for Europe.



THE PRINCE OF WALES IN FULL UNIFORM
(From a photograph made after the end of the war)

America Welcomes the Young Prince

It is not out of order to recall in giving the welcome in this country to the young Prince who comes to us as representative of the English monarch, the noteworthy service rendered to the Republic by Prince Albert and Queen Victoria. The Prince has made a very favorable impression in connection with each responsibility that has been placed upon him, and these responsibilities have been varied. He has shown himself a conscientious student and a brave soldier under fire in the field, and he has also shown patience and sympathy in fulfilling the long series of functions of one kind and another which belong to the duties of the Prince of Wales. He has been modest and reticent in his utterances, and English youngsters, at best, develop somewhat more slowly than do the young men from this side. We do not yet know whether he will give evidence of the possession of the humor and of the social faculties that characterized his grandfather, King Edward. We do know that he has given evidence of the devotion to conscientious duty, which is eminently characteristic of his father, George V.

At no time in the 143 years since the United States was accepted as one of the nations of the world have our relations with Great Britain, or rather with the British Commonwealth, been so important or in so satisfactory a condition.

Our Yankee boys have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men from Great Britain and from the far off British Dominions. America was two years late in coming into the struggle, but she had the privilege of being the decisive factor in bringing about the victory. The representatives of America and of Great Britain have found themselves in substantial accord in what they have attempted to bring about in the settlement in Paris. They have spoken with authority on behalf of representative government and they were prepared to do their part in protecting the smaller states from aggression. They realize that representative government in England and in the States is safe only when despotic government has been brought to an end in other states. The world must be made safe for democracy and the responsibility rests upon Englishmen and Americans of showing that democracy can secure a safe, wise and just rule for the world.

The Prince comes to this country, therefore, under the most favorable auspices. He is to be welcomed for his own sake as a fine-natured young Englishman who has done his duty in every task that has been given to him. He is to be welcomed as the son of a man who ranks with the wise and just rulers of the world, and as the grandson and great-grandson of monarchs who were good friends of America; and he is to be welcomed especially as the representative of the great Dominions of the British Commonwealth with which at this critical time and for the years to come are bound together the interests and the ideals of America.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH NEW ENGLAND?

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

NEXT year will see New England bowing at the shrines of her fathers and celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. And if the shades of the fathers are present they will smile at the spectacle of their descendants and successors beginning again at the beginning—with the conquest of the soil. For the men of New England have a new vision. It is a vision of abandoned farms reoccupied and brought under the highest methods of cultivation; of great stretches of woodlands cleared and made to bear crops; of lowlands drained and converted into rich gardens; of cities expanded into the suburbs, with the aid of good roads and electric transportation, filled with the happy homes of industrial workers, whose children shall romp in the sunshine.

It is, in a word, a vision of New England's hold on the soil restored, her urban life ruralized and her rural life made urban. Thus old New England, three centuries after the coming of the Pilgrim fathers, shall renew her youth like the eagle!

Is all this a new expression of New England idealism? Not at all—it is downright business and cold-blooded economics, with this proviso: that as the fathers "builded better than they knew," so the children in quest of a sure foundation for their great industrial structure are unconsciously treading the path that leads inevitably to a larger measure of freedom, security and contentment, a higher expression of fundamental democracy, than they have ever known in the past.

"Massachusetts—There She Stands"

For the first two centuries of her history Massachusetts lived almost exclusively from the soil. Her towns were small, her industries crude and unimportant save in the local sense. The normal family life was on the farm. As the sons grew to manhood they pushed farther out into the wilderness to make new homes, and the girls married the neighbor boys.



JOSHUA L. BROOKS
(President, Eastern States Exposition, Springfield, Mass.)

During the past hundred years, and especially the last half-century, the growth of industries and concentration of people in large cities went on by leaps and bounds in progressive ratio. What have we now?

According to Edward F. McSweeney, a member of the State Commission on the High Cost of Living, we have a Massachusetts with 418.8 persons per square mile, the densest population of any State except Rhode Island, and denser than any European country except Belgium and the Netherlands; and—think of it!—92.8 per cent. of all the people of Massachusetts now live in cities. For the nation as a whole the figure is 46.3 per cent., which is serious enough, but a State in the situation of Massachusetts has not far to go before witnessing the extinction of her rural life.

Do physical conditions account for this extraordinary situation? On the contrary, Mr. Warren H. Manning, the well-known landscape designer, who is also secretary of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Land Commission, tells us that New England soils are producing from 20 to 37 bushels of wheat per acre as against an average of 13 in the central West; that Massachusetts and Connecticut show the largest yield of corn per acre of any States in the Union; that intensively cultivated and irrigated land near Boston yields from $500 to $1000 per acre, and under glass, as much as $5000. He adds:

> Our soils, being of the last glacial period, are the least exhausted. Our 43-inch rainfall is well distributed and favors low-cost irrigation to assure and increase crop yields. We have 2,500,000 acres assessed for $10 per acre or less that can nearly all be made ready for crops with house and farm equipment for $100 or less per acre.

In spite of these very favorable conditions, the area under cultivation in New England declined from twelve million to seven million acres in the half-century between 1860 and 1910, while over eight hundred of her small towns lost between three and four hundred thousand population. On the other hand, her wage-earners increased 359 per cent., and the total population rose from three million to six and a half million. But—New England is importing three-quarters of her food, while the gulf between production and consumption steadily widens.

The Economic Handicap

There is profound economic significance to these facts. The New England manufacturer and workingman are handicapped in competition with Western industries located near the chief sources of food supply, and thus more favorably situated with respect to living costs. While New England has struggled bravely to hold her own, and has even managed to increase her manufactured output, it is recognized that the trend is so inexorably against her that the handicap must prove fatal in the end. In the matter of shoes, for example, New England produced 62.8 per cent. of the entire supply in 1890 against 13.2 per cent. in the Western States. In 1910 New England's share had diminished to 56.8 per cent., while the Western States' share had risen to 24 per cent., or nearly doubled.

New York State is in the same situation. With approximately ten million population, only a trifle more than one million live outside incorporated cities and towns, while only 375,000 make their living directly from the soil. What is the result? Industries employing over 15,000 men recently announced their removal from New York City to small cities in the South and Middle West. The announced reason: "Cheaper living and less congested housing conditions for their help," as well as more favorable freight rates on material. It should be said that there was no question of union labor, since that prevails in the new location as well as the old.

The Great Awakening

It is just four years since a group of prominent New England manufacturers discovered the very intimate relationship between the farm and the factory, and decided that the two must work together; that otherwise, as the one had already failed, so the other must ultimately perish. They established a research bureau to get the naked facts. It was found that the Eastern manufacturer was hopelessly handicapped in competition with his eager Western rival, and that this handicap amounted, in some instances, to as much as 47 per cent.

In order to ascertain by first-hand experience what is the matter with New England agriculture, some of these gentlemen bought farms themselves and dedicated their trained business brains to operating them. The first thing they discovered was that the New England farmer buys at retail and sells at wholesale, a system that would ruin any business man. They asked one prominent farmer if he was making money out of his pigs. He answered in the affirmative, but had no figures of cost or income. They told him if the pigs were paying he ought to keep a good many more; and, if not, he ought to have less. They then proceeded to keep the same number in just the same way on their own places, but they kept books as well as pigs. A year later they were able to demonstrate to the farmer that all hands were losing money, and why.

The instance is typical. These business men went to work to make farming a dividend-paying proposition, like their factories. It was not easy; it could not be done in a short time; they are still very much "on the job."

The movement, now centered at Springfield, Massachusetts, found its initiative in

a dream of better farming in Bennington County, Vermont. It was soon discovered that if anything so revolutionary as the complete reorganization and restoration of New England agriculture was to be accomplished it must be undertaken on big lines and extended over a period of years. Prime movers were Joshua L. Brooks of the Brooks Bank Note Company, Horace E. Moses of the Strathmore Paper Company, Springfield, and Theodore N. Vail, the telephone magnate of New York and Vermont.

What big, concrete thing could they do to grip and hold public attention, arouse enthusiasm, accomplish a great work of education,—in a word, carry their message home? They decided to establish a permanent exposition at a central point, in the midst of the best agricultural resources of New England. They chose Springfield as the site of their operations, and there they have created the Eastern States Agricultural and Industrial Exposition at an eligible point on the banks of the Connecticut. To the six New England States they added New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. We now have the inspiring spectacle of some of the strongest leaders of commercial and social life in ten great States working together to rebuild the foundation of their economic life.

The bugle note they have sounded is not of despair, but of confidence and hope. "These States are not decadent," they say. "Despite the competition of our own sons and their children who have gone to the West and South, we have steadily grown greater and wealthier, losing ground only in agriculture. But the tide has turned. There is no longer any free land; farm lands in the West no better than ours are selling for $200 to $300 per acre. The Middle Western farms have been robbed of their fertility until dairying and commercial fertilization are becoming recognized as prime necessities to good crops. The labor problem is nearly as serious in that section as in this. Transportation charges to the markets of the East are no longer low; nearly all rates are now standardized and based primarily on distance, thus giving a permanent preference to the farmers nearest the Eastern markets. There are also great and growing cities to feed, and the Western ranges are nearly closed. These facts constitute our great opportunity in an agricultural way."

Investing a million of their own money



HORACE A. MOSES
(Chairman Executive Committee, Eastern States Exposition)

in a public enterprise, they call on their people to follow them into a new and greater era which shall have its foundation deep-laid in the soil. And the people are following!

This Year's Exposition

In 1916, for the first time in its history, the National Dairy Show was brought East to this exposition. The war interfered for two years, but this year the great buildings picturesquely grouped in the heart of the Connecticut valley will be filled to overflowing with wonderful exhibits representing the high possibilities of Eastern agriculture. A circle of a hundred miles around Springfield takes in a greater population than any similar district in America except the surroundings of New York. An immense attendance is anticipated for the period of the show, September 15-20, when the first of the permanent State Buildings will be dedicated. This structure flies the white flag of Massachusetts and is a reproduction of the old Colonial State House in Boston. Nine other State Buildings are expected to follow for housing permanent exhibits.

The Exposition, which occupies 166 acres, includes a vast Coliseum with seats for 5600 persons, besides convention, lecture, and

demonstration halls, and administration offices; the Machinery Hall, the Horse Show Building, the Cattle Barn, the Women's Building, the Racing Stables, and what is said to be the most perfect race track in the East.

But the most constructive work that is being done is not visible upon the grounds. It is the work of the Field Department, which is carried on among the farmers and their families. It reaches the boys and girls, who are competing for prizes offered for the best products, deals with household economics and other matters going to a higher standard of living, but possibly the feature of greatest practical importance is the organization of the producers for co-öperative buying. No longer are the farmers buying at retail, but at wholesale with the benefit of the best brains and soundest credit to be had in the Eastern states. Remarkable economies are being affected. Plans for scientific marketing systems are also well in hand. It is thus that new life is being injected into the old farm.

But how about the new farm? Millions of acres have been abandoned. Thousands of new homes must be established, and these must be undertaken on the most scientific lines. But where shall capital and leadership be found?

Secretary Lane Enters the Scene

The answer to these questions is found in the soldier settlement bill now pending in Congress. When Secretary Lane heard of the great work which had been undertaken for the rehabilitation of rural life in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, he immediately stretched out his hand in hearty coöperation. "It seems to me," he wrote President Joshua L. Brooks, "that the work undertaken by your Exposition, and the work that will be committed to me under the terms of the Mondell bill, are along parallel lines." He added: "If in the process of providing employment and homes for our returning heroes we can assist New England and other States to raise the total of their agricultural production, while rendering their rural life far more attractive and satisfying, we shall certainly have one by-product of the war of utmost value, the influence of which will extend far into the future."

The response was immediate and enthusiastic. And thus it happens that the men of the East stand shoulder to shoulder with the men of the West in support of the greatest measure of reconstruction ever undertaken by this or any country. Surely, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."



THE COLISEUM ON THE GROUNDS OF THE EASTERN STATES AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION, AT SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

(The Coliseum seats 5600 persons and can accommodate 12,000. It is here, in an enormous judging ring, that live-stock will be exhibited—$51,000 in prizes being offered this year to stimulate stock breeding and agriculture in the East)



THE GYMNASIUM AT HAMPDEN-SIDNEY, ONE OF THE TWO OLDEST COLLEGES OF THE SOUTH, FOUNDED IN 1776

TWO HISTORIC COLLEGES

BY PLUMMER F. JONES

IT is an interesting coincidence that the two oldest institutions of learning in the South, both founded in Colonial days, and both rich in tradition and history, are changing presidents this summer, and, in accordance with the spirit of the times, are inaugurating changes and contemplating expansions and innovations which will no doubt serve to increase greatly their usefulness and bring them prominently before the educational world.

William and Mary and Hampden-Sidney, both exclusive colleges of eastern Virginia, for generations identified with the best life of Virginia and the South, show marked similarities in their careers which, considering actual results, have been among the most brilliant recorded in American educational history. Both were of Colonial origin—William and Mary preceding Hampden-Sidney, however, by practically a century; both have ever represented the very best of Virginia, the former the center of the brilliant social life of the early colony and commonwealth, embodying the Cavalier element with the manners and customs of old England, the latter representing a somewhat newer, but no less influential element, the Scotch-Irish and the French Huguenot Presbyterians, who not only in Virginia but everywhere in America have always stood for the highest and best in education.

Both colleges have been small, when compared with modern standards; both have aimed to be colleges merely, not play-universities; both have insisted upon the solidest, soundest, and sanest kind of instruction; both have been sparing of degrees; both have insisted upon quality rather than upon quantity; both have drawn their faculties and student bodies from the most respected element of Virginia and the nation at large; and both have sent forth from their walls men who have served not only to adorn society but who have played a no inconsiderable part in making the history of America.

WILLIAM AND MARY'S RECORD

About the time he became chancellor of the College of William and Mary, George Washington wrote: "The seat of literature in Williamsburg has ever, in my view, been an object of veneration."

That the institution was venerable and hoary to Washington will be understood when it is remembered that even at that early day the college had been in active operation for more than a hundred years. Founded in 1693, with beginnings going back even to 1619, the old college had been molding the opinions and forming the characters of four or five generations of Virginians before her son, Thomas Jefferson, wrote the Declaration of Independence, or her other



GENERAL CAMPUS VIEW OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA—THE BRAFFERTON
(The statue of Lord Botetourt

son, John Marshall, began expounding the construction of the American Constitution. With the exception of Harvard alone, William and Mary antedates all other American institutions of higher learning. Its history is not only the incomparably important history of early Virginia, it is also largely the history of early America.

Indeed, William and Mary's influence in American history is hardly less than astonishing. Beginning in the earliest days, her sons wrought carefully out the beginnings of the move towards freedom for America and the foundation of the republic; and when the time was ripe they did more perhaps towards the actual making of the Union than any other one institution or agency of any kind.

It was Richard Bland, of old Virginia stock, who first announced in a pamphlet (1766) that America was no part of the Kingdom of England. It was Dabney Carr who in 1773 became patron of the resolutions for the appointment of committees for inter-colonial correspondence in the matter of independence. It was Peyton Randolph who in 1774 became first president of the Colonial Congress. It was Thomas Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence. It was John Tyler, Sr., who carried through the Virginia Legislature the proposition for the convention at Annapolis. Edmund Randolph, chief author and draftsman of the Constitution, opened the proceedings at Philadelphia by submitting the "Virginia Plan." John Marshall, as first chief justice, settled the construction of the Constitution. George Washington received from the college his license as surveyor, and, later, was chancellor for a number of years.

The President-Maker

Three of the eight Virginia-born Presidents — Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler — were educated at William and Mary. Under the administrations of these men, by the annexation of the Louisiana, Texas, Florida, and western territories, the area of the



MAIN BUILDING, WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, DESIGNED BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN
(Burned three times and re-erected upon the original walls)



BUILDING ON THE LEFT, THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE ON THE RIGHT, THE MAIN BUILDING IN THE CENTER adorns the center of the campus)

Union was trebled. George Rogers Clark, a brilliant son, won for the Union the great Northwest Territory.

Besides its galaxy of Presidents, the college furnished four signers of the Declaration of Independence; the first president of the Continental Congress and fourteen of its members; four judges of the United States Supreme Court; three speakers of the national House of Representatives, and more than seventy members; sixteen United States Senators from Virginia alone; fifteen governors of Virginia, and governors and high officials of many other States; two great generals, Winfield Scott and William B. Taliaferro, and in the early days men who were prominent in every activity of life.



BRAFFERTON BUILDING, WILLIAM AND MARY

(Erected in 1723 as an Indian school, this is said to be the oldest building still in use for educational purposes in the United States)

Besides all these brilliant names, William and Mary has through the years sent forth a host of others who have been instrumental in leading the thought and enriching the life of the Nation. To-day her alumni are conspicuous in the educational life of Virginia and the South; and in the political, journalistic, literary, and legal professions she has a number of notable examples.

The Educational Pioneer

In its actual work as a teaching college, William and Mary has always been highly efficient, though by no means "conservative" if the mere holding to tradition is to be considered; for the college has the high distinction of having led the way in many educational innovations which are now but the accepted order with a large number of institutions. It was at William and Mary that the elective system of studies first prevailed; here the "honor" system was first put into practice; here the first schools of Modern Languages and Municipal Law were organized, under the influence of Jefferson, in 1779; here was first taught political economy; and here was founded the first school of history, in 1803. In 1785 Jefferson said: "It is true that the habit of speaking modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America, but every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary as at any place in Europe."

Phi Beta Kappa Originates Here

At William and Mary, on December 5, 1776, Bushrod Washington, Elisha Parma-



PRESIDENT JULIAN A. C. CHANDLER OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

lee, and several other Virginians organized the famous Phi Beta Kappa Society, which was the first of all Greek letter fraternities, and which, through this chapter and other chapters organized from this, has had as members practically all the names of prominence in American letters. It may be noted that at the Alpha, or parent, chapter membership in the society is considered the highest honor, and is reckoned fully equal to the best honorary degree. Many literary Virginians and others outside of the State wear proudly the key of the old Alpha Chapter.

Its Historic Location

William and Mary College is situated at the head of the principal street in Williamsburg, perhaps the quaintest town on the American continent. The town fairly reeks with historical associations, a walk from the college down Duke of Gloucester street being a virtual lesson in history. Six miles west is Jamestown, where the first permanent English settlement was made; twelve miles east is historic Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered to Washington. Everywhere in the vicinity are landmarks interesting to students of American history.

The college was burned three times, each time being re-erected upon the original walls. Following the Civil War there were hard times, with a desperate struggle for existence and a bare handful of students, but in 1888 the State of Virginia began an annual appropriation which was continued, with increases, until 1906, when the institution was turned over by its trustees entirely to the State. Since that time enlarged appropriations have kept the college in a high state of efficiency, though lack of endowments have handicapped many progressive plans.

The New President

After thirty years of indefatigable labor in behalf of the college, Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, son of the late John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, closes a successful administration and retires to engage in literary work. His place will be taken by Dr. Julian A. C. Chandler, a Virginian, forty-six years of age, who has had a brilliant career as educator, author, editor, administrator, and publicist. Winning his master's degree at William and Mary in 1892, he was awarded his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins in 1896, becoming that year dean of the Woman's College, Richmond. Later he was head of the department of history in Richmond College, then of English, and for two years was editor for an educational publishing house in New York. Returning to Virginia, he became editor of the *Virginia Journal of Education;* and in 1909 he was elected superintendent of the Richmond city public school system, which he brought to a very high state of efficiency, gaining wide prominence for his work.

Scholar and Modern Business Man

Dr. Chandler may be described as a modern business man of high efficiency and boundless energy, equipped with a high education. In undertaking the administration of the affairs of William and Mary he is determined to place the college where it will render the highest possible service to the public. While the high grade of work done by the college of liberal arts will be maintained and improved, the new administration will seek to stress the practical side of the college's work in every way. Dr. Chandler's idea is that a man who graduates from William and Mary shall render service to society according to his abilities and equipment; in other words, that he shall be able not merely to shine from educational polish but shall be able and willing to lead and educate other men.

An innovation in the work of the college will be its connection with the great manufacturing plants of Richmond, Norfolk and other cities, and the shipping industry of the cities surrounding Hampton Roads. These organizations will furnish to the students actual clinics for all kinds of business.

Through the high schools of the State the college will encourage and conduct community courses relating to the great problems of citizenship, social ethics, economics, and public health, thus carrying out to the remotest mountain hamlet ideas relating to those things which pertain to successful and happy living.

Inasmuch as William and Mary is now co-educational, with a prominent woman educator as dean, the new administration will seek in all ways to make the influence of the college felt in the family life of Virginia, stressing particularly the part woman is to play, not only in the home, and in country and village life, but in State and National affairs.

Thus William and Mary, the oldest college in Virginia, is renewing its youth, and is in many ways becoming the most modern of them all. The work which has been laid out by conservative Virginians will be done, one may know, in a way which will result in as much positive gain to the public as its work in the times of Jefferson, of Wythe, and of Randolph.

HAMPDEN-SIDNEY AND HER NEW PRESIDENT

Dr. Joseph Dupuy Eggleston takes the presidency of Hampden-Sidney after six years of a most successful administration of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Before his election to the presidency of the latter institution he had gained nationwide prominence as superintendent of public instruction of Virginia, in which office he did a work which placed him in the foremost ranks of the educators of the nation.

Dr. Eggleston's ancestral home was within a mile of Hampden-Sidney College, which is located in Prince Edward county in middle Virginia. Here he came under the influence of the ancient institution, and at an early age gained the master's degree. He then taught school in Virginia and in Georgia, and in 1893 he became superintendent of schools in Asheville, N. C. Next he was a member of the editorial staff of a prominent educational publishing firm in Richmond;



DR. JOSEPH DUPUY EGGLESTON, RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE

and in 1902, with Dr. P. P. Claxton, he became connected with the publicity department of the Southern Education Board which had just been organized by Robert C. Ogden, George Foster Peabody, Walter H. Page, J. L. M. Curry, Edwin A. Alderman, and others. His work in this connection served to bring the work of the Board into wide prominence through the press of the South.

Popularizing Education

In 1905 Dr. Eggleston was elected superintendent of public instruction of Virginia. At that time the public school system was in a general run-down condition, with little interest anywhere taken in the subject of public education. Although Virginia was full of colleges and universities and private institutions of high grade, little interest at that time was shown in the public schools. Dr. Eggleston immediately began his work of popularizing public primary education.

This work was accomplished in many ways. Great conventions, with speakers of national prominence, were held in the large cities of the State; highly organized summer schools, with attractive programs, were opened for whites and negroes; educational enthusiasts from all over the country were brought in to deliver addresses; the State

Legislature was worked upon with the result that the office of division superintendent was raised in dignity and in salary; the pay of rural teachers was increased; a plan for placing libraries in rural districts was inaugurated, with great success; a plan for loaning money for the erection of high-school buildings was adopted, resulting in a phenomenal increase in the number of high schools; consolidation of rural one-room schools was effected; and all the newer and better plans of the progressive States in the matters of finance, educational coöperation, and the arousing of interest in public education were adopted.

Virginia's Rapid Advance

It may safely be said that no State in the Union had ever a more rapid advancement in all educational matters than had Virginia during the incumbency of Superintendent Eggleston. At the beginning of his administration Virginia was spending approximately $2,400,000 on its public schools; when he resigned the work seven years later the sum expended annually had increased to $6,000,000, with machinery in operation which would bring vastly larger sums in the future.

The Call to Blacksburg

In the spring of 1913 Dr. Eggleston was unanimously elected president of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute at Blacksburg, where during the past six years he has had a successful administration. The call back to his alma mater was made early this year, and although for him it meant leaving a technical school with a large student body for an old-fashioned, ultra-conservative college of a hundred students, those who understand the vast opportunity for service ahead of him feel that no mistake is being made.

Hampden-Sidney College

Hampden-Sidney College is almost unique in its location, its traditions, and its history. It was founded and built in 1776 in a remote rural district of Virginia which, though railroads have failed as yet to reach it, is charmingly attractive to the student and the visitor alike. Here, under the direction of such men as Peter Johnston, grandfather of the late General Joseph Eggleston Johnston; James Madison, fourth President of the United States; Patrick Henry, "the tongue of the Revolution"; Archibald Alexander, founder of Princeton Theological Seminary, and others of this type who were early trustees of the college, it began a career which for solid success as a maker of men and a molder of character has seldom been equaled anywhere in the history of education.

Small But Influential

The college has never had a student body of more than 155 men; and since its founding, six months before the Declaration of Independence, its total list of matriculates is less than 4000, yet out of this select body have come men who have exerted an influence through the past century and a half out of all proportion to these small numbers.

There has been one President of the United States—William Henry Harrison; two cabinet officers; four ministers to foreign countries; ten United States Senators; twenty-four members of the House of Representatives; a host of judges of high courts in Virginia and other States; ten presidents of universities; twenty-three presidents of colleges of high grade; three Episcopal bishops; 510 ministers; 460 lawyers; 375 physicians; and a large number of teachers, lecturers, authors, journalists, scientists, and others who have been prominent in the life of Virginia and the South.

Her Graduates Prominent To-day

Her graduates are prominent to-day in journalism and law in the great cities, and in the halls of legislation in Washington. For some years the State government at Richmond has been dominated by Hampden-Sidney men. To attest her success as an educator of educators one has but to mention such of her graduates as Dr. Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Cincinnati; Dr. George H. Denny, former president of Washington and Lee, now president of the University of Alabama; Dr. J. Gray McAllister, of Louisville, Ky., and Dr. Eggleston himself who is now assuming the presidency.

Founder of Colleges

Hampden-Sidney men were founders of a large number of colleges and universities. Notable among them may be mentioned Union College, New York; Richmond College, Virginia; the University of Georgia; Transylvania University and Central University, Kentucky; Washington College, Tennessee; Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey; Union Theological Seminary, Virginia; and the Medical College of Virginia. It was a brilliant graduate, Joseph

Carrington Cabell, who was Jefferson's right-hand man in founding the University of Virginia in 1825.

The Student Body

The student body of Hampden-Sidney is and has ever been exclusive and select in the highest degree. Visitors invariably remark on the splendid appearance of the men upon the campus and in the classroom. This is explained by the fact that the college has always drawn its students from the best families of Virginia and the South.

The college was founded and has been supported through the years by the Presbyterians of Virginia, the same element that founded and fostered Washington and Lee University at Lexington. At the present time the college is controlled by the Synod of Virginia.

The New Administration

Dr. Eggleston will take up the work of the college at once and will use to the utmost his great abilities in extending the usefulness of this ancient institution of learning. There will be no great innovations, no extensive changes, and no letting down of the conservative bars. Those things which made the college great through the past century will be continued and emphasized; and so far as available funds will permit the benefits of this institution and its high culture will be extended into a much wider circle. Further and even more convincing proof will be made of the tremendous usefulness of the small college in its intimate and serious work of molding and shaping the characters of men and sending them out to accomplish great things in the world.



CUSHING HALL, THE MAIN BUILDING OF HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE, ERECTED IN 1824
(Students' Club, at the left, erected in 1817)



THE PLAY-HOUSE OF "THE CAROLINA PLAYMAKERS"
(Showing the home-made setting, designed for "What Will Barbara Say," a romance of Chapel Hill, N. C., by Minnie Shepherd Sparrow, who is shown as "Barbara Grey, Ph. D.," the central figure of her own play)

THE CAROLINA PLAYMAKERS

ANOTHER State has begun to create communal drama. Under the able direction of Frederich H. Koch, Professor of Dramatic Literature in the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, the native sons and daughters of the "Old North State" have begun to mold their rich stores of legend and folk-lore into plays.

Professor Koch's achievements in the field of community drama, which were productive of the writing and staging of plays and pageants at the beautiful Bankside Theater of the University of North Dakota, were embodied in an article, "Communal Playmaking," published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, September, 1916. From this initial impulse, starting at the educational fountain head, Rural Community Drama, under the leadership of girls graduated from the State University, has given North Dakota a realization of true dramatic art and a new folk-consciousness.

In his new field, Professor Koch has the advantage of a fertile ground-soil of folk-lore and tradition. There is hardly any other territory in the United States that can afford the folk-dramatist such rich opportunity as the region of the Southern Appalachians. In the back lands of the mountainous districts, there are still to be found communities where eighteenth-century customs and obsolete English words are still in current use. The mountaineers of these regions are descendants of English forebears who emigrated from England in the 18th century. In spite of their illiteracy, they possess the essentials of culture through a general knowledge of their traditions which have been handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. Among these romantic tales are the legends of the "Lost Colony" and the Croatans; the tales of the pirate Blackbeard, and of the pioneers, Daniel Boone, Flora McDonald, and the Town Builders of Old Salem.

The North Carolina Playmakers of Chapel Hill aim to translate the life of their State into plays that spring from the life of the people, from the folk of North Carolina. They have built a Play-House, as a home for their folk-drama in the hope that it will finally become an institution of the coöperative folk-arts. Like Stuart Walker's Portmanteau Theater, it is adjustable and portable and can be readily adapted to town halls and school auditoriums. All its scenery, lighting, settings and costumes are home-made, designed and executed by the student playmakers of the University.

Out of the number of unusual and interesting plays written in Professor Koch's Course in Dramatic Composition, three were chosen for presentation at the Play-House last March. "When Witches

Ride," by Elizabeth A. Lay, is a drama of Carolina folk-superstition. The action takes place in a back county of North Carolina on the Roanoke River at a time when the people of Northampton County still believed in witches. The second play, "The Return of Buck Gavin," by Thomas Wolfe, is a tragedy of the mountain people with the scenes laid in the Carolina mountains. "What Will Barbara Say," the third play, is a romance of Chapel Hill at Commencement time. Other plays produced more recently are: "The Fighting Corporal," a comedy of negro life by Louise Reid, and "Peggy," a tragedy of the tenant farmer, by Harold Williamson.

The Playmakers are organized as a society of amateurs, of *amatores,* in the original sense of the word, *amo,* I love. They believe that the spirit of communal plays cannot be captured by the commercialized stage, but that this spirit must come spontaneously from the heart of man, from memory, from joy in labor, and an instinctive yearning toward beauty and poetry. Their efforts, and also those of all other folk players deserve commendation from every man and woman who has our country's welfare at heart.

In his own opinion, the dramatic impulse is born in every man and the play is the universal expression of the creative instinct. He writes that it is this impulse which "has given the peoples of the world an enduring voice—a republic of active literature—in the plays of a Sophocles, of a Shakespeare, of a Molière, of an Ibsen. These were literally playmakers of the people, expressers of the common life in enduring beauty—in poetry. In this connection, it may be well to remind ourselves that Ibsen was a common worker from the people, Molière a provincial play-actor, Shakespeare, a theater manager and a player, as well as a play-maker. Also that it may be well for us to remember that Shakespeare was the son of a tradesman of good country stock, and that he became the universal expresser of the folk, striving through centuries in the humble but sincere religious plays in which every tradesman had a part, to find at length in him an immortal voice."



SCENE FROM "WHEN WITCHES RIDE," A PLAY OF CAROLINA FOLK SUPERSTITION, BY ELIZABETH LAY (Alga Leavitt as "Phoebe Ward," the witch, and her familiar spirit, "Gibbie")



THOMAS WOLFE, AS "BUCK GAVIN," A MOUNTAIN OUTLAW, IN THE TITLE RÔLE OF HIS OWN PLAY, "THE RETURN OF BUCK GAVIN," A TRAGEDY OF THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE

When every community has its Play-House and its own native group of plays and producers, we shall have a national American Theater that will give a richly varied authentic expression of American life. We shall be aware—which we are only dimly at present—of the actual pulse of the people by the expression in folk plays of their co-ordinated minds. It is this common vision, this collective striving that determines nationalism and remains throughout the ages, the one and only touchstone of the future.

THE NEW MISSION OF THE RED CROSS

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. HENRY P. DAVISON

THE public was not slow to realize that the enormous development in the work and influence of the American Red Cross was due in considerable part to the organizing and directing genius of Mr. Henry P. Davison, the New York banker whom the President had designated as head of its war work. It is a fact also that leaders in the Red Cross at home and abroad have not lagged behind the public in recognizing Mr. Davison's services.

With the signing of the armistice came demobilization not only of armies but of welfare and relief organizations. It occurred to the head of the American Red Cross, however, that there was much work yet to be done in the world, and that to demobilize a humanitarian agency capable of doing big things whenever and wherever needed would be wrong. He conceived a plan, obtained the President's endorsement, submitted his ideas to representatives of the Allied powers and to the Swiss headquarters of the Red Cross, and has already seen the plan put into effect.

Mr. Davison (as chairman of the board of directors of the new League of Red Cross Societies) was persuaded last month to talk with a representative of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS *about this new vision of humanitarian opportunity.*

"YOU have asked me," said Mr. Davison, "how the League of Red Cross Societies came to be formed, and wherein its work will differ from that of the International Committee in years past."

And with modest phrases and simple narration he recited the story. "When the armistice was signed," he said, "one of the first thoughts of those having organizations under their control was the question of demobilization. It occurred to me, on my way home from Europe in November, that there was much work yet to be done, and that to demobilize the Red Cross would be to deprive the peoples of the world of incalculable good. I realized that we had developed a practice, through enormous Red Cross organizations, which had previously been unknown. It was not the science, but rather the application of science, which had been developed; and it had become clear to me that in peace times there could be carried on a work in the interest of humanity never before measured or appreciated.

"Having that in mind, I took the matter up with the President, and suggested to him that it would be well to try to coördinate the endeavors of Red Cross organizations throughout the world, with the idea of seeing that there should continue to be carried on those various activities which had proved to be of such great benefit. The President saw the value of this suggestion, and asked me if I would not undertake to bring about some such coördination."

The Plan Approved by the Allies

Therefore Mr. Davison journeyed back to Europe, and called together representatives of the Red Cross organizations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. At a conference in Cannes, France, he submitted his plan, and it was decided to lay it at once before the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva. Later it was deemed impracticable for that committee to undertake the program, because it is essentially a neutral organization and could not participate in any movement which did not at all times include all countries. It was then impossible to include the organizations of the enemy countries, as peace had not been declared.

The members of the International Committee were, however, most sympathetic and appreciative of the purpose of the plan, wished it to be carried out, and hoped that the time would come when there could be a union between the new movement and their own organization. Mr. Davison and the Allied Red Cross representatives proceeded to effect an organization which has developed into what is now the League of Red Cross Societies.

"We had laid the plan before the Geneva organization," explained Mr. Davison, "because Geneva is the home of the Red Cross. The International Committee (sometimes called the International Red Cross) is the body through which the various countries work in time of war in order to reach their

wounded in an enemy country. Its function is of very great importance in time of war, but heretofore it has never attempted to do any work in time of peace. The Red Cross was, so to speak, born of war; and until very recently it had not been thought that it had a function to perform in time of peace. The American Red Cross had been something of an exception, for it had carried on relief work after such calamities as the Messina earthquake, the San Francisco fire, the China floods, and so forth."

Endorsed by the Medical Profession

As the program of Mr. Davison and his colleagues involved health matters chiefly, it was thought wise to call in conference the leading specialists of the world, in order that they might consider the subject and determine its feasibility and practicability. As a result there was convened at Cannes probably the most notable medical congress ever held. It was presided over by Dr. Roux, who succeeded Pasteur as head of the Pasteur Institute, with Dr. William H. Welch of Johns Hopkins as chairman of the executive council. The body of the conference was composed of leading scientists in the subjects under consideration, from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

The Red Cross leaders presented their program to this medical congress and asked for consideration of the proposals and an expression of views relative thereto. They could hardly have expected so complete an endorsement as was embodied in the recommendations, a sentence or two of which we quote here:

> The prosperity and happiness of all the nations of the world can be greatly furthered by the power of man to promote health and to prevent disease. . . . The potential usefulness of the Red Cross in this field is unlimited, and the program proposed is really the logical development of its previous activities in the extension of temporary relief in times of war or disaster. . . .
>
> In view of these considerations, it is our belief that no other organization is so well prepared to undertake these great responsibilities at the present time as the Red Cross, and no movement deserves more the hearty and enthusiastic support of all people than does this.

Finally, before forming the League of Red Cross Societies, the matter was submitted to the representatives of the governments then congregated in Paris, from whom it received most cordial and enthusiastic approval. So impressed were they that the plan was incorporated in the covenant of the League of Nations, in Article XXV, which reads:

> The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and coöperation of only authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Leadership of the American Red Cross

When Mr. Davison tells—so casually—how the American Red Cross attained its position of leadership, and how natural it was that Europe should welcome our suggestions as to development for peace-time activity, the listener might well imagine him to be speaking of an insignificant detail in a wholly unimportant matter, rather than of the greatest civilian organized effort the world has ever known. This is the whole story, in his own words:

"The Red Cross organizations of the Allied countries had developed largely during the war, had increased beyond anything heretofore known, because of the demands made upon them. This applies particularly to the American Red Cross, which for various reasons became the dominant organization. We of America had felt that pending the arrival of our military forces we could extend the helping hand to the combatants and civilian populations of those countries associated with us in the war. It was that, and the paramount purpose of caring for our own, that prompted the great and swift development of our organization. Within little more than a year's time, we jumped from a membership of about 500,000 to more than 30,000,000 (including the Juniors), and the American people gave us in excess of $400,000,000. This position was recognized by the other organizations, and it was natural that they should welcome our suggestions."

What the New Red Cross Will Do

Having outlined the inception and formation of the League of Red Cross Societies, Mr. Davison was asked to explain to readers of this periodical what it was formed for and what it was expected to accomplish.

"To my mind," he replied, "the answer is simple. I believe the plan, one which may be easily comprehended, is workable and destined to be effective. In fact, I cannot help but believe it will be the greatest humani-

tarian force in the world. Briefly, the scheme is as follows:

"The headquarters of the League will be at Geneva. The League will be presided over by a board of governors, of which the representative of the Red Cross [Mr. Davison himself] is chairman. Under him is the Director-General in the person of Sir David Henderson, recently Lieutenant-General in the British Army, to whom is delegated full power by the chairman of the board of governors, who himself has full power when the board is not in session.

"Under the Director-General will be organized various divisions—a Bureau of Development, a Medical Bureau, and a Bureau of Relief.

"The Bureau of Development is presided over by Mr. Frank E. Persons, recently of the American Red Cross. It will be the function of that bureau to stimulate and develop Red Cross organizations in every country in the world. To do this it will establish close relations with each society, learning from them their form and strength and making suggestions as to further development. In a country where there is no Red Cross, it will be the purpose of this Bureau of Development to encourage the formation of one.

"It is also contemplated that the bureau will inform each country, through its Red Cross organization, of the activities of the Red Cross of every other country. Upon invitation, it is hoped that there may be representatives sent from the central bureau at Geneva, to a local Red Cross, to show how to develop chapters, to secure members, and to widen its sphere of influence. The immediate and great effect of such a movement will be to awaken people within a country to a realizing sense of an obligation to their fellow man. In thinking of this plan I do not have in mind Great Britain, the United States, or France, but rather the countries of South America, Africa, the Far East, and the Balkans."

If properly presented, Mr. Davison believes that the peoples of the world can be made to appreciate what a force for health and happiness such a centralized agency can become; and he believes, also, that if an organization gives a good account of itself the people will as naturally and as gladly contribute their mite to it—say at Christmas time of each year—as they would to their church. This is especially true of the Red Cross, because it represents all colors and creeds and all people everywhere. It has already won the good will of the world.

A Campaign for World Health

So much for the functions to be performed by the Bureau of Development. Mr. Davison then described the scheme for the Medical Bureau, presided over by the general medical director, Dr. Richard P. Strong, late Colonel in the United States Army, a man distinguished for researches in the medical department of the army and also for services in connection with combating typhus and other contagious diseases. Under the medical director there will be divisions devoted to special fields of work, such as Public Health, Hygiene and Sanitary Science, Child Welfare, Preventive Medicine, Nursing, and the eradication of tuberculosis, malaria, venereal diseases, etc. Each one of these divisions will be in charge of a specialist in that particular field.

Mr. Davison wishes it to be clearly understood that the Red Cross organization is not itself expected to undertake work in connection with the Medical Bureau, but rather to stimulate that work through natural agencies within the country.

"Take, for example, child welfare. There will be sent to the Red Cross organization of each and every country full information as to the latest thought and practice looking to the well-being of children. It will be presented in a way that will make clear the advantages to be gained from such an undertaking—which were never before appreciated as they are to-day, owing to the tremendous work done by the American Red Cross. It is also hoped that, upon invitation, there will go from Geneva representatives of the Bureau of Child Welfare, who would remain long enough to demonstrate what child welfare means and what results can be accomplished by the practice of its principles.

"The Red Cross organization of that country would not itself engage in child-welfare work, but would call together the natural local agencies, if such there were, and if not it would stimulate an interest on the part of doctors and nurses to undertake a program of child-welfare work. As years go by, if the work is well done, the Red Cross organization of that country would undoubtedly make financial contributions to the movement; but it would only be to increase the activity and broaden the scope of the work to be done by the agency or agencies selected.

"In the case of malaria, there would be sent to each Red Cross society the latest word as to the practice in combating or preventing the disease. This would not be by cold literature but by demonstrations—perhaps by moving pictures and by lectures—under the auspices of the local Red Cross; and through that Red Cross organization there would be stimulated activities on the part of the natural agencies to combat malaria. This would, of course, apply particularly to Southern countries where the disease is more prevalent.

"Exactly the same principle applies as to tuberculosis, and in fact to every one of the special fields of work of this Medical Bureau. In the case of sanitation, it is expected that there will be built up through the Red Cross a public sentiment demanding the adoption of the best sanitary methods. This would result in an appeal, on the part of the public, that government agencies put into effect sanitary methods—such as water, sewerage, and drainage systems, the importance of which had never before been appreciated by those peoples. That appreciation cannot but be had when backward governments are clearly informed as to practice and results in other countries."

Checking an Epidemic

One of the most important developments in the work of this Medical Bureau, as Mr. Davison outlined it, would be the dissemination of information relative to discoveries with which to combat or prevent those diseases which are yet beyond control. The head of the bureau, in Geneva, would be in immediate and intimate touch with scientists throughout the world. He might be informed of the development of a serum which would prevent some particular disease or mitigate the suffering resulting therefrom. Immediately upon receipt of such information, the head of the bureau would communicate it to other Red Cross organizations throughout the world. Each one of those would likewise pass the knowledge on to agencies within its own country by whom it could be utilized.

Having in mind the recent world-wide epidemic of influenza, the interviewer questioned Mr. Davison regarding the usefulness of an international health bureau in such an emergency. His reply was modest in its language but convincing in its tone:

"It is conceivable that if the Medical Bureau had then been organized, the head of it, from his signal tower, would have seen this new and unknown disease approaching. He would immediately have communicated with all scientists, giving them the facts and asking them to devote themselves to discovering some way of meeting it. If any new method had been found, it would have been communicated immediately to the whole world. Even if no specific had been discovered, there might have been suggested, from consultation, a method of treatment or at least precautions to be taken which would have greatly lessened the number of deaths.

"I was informed," Mr. Davison added, "that the loss in India from the war was about a hundred thousand through four and a half years, and that the loss in India from influenza was six million within fourteen months. While this ratio may not have obtained in other countries, we all know that in the United States we lost between five and six hundred thousand from influenza, which was five or six times as many lives as were lost by the war."

"Not Merely to Relieve Human Suffering But to Prevent It"

The third division of effort in this new League of Red Cross Societies is a Bureau of Relief, for coördinating activities in the case of national or international calamity beyond the control of any one Red Cross organization. When the various societies are in a position to operate in peace times, they could, under the general direction of this Relief Bureau, render aid as needed.

These three bureaus constitute the organization as proposed. Experience will in time develop other services to meet such contingencies as may arise. The Bureau of Relief is an extension of work previously carried on in emergencies by national organizations, notably the American Red Cross. The Bureau of Development is the natural growth of any enterprise under the leadership of men of broad vision. The Medical Bureau, with its unlimited possibilities, constitutes the real keynote of the new League of Red Cross Societies.

In presenting his plan for the first time to the Red Cross leaders of the world, Mr. Davison summed it up in one sentence:

"The conception involves not merely efforts to relieve human suffering but to prevent it—not alone the suffering of one people but an attempt to arouse all peoples to a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their fellow-beings throughout the world."

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE ALLIES AND RUSSIA

THE course to be adopted by the Entente Allies toward Russia is the subject of much discussion in the English reviews. In the concluding portion of an article on "Peace According to Versailles" in the *Nineteenth Century* (London) Mr. George A. B. Dewar comments at some length on the successive policies that have been adopted by the Allies in their dealings with Russia from May, 1917, to July, 1919. These policies are enumerated and described as follows:

(1) a Kerensky policy; (2) a Prinkipo policy —of which Gilbert and Sullivan would have concocted a lovely comic opera; and (3) a Kolchak policy. The Kerensky policy was founded on the theory that the Russian Revolution was simply an outbreak by fast friends of the Allies to get rid of the German element in Russian politics; after which, ninety millions or so of Russian people, united and content, were to fling themselves into the war with far greater vigor than ever. That charming theory overlooked the economic conditions in Russia. It overlooked the bloody, suppressed revolution of a few years before. It overlooked the fact that the Russian armies, not really beaten had to be recalled from the war in the Far East owing to perils besides the German one, at home. Yet our statesmen must have known all about those events and facts.

Certainly there was an uprising by some finer spirits against the odious German influence in the early weeks of the Revolution, and against the crazy priest Rasputin whose fame in 1917 so thrilled the romantic nursemaids of Kensington Gardens. But where our statesmen erred so oddly was in leaving out of calculation the abysmal Revolution, economic and social, which lay immediately behind the earlier outbreak and was only waiting to take charge irresistibly. They thought it was only necessary to remove German finance and influence from Russia—an easier task than removing German finance and influence from Great Britain—and all would go nicely.

The Prinkipo line—possibly not British in its inception, and obviously not French though ultimately adopted by the Associated Powers generally—seems to have been founded on an uneasy feeling that the Bolshevists were powerful and it might pay best, lead to peace sooner, to come to terms with them. It was a bad line. Prinkipo has been succeeded by something more respectable, but hardly less diffident. The rumor having spread, and being widely accepted by the *gobemouches*, that the Russian Revolution was tottering to its fall—and that Kolchak was about to deal Bolshevism a final sledgehammer blow —the Associated Powers adopted a semi-warlike policy; more or less; presumably, for a little while.

In Mr. Dewar's opinion, there are only two clear, logical lines to take to-day in regard to Russia: (1) To suffer the various groups of Russian revolutionists to settle their own quarrels; (2) To declare war against the Bolshevists in Russia and take the field against them with a large, well-equipped Allied army, munitioned with aeroplanes, tanks, howitzers, machine-guns, and all the other instruments of war.

The writer proceeds to state certain serious difficulties and objections that would attach to both courses. The let-alone policy, he says, would lower the prestige of the Al-



AWFUL! IS KOLCHAK A REACTIONARY?

THE SPECTATORS: "Before we throw the life-line, we ought to make quite sure that he isn't a reactionary!" From the *Passing Show* (London)

lies and would encourage rebellious spirits in Europe to flout the Great Four. It would be regarded as a desertion of the more moderate revolutionary groups throughout Russia.

As to the alternative course, it is quite conceivable that only France and Great Britain might be willing to go to Russia with a large army, although the writer hints that Italy might possibly come to the rescue. There is also the question whether the mass of the British working classes, from which an army for Russia would have to be recruited, would agree to the plan. Mr. Dewar thinks that such an army could be recruited. There is another difficulty, however, which has not yet been frankly faced by many of those who are in favor of taking the field against the Bolshevists.

The land in Russia—to say nothing of the factories—has been seized by the Russian peasants. The bulk of the peasants are, apparently, not Bolshevists or lovers of Bolshevists. From all accounts they are the opposite. But they are Revolutionists; they have forcibly dispossessed the owners of the land, and taken it for themselves. Of those owners, some have fled, others have been killed. If we went into Russia without definitely pledging ourselves not to suffer these peasant Revolutionists to be dispossessed, we should march to disaster. The peasants would join the Bolshevists. Are all those who desire a real war in Russia against Bolshevists willing to take this pledge? It would be a pledge to support the early and popular Revolutionists who seized the land, etc., whilst stamping out the Terrorists of Trotsky. From the standpoint of those who are against revolution in any form of violence, the precedent might seem awkward. It is not easy to imagine a spirit like Chateaubriand, for instance, taking such a pledge. But then Chateaubriand appears to have detested all revolutionists alike, from Mirabeau down to Marat.

As to the Lenine and Trotzky group, Mr. Dewar is convinced that the Allies should have no dealings with them. "Their record is smeared with monstrous crimes. They have hurled Russia deeper and deeper into one vast anarchy."

A HUNGARIAN'S DESCRIPTION OF HUNGARY'S PLIGHT

IN connection with Mr. Simonds' article in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, our readers will doubtless be interested in a statement from the Magyar nationalist point of view which appears in the July number of the *International Review* (London). This statement was prepared by Count Albert Apponyi, who is now seventy years old and was the leader of the "Forty-eight and Independence Party," advocating return to the conditions of 1848 and Hungarian independence. In 1917 he joined the Wekerle Cabinet as Minister of Culture and Education. In his summary of the crisis now facing Hungary, Count Apponyi says:

Should all the aspirations and appetites of the neighboring States based on the racial principle get satisfaction, Hungary would lose a territory of 191,323 kilometres (out of 282,870) and a population of 10,906,223 souls (out of 18,284,533). She would remain in possession of 91,547 kilometres with 7,358,310 souls on it. Should the last-mentioned Czech claim be fulfilled too, Hungary would lose near to one million souls more, nearly all of them Magyars. But even leaving this item out of consideration, we find that of the, roughly speaking, eleven million souls taken from Hungary, 3,658,995 would be Magyars and 1,458,134 Germans, the latter being as good Hungarian patriots as the Magyars themselves. That means that over 5,000,000 souls would be violently torn from the country they love and submitted to rule which they abhor and which is racially foreign to them. On the other hand, of the population left to Hungary, more than one million would be non-Magyar, on the supposition of the framers of that beautiful scheme, adverse to Hungarian rule. Can anything more clearly and more convincingly show the impossibility of dissecting Hungary on the racial principle?

A fair solution of the racial problem in Hungary, a solution which conciliates the laws of geographic and political economy and the deep-rooted result of history with the just demands of race, can easily be found within the territorial limits of Hungary such as nature and history made them, and can be found in no other way. By making country limits and police districts as far as possible concordant with racial limits; by giving to every race a representation of its own, elected by all the members of the race irrespective of territorial continuity, which cannot be obtained, by granting to these racial representations a fair amount of self-government in every matter that concerns the race as such; by maintaining a common legislative body and a central government to manage financial, commercial, military, and foreign affairs; we should get a solution which gives full satisfaction to the Wilsonian principle of national (racial) autonomy, without infringing natural laws that cannot be ignored with impunity.

A GERMAN'S FORECAST OF HIS COUNTRY'S FUTURE

IN the June number of *Nord und Süd* Herr Hans Wendt has an article on the future of Germany. He begins by explaining that the cause of the war was the overpopulation of Europe and the impossibility of the great powers satisfying permanently their increasing claims on the politico-economic platform. In the struggle for existence of the nations the war, he says, had become an urgent necessity. But war is a game in the decision of which much depends on chance. In the present war the forces of the two sides had become too unequal. With a better political organization the Germans might have succeeded in postponing the catastrophe. As things now stand, the Germans must apparently submit to the will of their opponents. It depends on the peace conditions and the force remaining in the German nation whether Germany shall henceforth lead the mock existence of a nation not free, or whether she will be enabled at some distant time to rise again.

Before the war it was an undisputed fact, according to this writer, that Germany's position as regards her civilization was at the head of the world. Still, this civilization had become fragile and unsound, and the outward signs of decline were excessive luxury, a reduced birth-rate, and the progressive proletarization of the people. The war continued this development in furious *tempo*. The birth-rate has been more reduced, while the death-rate has rapidly grown. The flower of German manhood is gone. A new generation must grow up before a change can take place. Want makes men and nations bad, and only with an improvement in economic conditions can an improvement in the national *morale* be counted upon. The proletarization of the people had made rapid progress during the war. On the one hand were the war profiteers, and on the other an overwhelming majority of losers by the war. With a few exceptions the better elements of the people were to be numbered among the latter. The revolution favored the development. It has brought about the confiscation of the wealth of the state, and at the same time it has increased the cost of administration enormously.

Germany must reform her administration from the top down to the lowest member. It was a great misfortune that bureaucratic Prussia was ever allowed to remain a dominating state in the Empire. The revolution, however, has destroyed the old Prussian state of caste, militarism and bureaucracy. Meanwhile Germany is passing through a period of transition and so far all the changes necessary in the method of administration have not yet been brought about. But caste has disappeared and the rights of privilege have gone. The military state, after its strong development, is broken up and it will never recover from the blow. There remains the bureaucracy of officialdom, but its hour will strike and its deathbell will be rung, for from a financial point of view the state can no longer afford any administrative luxury. Germany is indeed bankrupt, politically, economically, and financially. She is a geographical conception, in which the ruins of a nation's force are endeavoring in chaotic manner to discover a way out of the hopeless present.

The writer then explains that it is open to the Germans as a nation of brothers to submit with teeth set to the chains of slavery for a number of years and at the same time preserve their national unity and civilization, in the hope of better days. Or, they can disperse their forces in all directions, in which case they must abandon their national existence. This would no doubt be easier for the individual, but then it would no longer be worth while to talk about Germany. Let the Germans hopefully tread the former path and not bury their faith in themselves and in a better time to come. But to do this there must be a complete break with the old and much personal sacrifice on the part of everyone.

Every industry associated with luxury should be prohibited while the people have not enough to eat. It would be well for industry, to confine itself to agriculture, since nothing but economic independence can lead to political freedom. In the training of the young the national spark must not be extinguished.

A new spirit and new ideas must take root in officialdom. The official class must cease to be caste with life-long appointments, and pensions must be superseded by universal old-age and sickness insurance. Only thus can the spirit of caste and the discontent in the country be abolished.

CHINA AND SHANTUNG

AMONG the picturesque figures to be seen in Paris during the Peace Conference few can have been more novel than Kong Siang Ko, lineal descendant in the seventy-fifth generation from Confucius, ex-President of Council to the Provincial Parliament of Shantung, and chosen envoy to the Conference itself for the forty million Shantungese Chinamen. His paper in the July number of the *Revue Mondiale* is the plea he was not in time to make directly in Paris. It has the highest value as an original document from a supremely competent source. It is, also, a masterpiece of conciliatory simplicity.

China joined the Allies because they were clearly engaged in a war of justice. The lawless acts of Germany on sea and land violated all the Chinese traditions since Confucius taught the Golden Rule with its definite cosmic extension:

> The folk of the four quarters of the world are brothers. China never waged a war of conquest. She has grown only by voluntary accessions. A young republic is always gravely hampered within and without: but as early as possible was offered, and accepted, the large contribution of labor which has materially aided in the triumphant result. We are loyal though not leading allies. We claim no reward. But surely nothing that is ours should be accounted the booty of other victors.
>
> The Japanese campaign against Tsingtao was waged on Chinese soil. China provided transportation, food, general supplies. In many respects Japan in Shantung was a repetition of Germany in Belgium: for though not a hostile invasion, the military occupation included countless acts of lawless violence. We, too, have suffered much as helpless victims. Are we not even at the Council-board being dealt with as enemies?
>
> Only the unfamiliar features of the Shantung hardships and claims are here to be set forth, by an eye witness. They will show that grave results will yet follow, if what has already occurred be sanctioned by the Conference.
>
> The proposed peace treaty, sanctioning the Japanese occupation of Shantung, would have a serious effect on the local conditions. Even under German rule, the custom-houses of Tsingtao were still in Chinese hands. They are now in Japanese control, so to remain.
>
> To be sure, the return of Kian Chan is promised! But a concession is created, under exclusive Japanese jurisdiction, in the very economic and civic centre of Kian Chan, dominating the roadstead, all the vast anchorage and all the locations where custom-houses have an excuse for being. So they can only exist under Japanese suzerainty.
>
> The obvious and usual advantages of this strange hold are not all. The Japanese are making heavy importations of opium and morphine. Much comes in boxed as "military supplies." The drugs even pass on into China through parcel post, for in large sections Japan controls the postal service.
>
> Now, this is just the time when the opium trade is to end, when the use of the poisons is wholly prohibited. Great Britain makes great financial sacrifice in supporting this action. The other nations are lending efficient aid. And just now Japan, quite unconcerned, is pushing opium into China. This official plan, to debauch a people now on the road to full recovery, is an indefensible as Germany's U-boat policy. It is more far-reaching. It is regularly fatal to individuals. It is carried on incessantly in time of peace.
>
> Japanese control of the railways works further injury to the natives. She does not merely exploit the mines which Germany held. All the best mines of the peninsula lie along these railroads. Chinese owners must sell their coal at ridiculous prices or be cut off from market altogether. The monopoly then resells this same coal, at oppressive rates, to other Chinamen.
>
> The population is suffering from a foreign persecution. Their property is expropriated almost without indemnity. Homes are forcibly requisitioned. Personal insults, even actual outrages, are numberless. Chinese officials are contemptuously ignored. And this condition the Peace Conference would make permanent.
>
> The presence of the Japanese is a serious menace to China herself. Tsingtao is both a military harbor and a trading port of the highest class, with abundant and safe anchorage. It is superior to Shanghai, to Tientsin, to any other Chinese port. It is directly connected by railways with Peking from Port Arthur, also, a railroad runs via Dalhy and Mukden directly to the Chinese capital, which thus lies between the two, in the very center of Japanese influence. It may be absolutely vital for us to hold what Japan has wrested from us.
>
> There is some assurance that Japan means to restore political rights to the Shantungese, while retaining the economic control. But that would suffice to continue a cruel violation of our sovereignty. Especially in the Far East, economic power is the source and means of all political action.
>
> Yet China is not alone deeply concerned. All countries, since the war, are entering the race for world-trade. China's importance as a market will increase swiftly. Shantung is rich in such varied goods as silk, coal, iron, leather, cotton, wool, etc. Tsingtao is its one unrivaled harbor. If Japan intrenches herself in port, railways, mines, and land, all must pass through her hands. Where, then, is the open port, the equal opportunity for all?
>
> We hoped the reign of universal justice was at hand. But this war, and the peace that follows it, seems to bring us bitter strife and greater calamities for the future.
>
> Yet even if this blow falls, it will not be wholly a disaster. If no nation of high ideals arises as our champion, if the Conference confirms this crying injustice, yet the mature opinion of mankind must at last come to our side.
>
> And to us it will be a hard but excellent les-

son. After so many sufferings, the Chinese people will awaken, will resolve to obtain justice for itself.

And in the name of the inhabitants of my Province,—and I have come from China expressly to bring their message,—I declare: We, forty millions of Shantungese, will never in any fashion submit to Japanese domination!

CHINA'S REFUSAL TO SIGN THE PEACE TREATY

OF the various explanations of the Chinese attitude towards the Peace Treaty that have been made public, one of the most interesting is the article by Hollington K. Tong in *Millard's Review* (Shanghai) for July 12. In that article he states that since the receipt of the news from Europe on July 1 that the Chinese delegates had refused to sign the treaty Chinese of all classes have been raising such questions as—

What are the advantages to China from a non-signing of the peace treaty?

Would Japan try to carry out the terms in the treaty by means of force?

Is China still at war with Germany? If so, is it necessary to conclude a separate treaty with her?

Does China's refusal to sign the treaty forfeit her right to join the League of Nations?

What does China now propose to do or what should she do following the non-signing of the treaty?

In a discussion of these questions Mr. Tong attributes to "a Chinese high official, who is well versed in international law and foreign diplomacy," the opinion that the action taken by the Chinese delegates at Paris was a very wise one, from the Chinese standpoint. Apart from the Shantung question, this official declared that the China section of the treaty was "no more than a mere inventory of German property which had been liquidated. It did not attempt to settle the future relationships between China and Germany." This high official thought that the rights and privileges which China would have obtained by virtue of the treaty, had she signed it, would have been very trifling:

They involve: first, money or a few million taels of the German Boxer indemnity; secondly, German public property in China except Kiaochow; and thirdly, two or three astronomical instruments which formerly belonged to China. So far as the German concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are concerned, they were to be abrogated not in favor of China but in favor of international use.



IN THE NECK!
China Made Nine Requests of the Peace Conference (His Neck Is Still *Very* Sore)
From the *Echo* (Bakersfield, Calif.)

Mr. Tong himself proceeds to enumerate some of the advantages which he thinks China has gained by her refusal to sign the treaty, as they are being discussed "in more enlightened circles in Peking":

In the first place, a national revolution has been averted. There was a certainty that if the Chinese delegates had signed the treaty there would have been a great revolution in China. That revolution would have differed from previous ones. It would have been a people's revolution and would have greatly confounded China's political confusion.

Secondly, China's refusal to sign the treaty has taught Japan a severe lesson. Japan expected that China would meekly yield to *force majeur*, accept the dictates of the Big Five and sign away her rights in Shantung. Instead of doing all this, China put her foot down and refused to be coerced by brutal force into conceding her inalienable rights. Japan now knows that she must be cautious in dealing with China and that in driving China to the wall she will have little or nothing to gain.

Thirdly, there would be a more rapid growth of a national spirit in China. Much discomfort has certainly been caused to Japan by the refusal of the Chinese delegates to sign the treaty. So much the better. If Japan does something now or in future to irritate the Chinese, she helps

to keep up the anti-Japanese movement which in turn develops China's national spirit. If the peace treaty had been signed, the grievances which China suffered would have been forgotten in course of time. As it is, there is no possibility of quickly forgetting them.

Fourthly, the action of the Chinese delegates has drawn the attention of the whole civilized world to the injustice being perpetrated upon China and made selfish statesmen in Europe hesitate before they would join names with Japan again and rob China. It was "a masterly conception" in the words of the editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, "and the stage was superb, the moment one of unparalleled historical significance." Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour, who insisted upon the insertion of a clause in the treaty giving German State property in the British Concession at Canton to their own country, but who declared at the same time that they had never heard of such a thing as the Twenty-one Demands made upon China by Japan, can no longer pretend to be ignorant of the Far Eastern situation when their national interests are not involved.

Thinking people all over the world now ask, as they must, the question, Who were responsible for the inclusion of the unjust Shantung terms in the peace treaty? The Chinese would declare: "Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour! President Wilson would have succeeded in giving China a square deal had it not been for the fact that these two British statesmen were against justice being done to China." The latest report from Europe states that the British press is silent over the China case, and it is naturally presumed that Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour are again responsible for this silence. They are unable, however, to exercise their influence over the press of other countries. It must be gratifying to all the Chinese to know that the newspapers both in France and America are endorsing in enthusiastic terms the action of the Chinese delegates. Very soon the two distinguished British statesmen, it is hoped, will pay more attention to China and the Far Eastern question in general, and reverse their conservative policy.

Fifthly, China would likely get better terms from Germany by negotiating a separate treaty with her. There is no good reason for the fear that China would now be helpless. Germany would be only too anxious to befriend China, whose trade she covets. It is true that China is technically still at war with Germany, but this does not make much difference. Leave the anomalous situation alone, and it will solve itself. Although it is proposed by the government to issue a mandate declaring the China-German war to be at an end, and to send delegates to undertake the negotiation of a separate treaty with Germany, it is hoped by more sober Chinese that China will let Germany approach her on this subject.

Sixthly, the action of the Chinese delegates at Paris has undoubtedly driven the North and the South to an early settlement of their political differences in order to be able to deal with the foreign nations more effectively. High officials on both sides have given an indication that from now on they would concentrate more attention on the international relationships of China and devote less time to internal politics. This is a good sign, comments the Chinese press.

Mr. Tong points out that China's refusal to sign the treaty does not, as some have thought, forfeit her right to join the League of Nations. She can sign the Austrian treaty, which also contains a clause concerning the League of Nations, and which will give her all the rights to join the League. Furthermore, the relationship between China and the Allies will not be affected in any way by the new development.

The Government is understood to have decided to issue circular telegrams to the provinces urging them to maintain the cordial relationships with the subjects and citizens of her allies as previously. As long as this policy continues, there is no fear that Japan would dare to defy the world and try to carry out the terms as embodied in the peace treaty concerning Kiaochow and Shantung by means of force.

Mr. Tong's article makes it clear, however, that the Chinese themselves are divided on the subject of the treaty. He states that the majority of the officials in Peking, who, he declares, are pro-Japanese in their sentiment and "tools of the militarists," were naturally displeased with the action of the Chinese delegates in Europe. They were desirous of settling the Kiaochow problem at an early date, in order to please the Japanese, on the one hand, and avoid responsibility for any consequence which may arise if the question should be settled in China, on the other hand.

They expressed the belief that the present terms were the best that could be obtained in view of the unwillingness of Great Britain and France to help China on account of the existence of secret treaties with Japan, and doubted very much whether China would get better terms by her refusal to sign the treaty. Furthermore, Japan is powerful whilst China is weak. It is, therefore, an unequal fight. This kind of reasoning on the part of the majority of the officials in Peking has been accountable for the dispatch of cablegrams to the Chinese delegates at Paris giving contradictory instructions.

The first instruction, for instance, was that the delegates should sign the treaty with reservations with regard to Kiaochow and Shantung. The second instruction stated in effect: "Don't ask any reservations, and sign the treaty by all means." The gist of the third instruction was: "Do your best to get what you can."

The confirmation of the news that the Chinese delegates had declined to sign the treaty gave to these officials a considerable disappointment, and some of General Tuan Chi-jui's followers urged the Government to send a cablegram to the delegates reprimanding them for the action they had taken. The high officials actually discussed the advisability of sending such a telegram, but wiser counsel prevailed.

REGIONAL BOARDS FOR RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION

AMONG the various "solutions" of the railroad problem that are set forth from day to day in the press we occasionally see references to a proposed system of regional boards, related to a central administrative body, on a plan similar to that of the Federal Reserve Banks. Nowhere has this plan been more clearly or succinctly outlined than by Mr. William R. Dawes, of Chicago, in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for August 9.

Mr. Dawes has been for many years associated with his cousin, Gen. Charles G. Dawes, in the management of the Central Trust Company of Illinois. He took an active part in the creation of the Federal Reserve Banking System after the passage of the Act of Congress in 1913. Having observed that many of the difficulties that were thought to be insuperable in the operation of the Federal Reserve system have been in fact successfully obviated, it is natural that he should see a partial analogy to the Federal banking problem in what is now regarded as the Federal railroad problem, and that the question whether similar difficulties in the one might be solved by methods similar to those employed with the other should suggest itself to him.

In his article on "Common Sense and the Railroads," in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Mr. Dawes makes use of the analogy chiefly to show that the federal railroad system—or lack of system—as it exists to-day, possesses a common difficulty with the banking system as it was before the Federal Reserve Law went into effect. He says:

> The thing that was causing difficulty in the banking system was the lack of coördinated, intelligent governmental regulation; and that in large measure has been the difficulty with the railroads in the past. We had three distinct systems of banking: The national banks, under the supervision of the Federal Government; the incorporated or State Banks, under the supervision of State banking examiners; and private banks, under no supervision at all. One of the great values of the Federal Reserve system lies in the fact that it was possible to bring all these separate banking systems into one common organization, under common control and supervision, in order that banking reserves might be consolidated and made available for national use. After long years of discussion and honest, though possibly misguided, efforts, we are beginning to realize that the future welfare of the railroads lies in giving them the benefits of a common form of organization through which a judicious governmental control may be exercised, while at the same time retaining the benefits of private ownership and management, to the end that the great commercial and financial interests of the entire country may be satisfactorily served.
>
> When the Federal Reserve system was put into operation it was not found necessary to disturb the ownership or operation of the banks, which either voluntarily or involuntarily became members of the system. Congress at that time recognized the fact that the real interests of the banks and the communities they represented could best be served by the least disturbance of their ordinary operations. Does not the same idea apply to the railroads at the present time? What good can be accomplished by destroying an organization efficiently developed through years of experience? There is no body of men showing greater constructive ability and power of initiative than the men who are managing our railroads to-day. The mistakes that may have been made in the past ought not in fairness to be charged against the men now responsible for the transportation service of the country.

As to the operation of the Federal Reserve system, at the present time, Mr. Dawes offers this testimony—and coming from a practical banker in the financial center of the Middle West it is important:

> True, it is not perfect; it bumps and creaks a bit at times, but it has withstood the stress of war and has carried this country through a period fraught with grave financial dangers. It is nonpolitical and functions by itself, without requiring the constant attention of Congress and the courts. It preserves individual initiative, keeps open the avenues of private enterprise, and at the same time safeguards the public interests of financial and business activity.

Assuming on the part of his readers a general understanding of the purpose and operation of the Federal Reserve Banking System, Mr. Dawes proceeds to outline a new railroad administrative system, having the same underlying idea and form of organization. Such a system would comprise:

> A Federal railroad board corresponding to the Federal Reserve Board; Federal railroad corporations corresponding to the Federal Reserve Banks.
>
> As in the case of the Federal Reserve Board, the members of this Federal railroad board would be appointed by the President, having a proper cabinet officer as a member *ex-officio*. It is fair to assume that the President would appoint able men, representative of the railroad, commercial, financial and labor interests of the country, on this board. The board should be granted, by law, broad regulatory powers, and would de-

termine the national railroad administrative policy. It probably would take over the greater part of the administrative and executive functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, leaving this body as a quasi-judicial body.

It is doubtful if a small body of men sitting at Washington—however wise they may be in railroad matters, however sincere may be their intention to deal fairly with the mass of complicated questions brought before them—can be expected to perform their exacting duties with impartial justice. Too much authority is necessarily placed in the hands of unskilled subordinates acting independently for the most part. Under similar circumstances a great corporation doing a country-wide business divides its business, placing various departments under the control of responsible subsidiary corporations or agencies in close touch with local conditions. It is with this idea in mind that it is proposed to create a central Federal railroad board which would take over the exacting administrative and executive duties heretofore exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission alone.

This Federal railroad board would, therefore, act as a central agency to adjust transportation rates and in general to determine equitably the relations among the public, the employees and the railroads, and among the railroads themselves. In other words, it would become the medium through which the Government would have supervision over the strictly business matters relating to transportation service.

Since it would be impossible for any single board to keep in close, intimate touch with railroad operations all over the country, Federal railroad corporations would be organized as agencies subordinate to the central board. These corporations would be regional in character, acting in a zone or region occupied by one or more systems. Such corporations would be organized not for the purpose of financing the railroads, but simply for purposes of regulation and control. Their position in the new railroad administrative system would be similar to that of the Federal Reserve banks. They would be located at convenient points of operation, and would take the form of the ordinary corporation, having capital stock, since this is the customary form of organization. The purpose of capital stock would be simply to afford a means of control.

The ownership of the stock in these regional railroad corporations would be vested in the railroads themselves, just as the member banks of the Federal Reserve System own the capital stock of the Federal Reserve banks. There would be an effort to have the ownership of the capital stock so divided among the railroads of a particular zone or region that the stock ownership would represent the relative importance of each railroad, so far as possible. Still following out the plan of the Federal Reserve System, the directors of each Federal Railroad Corporation would be elected by the stockholder members—that is, the various railroads—and the law should be so framed that such an election would result in a fair and equal representation on the board of all the interests affected, namely, the owners, the railroads, the employees, and the public. Also, the Federal Board would have the right to appoint directors equal in number to that of any single interest.

Such an organization would be non-political, just as the administration of the Federal Reserve banks is non-political. Mr. Dawes is convinced that it would be safe to give to these regional railroad corporations primary regulatory powers over all regional railroad activities, including the consolidation of terminals, ticket offices, extension of existing lines, and the construction of new or branch lines, and the issuance of future railroad securities. He suggests also that such a body of men could be called upon to act in the case of differences arising between the railroads and their employees and so protect the public against the disastrous results of strikes.

To the objection that we cannot have Federal railroad control because of the control already exercised by the State Railroad Commissions, Mr. Dawes replies that the same argument was used in opposition to the Federal Reserve Banking System. The law requires the national banks to become members of the system, but with the State banks membership was optional. It was argued that the State banks would not become members, and so would prevent the establishment of a uniform banking system. As a matter of fact, Mr. Dawes states that there is virtually no antagonism on the part of any State to the Federal Reserve System. The several State banking systems quickly recognized the benefits of uniform Federal system, which he says is steadily growing in strength and favor.

Mr. Dawes suggests that Federal and State railroad control might be coördinated through an advisory council which could be provided in connection with each regional railroad corporation. Such a council would be made up of members of the several State Railroad Commissions within whose jurisdiction the railroads operate. Thus the State authorities would be in a position to protect themselves if action hostile to the interest of the State should even be considered.

THE RUSSIAN SOVIET SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION

SO much criticism is directed (and rightly) against specific measures and policies adopted by the Bolshevist régime in Russia, that we may be in some danger of failing to grasp the essential features of the Soviet system itself, as an essay in democratic government. It is with a view to determining what it is in this system that appeals so strongly to radicals and liberals in the West and whether any part of it can be adopted with advantage by other nations, that Mr. Victor S. Yarros, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, contributes a calm and impartial discussion to the *Open Court* (Chicago).

Mr. Yarros finds that the essential principle of the Soviet is representation on a new basis. Under it men vote together *because they work together* and belong to the same social and economic group. He quotes an apologist and supporter of Bolshevik Russia as saying:

> A Soviet delegate comes from a group—a shop or a union—meeting regularly. A Soviet representative is continuously in touch with the people he represents. The Soviets are elected largely by occupations. They are full of miners who know mines; of machinery who know machines; of peasants who know the land; of teachers who know children and education. The Soviet is a center for the transaction of business by men who know their business.

The principle of representation with which America and England are familiar works out in a quite different way. This is, in fact, a system of government by parties, large or small, and therefore, as Mr. Yarros puts it, by opinions.

Now, from the point of view of government by opinion, the system that we are now working under undoubtedly has many faults. What we call representative government is not always truly representative, and even when the elected representative of a certain district is fit in every way to represent those who voted for him, there still remains in his district a minority of voters deprived of a voice in the legislative body. This evil has given rise to the growing movement for minority representation and for proportional representation.

However, the admitted shortcomings of our present methods fail to convince Mr. Yarros of the desirability of the Soviet system as a substitute. From his examination of the system at its best he finds that the voters of the villages, hamlets, towns and cities are at the base of the pyramid. They meet in factories, village halls, railroad stations and the like and elect a local Soviet. The local Soviets elect the delegates or members of the district Soviets and these in turn send delegates to the provincial Soviets. At the top of the pyramid is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, a body composed of delegates of the lower Soviets. Mr. Yarros makes two serious criticisms of this plan:

> In the first place, the voters of the hamlets, villages, towns, and cities do not elect either the Provincial or the National Soviet. Is this democratic? Is it free from danger? The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is very remote indeed from the governed, whose consent is supposed to be necessary to make government popular and democratic. There is no guaranty whatever that the general and higher Soviets will always represent all the elements, sorts, and conditions of the people. As a matter of fact, the higher Soviets may have as many politicians, lawyers, and non-workers as the American Congress. The superiority claimed for the local Soviet may be real, for the latter is composed of representatives of all "legitimate" occupations, interests, and professions. But when delegates elect other delegates, and the latter elect delegates to still another body, the character of the supreme body plainly depends on all manner of accidental and adventitious influences. This is not democracy.
>
> The second criticism of the Soviet system is even more fundamental. It is all very well to talk in general terms about the wonderful results of representation of occupations, vocations, interests, actual social groups having common needs and experiences, but is it a fact that the members of a given group or profession think alike? Will it ever be a fact? Do workmen in a steel mill agree on political and economic questions? Are all the employees of a big store of one mind respecting such questions? Is there unanimity among all railroad workers? Do teachers see eye-to-eye in the realm of government and social science?

Mr. Yarros concludes, then, that since the individual voter wants his own opinion to prevail, or at least to have a fair chance, he will not consent to be represented by a brother worker who does not agree with him. Eventually, therefore, the Russian voters will insist on a fair representation of opinions in all the Soviets, local and general. This can only be secured by proportional representation, which involves important changes in the Soviet system—itself an "ill-considered and ill-devised substitute."



VIEW OF LONDON

WHERE IS THE WORLD METROPOLIS?

FIVE years ago, in the words of a British journalist, there were two world capitals, Paris, the artistic, and London, the commercial and financial headquarters. Paris, despite the stress of war, retains her ancient place. There is none to dispute it. But London must look to her laurels. New York has grown to her stature. To-day New York is nearing London in population; the two cities are running a neck and neck race for supremacy in world shipping; and New York has ousted London from her place as the center of world wealth.

Mr. F. A. McKenzie, the writer from whom we have quoted, proceeds to show, in the New York *Times* for August 3, that while the war drained the resources of London, it really strengthened New York in certain ways. While the North Sea was closed by mines, submarines and raiding destroyers, the entrance to New York Harbor remained open. London pawned her securities to pay for gold and goods to help England and her Allies, and most of those securities were absorbed by New York.

The world had to come to New York for manufactured products. London had no time to manufacture goods and no ships to spare to carry them. London emerged from the war, says Mr. McKenzie, not ruined but impoverished.

Over a hundred thousand young Londoners had lost their lives; at least an equal number were permanently stricken. Everything had been sacrificed for victory. There had been no time to mend the streets, to paint the houses, to build needed homes. Men were wearied, caught up in the inevitable reaction that follows a tremendous and long-continued strain. The gold had gone



SKY LINE OF NEW YORK'S FINANCIAL DISTRICT FROM THE EAST RIVER

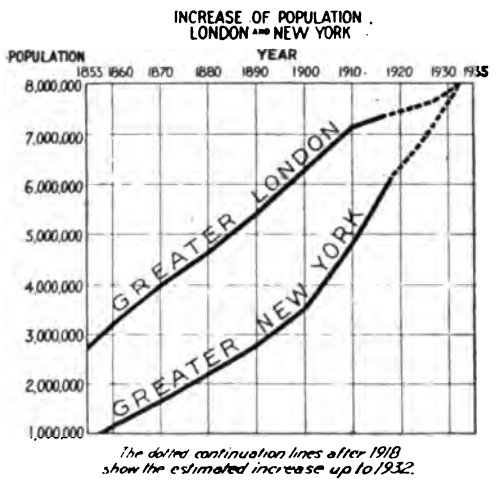


CHART SHOWING THE POPULATION GROWTH OF LONDON AND NEW YORK

from the bank coffers; the securities had been depleted; happily credit remained, and character strengthened by war. New York emerged scarce showing a scratch, stronger, richer, more populous, and more powerful than ever in her history.

Mr. McKenzie calls the two cities partners rather than rivals, but partners conducting different branches and each determined to show the other what he can do.

No two cities could well present a greater contrast. Manhattan is an island of rock, bordering on a bay opening into the Atlantic; London is an inland city of sand and clay. New York proclaims its majesty and wealth to every visitor by its Titanic sky line, that seems as though it would storm the very heavens. London conceals its wealth behind shabby exteriors of low elevation. London is scattered over a wide area, covering 669 square miles; the majority of the population of New York is crowded on three dozen square miles. New York overwhelms one with its evidences of power and of human accomplishment; London at first often disappoints, but its charm grows the more one knows it.

New York has buildings nearly 800 feet high. London will not permit private houses or office buildings to be more than a hundred feet high. New York, having completed a hotel of 2200 rooms, now contemplates another with 2500. The costliest hotel in London boasts less than 300 rooms.

Sixty years ago, what is now Greater London, numbered 3,000,000 people; the area of Greater New York numbered 1,000,000. The proportion was three to one. In the forty years that followed London doubled and New York trebled its population, making the proportion two to one. Fifteen years ago there were ten persons in New York for every seventeen in London. In 1911 there were eleven in New York to sixteen in London. To-day there are four in New York to five in London.

I estimate that New York and London will tie in population in the year 1932, when each will have about 8,000,000 inhabitants, the twin wonder cities of the world. It is fair to assume that New York will continue to grow at her present rate. The growth of London will not be quite so fast as before the war, because of the heavy losses of population there. The only thing that is likely to put any check on the growth of New York is the congestion now prevailing. More trade is seeking to come to New York than New York can take.

In the opinion of this writer London has an advantage over New York as a shipping center. London is a free port where the goods of the world can be received to await their ultimate market. As a free port, London has become the warehouse of the world. The merchants of Manhattan want New York to be the same. Organizations are at work to induce Congress to establish a free zone.

Despite all drawbacks, New York is running a neck-and-neck race with London for shipping preeminence. Immediately before the war there was only a difference of 5 per cent. in the favor of London in the value of cargoes handled in the two ports, while the net registered tonnage of shipping entering and leaving New York much exceeded London. The British capital, unlike New York, only handles a small proportion of British export trade, not more than about 12 per cent.

New York will soon have to share her world trade more and more with other ports. Her proportion is now declining all the time. Philadelphia to-day has all the freight she can handle. Boston will become a more and more powerful rival. The ports of the South will, in the near future, take much that comes to New York today. But American foreign trade is growing so fast that New York port must grow with it. The only question is how far the authorities will make it possible for the growing trade to continue to center here.

Mr. McKenzie thinks that the great fight for supremacy may be fought by New York and London in the world of higher finance. New York centralizes the financial control of America as London does that of the British Empire and its dependencies. Still Mr. McKenzie believes that financiers never fight when they can amalgamate, and so he looks forward to an ultimate "union and fusion of Wall Street and Lombard Street." In the last analysis, New York and London are allies rather than rivals. Each has much to learn from the other. Each can aid the other. Between the two cities there exists a strong bond of friendship. Through cooperation they will continue to dominate, one in the East, the other in the West.

AN UNUSUAL HONOR TO A NEWSPAPER AND ITS EDITOR

IN June last it was announced that the Pulitzer medal "for the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by any American newspaper" during the past year had been unanimously awarded to the Milwaukee *Journal* on the specific grounds stated in the following resolution:

Resolved, That the gold medal for 1919 be awarded to the Milwaukee (Wisconsin) *Journal* for its strong and courageous campaign for Americanism in a constituency where foreign elements made such a policy hazardous from a business point of view.



L. W. NIEMAN, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE MILWAUKEE "JOURNAL"

This award was recommended by the jury of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, headed by Director Talcott Williams. There had been only one previous award of this medal —in 1918, to the New York *Times*, "for printing in full valuable documents affecting the issues of the war." It will add to the confidence felt by the general public, and especially by the newspaper calling in general, in the justice and fitness of this award, to know that the jury's recommendation was based on an investigation conducted by Mr. Melville E. Stone, the well-known head of the Associated Press. In his statement to the board, Mr. Stone said, among other things:

The Milwaukee *Journal* was one of the first newspapers of the United States to recognize the absolutely uncivilized methods employed by the German Government in conducting its war against civilization. It was the first newspaper of the country to employ an editor for the sole purpose of following German propaganda. It made thousands of translations from the German-language press of the country to show how thoroughly Germanism was entrenched in the hearts of the editors of these papers. It now holds in its vaults almost 5,000,000 words of original translation of propaganda and other pro-German matter.

In its editorials, from the very beginning of the war it has followed an absolutely and unswervingly American attitude. In a city where the German element has long prided itself on its preponderating influence, the *Journal* courageously attacked such members of that element as put Germany above America. It printed, during the period of the war, thousands of columns of special matter on Germanism in Germany and in this country.

Mr. L. W. Nieman, the *Journal's* publisher and editor, is a native of Wisconsin and a veteran among the newspaper men of Milwaukee, many of whom have served an apprenticeship under him. Naturally, he received congratulations on the award of the medal from friends throughout the country, but in the *Journal's* editorial acknowledgment of the honor the note of personal pride and gratification was entirely lacking. The editor made no claim of peculiar courage in the course he had taken, but declared that while he appreciated the distinct honor that had come to his newspaper, he felt that the honor belonged even more to Milwaukee and Wisconsin. He dwelt especially upon the support he had received from city and State:

If it seems courageous under such circumstances for a newspaper to take the vigorous stand the *Journal* took, remember that a newspaper is not just one man. The *Journal* has been printed here for thirty-six years. In that time we have known all the public men of the State. We have been familiar with all their public and many private utterances, have known their aims and ambitions.

We felt that the *Journal* faced a great responsibility, but a greater opportunity, the opportunity to speak out for the birthright of Americans, the dearest thing that any one of us possesses. We could not speak for ourselves. Who would have listened to one man or a small group of men? If we have dwelt on the gravity of the situation, it is but to make this clear. As the voice of a community and a commonwealth, our duty was plain. No thought of courage came to us. A fight was forced on us, and we had but the alternative of sinking into contempt.

That is the real significance of the Pulitzer award. Anything we could have done alone

must have come to little. If we had not been, however inadequately, voicing the true feelings of you who read and believed in and supported the *Journal*, we must have failed. Your continued support said to all: "These are the things the real people of Wisconsin believe."

And so to-day Wisconsin, which has been so misrepresented, and so maligned and so misunderstood, is awarded the Pulitzer medal for its patriotism in the great war. That is what it all comes to. When a paper lives and holds its own and gains new support in Milwaukee and Wisconsin, it can only be that it speaks the sentiments of its readers.

FINANCING OUR EXPORT TRADE

EUROPE'S urgent need of our raw materials—cotton, copper, wool, textile and foodstuffs—and our own need of a market for these surplus products make it vitally important that American export trade should be promptly and satisfactorily financed. A great corporation has already been planned to finance the export of cotton, but it now seems probable that an even larger organization will be formed to act for exporters of all the groups of surplus products. This is advocated by Governor William P. G. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, who discusses the subject in the *Magazine of Wall Street* for July 19.

This large corporation will market the obligations arising from exports and based upon long-term credits extended to European buyers.



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GOV. W. P. G. HARDING, OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

The cotton exporters, for instance, will take their bills to the corporation, evidencing transactions with foreign buyers, and those bills will be issued in the form of obligations for investment. Every other group of exporters do likewise, and the obligations will be secured by the resources of the large corporation, backed by the credit of the exporters and the importers.

It is not necessary, nor is it desirable, that the corporation should serve as an agency to push trade with Europe. Its purpose should be mainly to aid in the rehabilitation of the devastated countries and to assist our exporters in marketing surplus exportable materials.

The Federal Reserve Board wishes to emphasize that the financing of the exports is an investment, rather than a banking problem. In our efforts to aid Europe, incidentally helping ourselves, we should be careful not to strain the resources of our banks. It would not do to have the banks choked with acceptances, providing renewals and long time maturity. The banks' resources must be kept liquid.

The Board, however, is desirous of assisting in all possible ways in the financing operations and with that end in view has given its approval to a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Platt which permits national banks until January 1, 1921, to file application with the Federal Reserve Board for permission to invest without regard to the amount of its capital and surplus 5 per cent. of its paid in capital and surplus in the stock of one or more corporations principally engaged in such phases of international or foreign financial operations as may be necessary to facilitate the export of goods, wares or merchandise. The total investments proposed to be authorized under this act shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the bank's capital and surplus.

The participation of the banks in the financing operations to the extent permitted under the proposed act is a recognition by the Federal Reserve Board of a reasonable responsibility resting upon the banks of the country to share in the financing of the exports. Participation by the banks will mean, to that extent, supervision by the Government.

Governor Harding is confident that the country can absorb $3,000,000,000 of the corporation's bonds in three years, which is the length of time estimated by the board as necessary to place Europe in a position to produce enough for its own needs and to begin exporting its surplus. The bonds should prove attractive to investors.

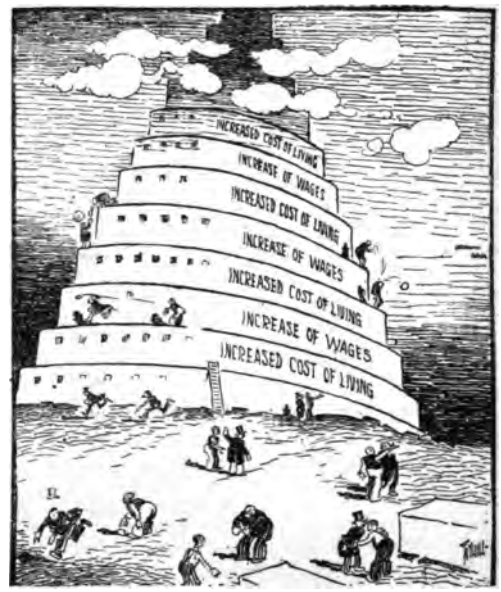
WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING—A FRENCH VIEW

THE crucial question of the high cost of living and its connection with the rise in wages is discussed at some length in *La Revue Mondiale* (Paris) by Henri Joly, eminent in the educational world and author of numerous philosophical works.

We confront two classes of difficulties, he writes, in tackling the problem of the cost of living in its relation to the problem of wages: permanent difficulties, inherent in the nature of men and things, and those due to recent events and requiring new modes of treatment. Both must be borne in mind, otherwise we shall be exposed to constant illusions and deceptions.

Present perturbations are too well known, their causes too certain, to need lengthy comment. The evil is obvious; the remedies no less so: Production must be intensified; transport service by land and sea be put on a good footing; a forced currency abolished as soon as possible. As for the rise in wages, the demand of the workers is that it should be made permanent. That is the illusion which will end in disappointments. To prevent and lessen them, it is well to ponder not only the exceptional circumstances of the last war but the lessons of a past less abnormal, yet closely linked to our time. A comparison of recent periods exhibits a marked difference between the series of years preceding 1900 and those following. Economists studying the former agree that the rise in the cost of living was not as great as the rise in wages. The publications of the Labor Bureau show that in a space of fifty years, while wages were doubled, the cost of living had increased only 25 per cent. That was a positive gain for the nation. Did it profit as much as possible from that circumstance? It is too much to expect that. Saving developed, but it was mainly consumption that increased—a happy increase if well managed, for it stimulates production and offers new means to improve health. As a fact, however, the people's health had, it appears, not greatly improved, owing, among other things, to the enormously increased consumption of alcoholic drinks.

In domestic economy who calculates with any precision as to difference between nominal and real wages? One would think that people would in the long run realize the truth. But those who reflect are the minority; and even they are slow in perceiving the movement which threatens them—an increase in the cost of living, equal at first to the rise in wages. The latter needs must increase the cost of production; but people are not at once aware of the fact. The person who finds a larger sum in his hands to-day than yesterday is altogether inclined to see but that fact. As to his outlay, it occurs in less noticeable fractions. Thus man, eager for immediate enjoyment, is averse to calculating consequences more or less remote—that is the universal law. Unfortunately, those who observe and reflect, who realize that higher prices will make it harder for them to obtain adequate wages, are but an insignificant minority.



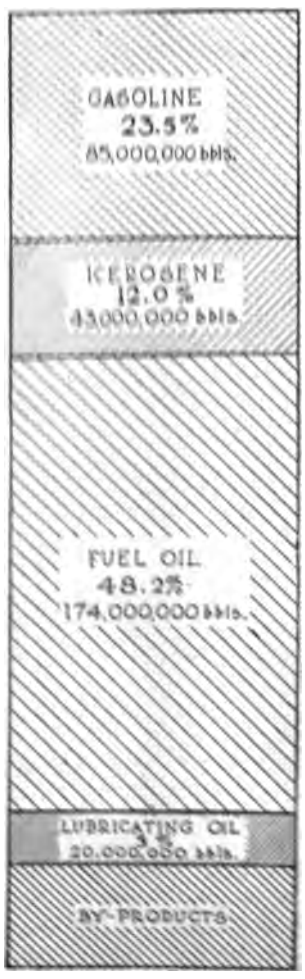
OUR OWN TOWER OF BABEL
From the *Star* (St. Louis)

Thus, for example, in 1907 and 1908 the rise in wages had as its counterpart not only an equal but a greater increase in the cost of the necessaries of life. Other causes were more than likely contributing factors, but that one was undeniable. Italy had the same experience. At a meeting in Turin in August, 1908, it was remarked: "The rise in the cost of living tends to make the rise in wages obtained from the capitalist class vain and illusion."

THE OUTLOOK FOR MOTOR FUEL

research committee was recently appointed by the Society of Automotive Engineers and a special research organization is being established.

An illuminating "Review of the Motor-Fuel Situation" has been drawn up for *Automotive Industries* (New York) by Mr. J. E. Pogue, of the Division of Mineral Technology, U. S. National Museum. Mr. Pogue traces the history of gasoline from the period when it was superabundant to the present period of tightening supply.



Crude petroleum to the extent of approximately a third of a billion barrels is mined annually in the United States. Most of this quantity is refined to produce gasoline, kerosene, fuel oil, lubricating oil, and various by-products. The relative production of these products in 1918 is shown in the accompanying diagram.

Gasoline, of course, is the predominant motor-fuel in use in this country; kerosene is coming into prominence as a motor-fuel, although a small part only of the output as yet finds such application; fuel oil, which bulks larger than gasoline and kerosene combined, is mostly employed for firing boilers, although a trifling quantity is used in Diesel engines and a small fraction is converted into gasoline through processes of pressure distillation known as "cracking."

Until recently, crude petroleum was mined in gross excess of the quantity necessary to provide an ample supply of gasoline. Much gasoline in consequence was unrecovered from the crude petroleum brought into use. This gasoline represented "slack" in the

situation. During this period, expansion in gasoline output was readily effected merely by subjecting a growing share of the crude output to refining.

Even though the rate of increase in gasoline production has for some ten years exceeded the rate of increase in production of crude petroleum, no stress was felt until the gasoline "slack" began to run out around 1917. Then the burden shifted to more rigorous means for sustaining the supply. At present practically all the easy-to-extract gasoline is removed from the crude petroleum mined, and the motor-fuel demand is not filled by the quantity obtained. A growing discrepancy is covered by cracking fuel oil into gasoline, by lowering the volatility of gasoline which permits a larger percentage (at the expense of kerosene) to be extracted, and by gathering the gasoline suspended in natural gas. These economic expedients are recent developments, and are being called more and more into play by the rapidly expanding demand for gasoline. In the absence of conspicuous gasoline "slack" within the crude supply, the expansion in output of crude petroleum has ceased to be adequate to accommodate the situation.

Not only is the production of crude petroleum failing to keep pace with the demand for motor-fuel, thus already forcing into play other expedients for expanding the supply, but also the unmined supply of petroleum has a physical limit which is rapidly being approached.

The U. S. Geological Survey estimated early in 1919 that the available petroleum still remaining under the soil of this country was about 7,000,000,000 barrels. New oil-fields in foreign countries, such as Mexico and South America, can help only temporarily to eke out the supply. Moreover, as the oil resources of the world diminish, the cost of production will increase, on account of the greater extent of drilling necessary.

About 10 per cent. of the total gasoline now manufactured in this country is produced, by certain comparatively new processes, from natural gas. A still more important contribution to the gasoline supply is made by "cracking" fuel oil. A third means of relieving the scarcity of gasoline is the objectionable one of producing gasoline of lower volatility at the expense of the kerosene supply, leading to difficulties in starting engines in cold weather. A deterioration in the quality of gasoline in this respect has been noted by motorists during the past few years, and especially during the past year. There is a tendency, especially in the tractor industry, to replace gasoline by kerosene, which sells at about half the price of the former; but in general the results have not been very satisfactory. Processes of "cracking" kerosene to produce gasoline are still in a tentative stage. Fuel oil can be used directly in engines of the Diesel and semi-Diesel types and in the ordinary gasoline engine when adapted for "gasification."

NEW FUELS AND NEW ENGINES

Fortunately there are several present and prospective motor fuels not of petroleum origin. Benzol, made from bituminous coal in the by-product coke oven, can be used in the present type of gasoline engine after a slight carburetor adjustment, and is already coming on the market. Alcohol is one of the most hopeful possibilities as a motor fuel, since it is obtained from vegetable materials renewed from season to season, and hence is not, like the petroleum products, subject to progressive depletion. The vast deposits of oil-shales in our western States are believed to be capable of yielding an almost unlimited supply of oil analogous to petroleum, from which will be extracted motor fuel along with other valuable products. (The matter of shale-oil was discussed in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1918, pp. 430-431.)

When gasoline was abundant engine progress lay largely in the direction of refinements of quality—flexibility, power, convenience, etc. Fuel was standardized—a volatile gasoline—and the engine was independent of other fuel considerations. During the past few years, a tightening up in the gasoline supply has become apparent, and in spite of various expedients for maintaining the gasoline of earlier days, a notable change in quality has come into evidence.

Now the fuel is undergoing de-standardization, so to speak, and the engine, built to use high-volatile gasoline, is forced to use low-volatile gasoline. Already, the engine has recognized this maladjustment, as indicated by superficial concessions to this state of affairs, as by pre-heaters, hot-spots, and the like, and by the upgrowth of a host of so-called fuel economy devices. The engine is now passing through an era of superficial concessions to the fuel situation. Unless the present trend of motor-fuel reverses itself, the automotive industry will have to cope with a fuel growing progressively less specialized, or else with a diverging range of fuels, which comes to the same effect. The automotive industry, theoretically, can stop the change now taking place in fuel by holding fast to the present engine in detail, but this procedure will so limit the supply and increase the price of fuel that in practice the engine will have to give way.

It is concluded, therefore, that an era is arriving when the engine will have to make rather radical concessions to fuel, as a relief to a strained situation; and the problem before the automotive industry is: First, to recognize this situation; and second, to establish means for making these concessions with the maximum easement to the supply and price of fuel. Anything short of this will mean just so much of a detriment to the growth of automotive transportation.

THE Y. M. C. A. IN ITALY

THE noble work done by the Y. M. C. A. in Italy toward the close of the war is appreciatively described in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), by Prof. A. Marinoni, of the University of Arkansas, who was sent to Italy as director of the educational section. While the Association had long been active in many other parts of the European war field, it was only after the unfortunate setback the Italians suffered at Caporetto, toward the end of 1917, that it began its work in Italy.

Prior to this time, in spite of the efforts of some generous Italians who had fitted up a few rude shelters on which the name "Soldiers' Houses" had been bestowed, little or nothing had been done to furnish recreation for those soldiers who received leave of absence from the front for a brief time. These shelters had but scant provision for the needs of the war-worn visitors.

Toward the end of 1917 a small delegation of the Y. M. C. A. established itself in Bologna. It was headed by Dr. Nollen, a former president of Lake Forest University, Illinois, and it immediately took up the task of organizing work along the lines so successfully pursued elsewhere by the association. The scattered "Soldiers' Houses" were taken over to serve as a nucleus for the enterprise, and from February, 1918, many others were erected on a greatly improved plan. These were put up in the various military areas, and by the end of the year no less than 143 had been fully completed, while 45 were in course of preparation. These attractive little structures were well heated and remained open the whole day. Here the soldiers could come together and play games, read, or write. There were billiard tables, as well as sets of chessmen and checkers, and there were also phonographs and musical instruments. As one can well believe the places were always crowded. At intervals moving picture shows or concerts were given. All the shelters were under the supervision of Y. M. C. A. directors who did not confine themselves to indoor work, but sought, within their respective spheres of influence, to urge soldiers to visit the houses, and thus succeeded in rousing many from a state of listless apathy.

In sections where for military reasons it was not possible to erect a Soldiers' House, resort was had to motor cars, furnished by the various army corps, on which were carried about, almost up to the trench lines, letter paper and stationery requisites, so highly prized by those who were able to write to the loved ones at home, and also gramaphones and other means of recreation. Even near the front, moving-picture exhibitions were given, the portable material being set up in some comparatively safe and convenient spot, and every evening from 1000 to 2000 soldiers were able to enjoy the diversion.

This was the program for periods of comparative calm, but when the storm of war broke forth anew, when the troops were in motion, the fixed shelters lost their usefulness for a time. To answer the new requirements temporary stations sprung up along the line of march, and those in charge of them were called upon to run nearly the same risks as were those of the sanitary corps. Here both the physical and the moral needs of the soldiers were regarded. Coffee, hot chocolate, lemonade, biscuits, cigarettes, etc., were distributed. In hundreds of cases the wounded who were sent back, after several days of uninterrupted conflict, found at these stations their first restorative food and drink.

One of the most interesting was that on Mount Grappa. It was established in a little cave not more than twenty feet wide; the sides were moist and a single flickering lantern supplied light. While Italian surgeons were performing operations on the wounded brought in from the desperate fighting in the summits without, a member of the Y. M. C. A. named Ruddel stayed here night and day, striving to alleviate the mental sufferings of the unfortunate victims so far as was possible.

In some of the quieter periods the Y. M. C. A. made earnest efforts to interest the Italian soldiers in one or another of the popular sports, and found that they took very kindly to soccer football. Regimental teams were organized and much enthusiasm was aroused by their competitions. On one occasion the venture was made to have a game in which only those who had suffered some mutilation took part, and at its close an Italian doctor exclaimed that it had done the poor fellows more good than three months of hospital treatment could have accomplished. Toward baseball, however, the general attitude was less sympa-



DR. GEORGE W. BRADEN, Y. M. C. A. PHYSICAL DIRECTOR, WITH THE ITALIAN ARMY AT THE INSTITUTE FOR RE-EDUCATING OF THE MUSCLES OF THE, PARTIALLY MUTILATED, AT THE "CENTRO", ROME. WITH DR. GUILDI A FAMOUS ITALIAN SURGEON

thetic, for here long practice and a thorough knowledge of the game are essentials.

All religious propaganda was wisely avoided, but classes in choral music were often organized and finally became very popular, as did dramatic recitations and concerts. An attempt was also made to impart a little summary instruction to the many illiterates. To facilitate progress the experiment was tried of teaching by pairs of letters, instead of by single letters. The master would write on the blackboard some one of the combinations most frequently occurring in Italian, such as "ca" for instance, and would then form a series of simple words by adding other syllables.

CLOUDS AND RAIN PRODUCED BY FIRES

VARIOUS artificial methods of rain-making have been tried or recommended, but all of them, with one exception, are thoroughly discredited by the science of meteorology. Rain cannot be produced by bombarding the clouds, nor by setting free mysterious gases, nor by any application of electricity that is at the command of mankind. There is only one known process by which man can create a rainstorm, and then only under exceptionally favorable atmospheric conditions.

On a still summer day, when the atmosphere is heavily charged with invisible water vapor, the updraft of air from the heated earth commonly leads to the formation of the big, "woolpack" clouds technically known as *cumulus*. The rising water vapor cools by expansion, and cooling leads to condensation in the little droplets which constitute a cloud. If the process goes on actively enough and long enough, the clouds grow into thunder-heads (*Cumulo-nimbus*), and presently we have a thunder-shower. It is possible for man to imitate this process. A great conflagration, such as the burning of a forest, if the air be both moist and tranquil, will give rise to genuine water-clouds far above the earth. Sometimes, though rarely, these clouds become so heavily laden with water that a shower occurs; and it is even related that in some cases the shower has been such a deluge as to extinguish the fire which generated it. Volcanic eruptions



SMOKE COLUMN PRODUCING CLOUDY CONDENSATION OVER SISTER ELSIE PEAK

(Photograph made from Echo Mountain, ten miles east. The other cumuli, shown in the photograph, did not appear until after the cloud mantle formed)

frequently produce torrents of rain and violent thunderstorms in the same manner.

An interesting series of articles in the *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington, D. C.), deals with phenomena of this character. The series opens with a paper by Mr. F. A. Carpenter, in charge of the Los Angeles station of the Weather Bureau, on "Convectional Clouds Induced by Forest Fires." Mr. Carpenter adduces several cases, illustrated with photographs. In connection with one of these he quotes a letter from Mr. T. R. Woodbridge, of Upland, Calif., which furnishes an excellent description of the formation of clouds over a fire. Mr. Woodbridge writes:

I am sending you a photograph that only partially illustrates a very beautiful phenomenon we had near us . . . (September 3, 1917) during a forest fire east of Cucamonga Cañon. It was a breathless day and even the almost sure sea breeze failed to show up until after 3 o'clock, so the black smoke of the fire went up in the air without a bend in any direction. About noon I saw foaming out from the top of the black smoke a cottony mass of purest white. This appeared first from the center of the black part and boiled from the center outward, gradually spreading toward the outside edges of the black part. The line of demarcation was very sharp and was not broken till about 3:30 P. M., when the sea breeze came up. I was downtown and made a swift run to my home to get my camera into action, but in the short time that this took the appearance had changed to that shown by the photograph. It was a magnificently beautiful sight, and the whole community for miles around admired it. You can see the line clearly in the photograph, but the black is much lighter-appearing than it actually was. I regret that I have not a photograph taken earlier, as the black smoke had as regular a pattern as a tall vase, and the pure white cloud was something like a mass of white dahlias or chrysanthemums adorning it.

Mr. C. A. Reichelt, of the Honolulu station of the Weather Bureau, contributes an article describing similar clouds in his vicinity:

An interesting form of the various cumulus clouds which occur almost daily in Hawaii is the small clouds that occasionally appear over the fires of the burning sugar-cane fields. These clouds have been seen near Honolulu several times and close observations were made of a typical specimen on September 27, 1918.

This cloud was observed from a train which passed around the first and was about two miles distant from it. Observations and photographs were made at the stations where the train stopped. The fire forming the cloud was from a cane field consisting of thirty-five acres and located on a narrow peninsula in Pearl Harbor, Oahu.

The fire began at 4:40 P. M. and a large column of smoke was immediately formed with a slight flattening at the top at a height of about 700 feet. As the fire made headway the smoke became more dense and kept rising and spreading out. The first roll of cumulus developed at the top of the column in about ten minutes, and was well-marked by its white color, which contrasted strongly with the bronze black of the smoke. The cumulus rolls continued to form swiftly, and at 4:57 P. M., when the fire was at its height, the cloud had almost reached its final size, although the smoke, which was still very heavy, obscured it considerably. As the fire diminished the column of smoke from the earth gradually became less, but the cloud continued to rise for a short distance, the base clearing somewhat and small rolls still forming at the apex. At 5:03 P. M., when the fire was practically out, the column of smoke from the earth had almost disappeared and a well-formed cumulus cloud was present. It was last seen at 5:15 P. M., or twenty minutes after it began to form, when the train passed out of the field of view.

An estimate of the height of the cloud and also of its size was formed by taking the altitude of the sun, which was observed through the edge of the cloud, and the horizontal distance of the base from the observer. At two different stations approximately the same results were obtained, which gave for the height of the base of the cloud about 1500 feet and for the top about 2500 feet, and for the width at the base about 1000 feet.

As previously mentioned, these clouds have been observed frequently at Honolulu and they have been seen at all seasons of the year. They are usually formed in the early morning or late afternoon hours and have never been observed

forming in the middle of the day. They are best formed under conditions of calm or very light winds, occur over fires of all sizes, and have been known to form over large smokestacks on very still days. They are apparently true cumulus and have the same color, shape, and appearance as other cumulus clouds in Hawaii. Also they do not dissipate rapidly as would be the case with smoke clouds. In the present instance the cloud was only seen for a relatively short time, but in June, 1917, a cloud of much greater size, formed at 8 A. M., was still visible two hours later. No instances have ever been recorded in these islands of these clouds producing precipitation.

For records of the most striking cases in which this process has actually produced rain, it is necessary to go back to a report of the celebrated American meteorologist James P. Espy, published by the Government in 1857. Espy was much interested in such occurrences, as supporting his theory of storm formation. The pertinent features of his report are reproduced in the *Monthly Weather Review*. These include an account drawn up by several citizens of Cowdersport, Pa., of a shower produced at that place on July 13, 1844, by the burning of a six-acre fallow field; another of the production of heavy clouds, and presumably rain, at Winnimac, Ind., by a prairie fire; a letter from George Mackay, a surveyor, who tells of deliberately bringing about a shower on several occasions by firing saw-grass marshes in Florida; and finally a report from Isle Royale, Lake Superior, of a forest fire that quenched itself by producing a drenching rain.

As a pendent to these narratives Messrs. S. P. Fergusson and C. F. Brooks report a number of observations on the heights of clouds formed over fires, including conflagrations in towns.

THE CENTENARY OF JAMES WATT

DURING the month of August there assembled at Birmingham, England, a number of mechanical engineers, scientists, and manufacturers who united with the city authorities and public in a most dignified and interesting memorial meeting to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the death of James Watt.

This Scotch inventor, to whom is due the modern steam engine, after his early experiments at Glasgow University and elsewhere in Scotland, and as soon as his permanent connection with Matthew Boulton was established, moved to the great manufacturing district of Birmingham, and here by the joint efforts of inventor and manufacturer was produced and manufactured the practical steam engine, which became the cornerstone of the industrial development of the Nineteenth Century.

With the tendency to take things for granted and as always existing, the present generation gives but little thought to this pioneer inventor, though he not only made the steam engine generally available through a series of fundamental discoveries including the external condenser, the application of steam to rotative motion, and its use expansively and on both sides of the cylinder. In other words Watt produced the modern double-acting expansive reciprocating steam engine. The steam engine indicator, the steam gauge, the ball governor, and the familiar copying press are all inventions with which Watt's name is associated. To him is due the unit of "horsepower" in daily use, and in the more modern and universal system of units the "Watt" is the designation of the unit of power. With various anniversaries of great American engineers and industrial leaders approaching, it would seem that similar commemorations in the United States would be appropriate.



JAMES WATT, INVENTOR OF THE STEAM ENGINE

ENGLISH RULE IN THE HOLY LAND

AN article in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Switzerland) over the striking signature: "E. Krieg, Pastor," is, nevertheless, evidently written by a hearty admirer of the peaceful triumphs now being won by "The English in Palestine." The extreme misery in the Holy Land, at the time the war ended, is ascribed to two leading causes: the backward conditions of the people and country after the long centuries of Mussulman rule, and the atrocious government of Jemal Pacha, remarkable even among Turkish oppressors, equally detested by Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Christians. Many revolts against him, notably in Beirut and Damascus, were mercilessly suppressed. Naturally the English and French have been very generally hailed as deliverers. (The passing remark that, even with Germans, Jemal's relations had been constantly strained, may cast a light on the writer's nationality.)

Even before the war, Palestine was always on the brink of misery. The Turk merely exploited it, and in the most short-sighted fashion. But in war time the harvests, always scant even for bare subsistence, were all but wholly commandeered for the army. The horses, mules, asses, camels were taken, and nothing paid for. So there were no exports, no trade, and terrible prices exacted for the little that was smuggled in.

There was no safety, in city or country. Highway robbers completed what the arch-robber had so well begun. Endless lists of suspects were proscribed, hunted down like beasts, left to languish in prison, or worked to death as felons. Jerusalem and Jaffa were most constantly harried, but in the mountains of Lebanon the remaining population could till less than a third of its arable land.

The Turkish coinage fell to a tithe its nominal value; making prices prohibitive. The inroads of the locusts were constant. Smallpox swept away nearly half the inhabitants of many villages. In Jerusalem emaciated wretches begged piteously for a morsel of food. The dead were carried off silently at night, piled on great carts, to be cast into shallow trenches and left for the hyenas and wild dogs. All this embittered the folk against the Turkish oppressor, and also against the Germans, whose alliance with him promised to prolong the misery. The English, says this writer, have not disappointed the enthusiastic hopes of their new subjects.

They have proved to be wise and good administrators, intent on binding up the bleeding wounds rather than on profiting from their own victory. Their first care of all was for the widows and orphans, whom the Ottoman government had never noticed in any way,—unless to rob them of their little all.

Next, schools are organized in every village. All the difficulties,—the polyglot population, lack of buildings and teachers, even such obstacles the English are surmounting. Charitable institutions,—hospitals, orphan asylums, etc.,—already established by French, Germans, Americans and others, are now no longer plundered or hampered, but systematized and subsidized.

Agriculture is encouraged and made more intelligent. The most terrible loss here has been the palms, cut down, almost entirely, along all the traveled ways, to take the place of coal, which failed in wartime. This grievous gap is being systematically and completely filled.

Great supplies of food, left by the retreating Turks, have been sold to the natives at exceedingly low prices. Supplies now come in freely, especially from Egypt, and the people, better fed than ever before, show marked results. Hygiene is taught and practised. Disinfection, vaccination, cleanliness in cities, purification of the wells in the country, visitation of the sick in their homes by trained physicians, are becoming general.

New roads are being opened, the old improved. Cairo, Damascus, even Bagdad and Mecca, are connected by one railway line, Jerusalem with Constantinople by another. The fine newly-equipped port of Haifa is about to dethrone Jaffa—more peacefully than Tyre did Sidon.

In Jerusalem, the holy sites and relics that lie within Soliman's wall will become parts of a carefully guarded great museum; but the medieval and modern town will vanish, to rise again a city of wide, straight avenues, canals, all electrical appliances—all the comforts of our time. Outside the city, also, the sacred relics will be protected, but scientific excavation and investigation is already adding to our accurate knowledge of these historic sites.

All this activity, and these changes seem to the natives like a dream. Accustomed to utter neglect by their former rulers, rarely indulged, often outrageously despoiled, the anxious interest now shown in them, and in their country, the

kindly attention which is all about them, the efforts made by the victors to improve their condition,—it all seems, to these simple folk, altogether unheard-of and amazing. We, however, who knew the persistency of the British and the perfection of their methods, can prophesy to the people of Palestine that their surprises have by no means come to an end, and that they can every day account themselves more and more fortunate in their change of mastery.

This is a sincere, competent, truthful, if somewhat over-complimentary voice. It is not English, French, nor American. But can it be German?

THE SMALL PAY OF SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEACHERS

THE small compensation that teachers receive in this country, as compared with the pay of other occupations, is an old story. It makes a more forceful appeal in these latter days because the cost of the necessaries of life has mounted so much more rapidly than salaries, which in the case of universities and colleges are paid out of the fixed income from endowments, and cannot be increased without a readjustment of the funds. President Hibben, of Princeton, appeals through the *American Magazine* for an increase all along the line, and he makes it clear that unless something is done quickly to remedy the situation, the best of our teachers, in both public schools and higher institutions, will leave their jobs.

To illustrate the sacrifices that a man of ability must make in these days to enter or remain in the teaching profession, Dr. Hibben describes a situation that recently developed at Princeton:

Before the United States entered the war Princeton's Economics Department had nine professors, assistant-professors and instructors. Seven left for war work. Five of the seven have resigned their chairs, because they can get much better salaries in the outside world.

One, who was getting $1400 a year at Princeton, now receives a $5000 salary and $1000 for expenses. To get more money than this he has merely to accept other offers. Yet his devotion to Princeton and to higher education led him to offer to make the sacrifice of coming back for $3500.

Another, who received $2000 here, is now drawing $5000 a year, exclusive of bonuses, from a big banking house. A third is paid $5000, with the prospect of rapid promotion. Still another is receiving twice the salary he had at Princeton, and is assured $1500 more within a few months.

In spite of the well-known increases in the retail prices of food during the past five years, it may surprise many readers to learn that the pay of school and college teachers has advanced only a meagre fraction, and in many cases, not at all.

Take Princeton as a typical example. In the ten years between 1905 and 1915 the average salary of a full professor at the university increased only 8 per cent., and since 1915 there has been but a slight trend upward. Were the money available it would be gladly paid. It is not pleasant to know that instructors have been starting at $1200 a year, while our head mason and head plumber are getting $1380. Under these conditions it is not surprising that the families of many college teachers have meat only once in two weeks, that one family decided recently to stop eating it altogether.

Consider the amount of preparation necessary in order to begin teaching in a university. The time required is seven years—four in college and three in graduate study, and before the war an eighth year was often spent in study abroad. President Hibben places the minimum cost of this training at $600 a year. Had the student gone into business instead of college, he would have been likely to earn at least $8000 in the same time. Thus, the cost of seven or eight years of training added to this $8000, represents a total sacrifice of between $12,000 and $13,000. When this training is completed, the young instructor may be fortunate enough to start at $1000 or $1200 a year—"almost as much as a good carpenter would make."

The Princeton Board of Trustees has decided that faculty salaries must be increased at once and has authorized a general campaign for the necessary funds. It has been decided to ask the alumni and friends of Princeton for $6,000,000 to be applied on this increased endowment.

Among the public school teachers of the country the situation is no better. The average salary of all teachers of the United States is estimated at less than $600. In 1915, when the last complete figures were compiled, the average salary of the school

teachers of twelve States was below $400, and one State paid its teachers an average of below 64 cents a day. (New York City pays its street-cleaners $1095 a year, and the men who drive its refuse carts $1277.50).

The secretary of the Illinois State Teachers' Association called attention not long ago to one town where the average wage of fifteen miners for one month was $217.78, and the average monthly salary of the fifteen teachers of the same town was $55. In another town, an Australian alien drew more than $2700 for his work in the mines last year, while the principal of the local high school, a woman college graduate, received a salary of $765.

One year ago, at the opening of the fall session, there were 50,000 vacancies in the teaching staffs of our public schools. It is estimated that 120,000 inexperienced teachers were placed in the schools, in order to keep them open. President Hibben says in conclusion:

College and public school teachers, as a class, are close to financial bankruptcy to-day; if present salaries continue a few years longer the profession will be stripped of its best brains.

Can you afford to let this happen?

Do not think of the situation in terms of teachers, but in terms of students. Schools are not maintained to make a living for those who teach; they are maintained to give trained minds, vision and understanding to youth. If the nation fails to respond to the present emergency it is to the next generation it will have to answer.

President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, said recently when addressing the "Old Grads' Summer School":

It does not pay the community to underpay its professors and that is what we are doing to-day. The cost of living has gone up tremendously; I do not know how much. I said the other day that we should have to increase salaries at least 25 per cent., and I have been criticised for saying so little as 25 per cent. I said at least 25 per cent. I do not know by what per cent. the cost of living has risen or what it will be a few years hence. But I do know it is costing a great deal more for our professors to live, and I know that some of them are quite unable to live as they should.

The professor does not ask for a fortune; he does not ask for the reward of the leading places in the professions or business. What he wants is to be able to live comfortably in the scale of life in which a professor ought to live, and he wants to educate his children as highly as he was educated himself, and he wants to provide for his old age. Pensions, the Carnegie Foundations provided; but it has reached the end of its funds and cannot provide them for teachers appointed since 1915. That means another 10 per cent added to these salaries. That is all that he asks, but for that he must receive more than he is paid at the present time. Governor Coolidge said something here last Commencement which impressed me very much. He said that if you underpay any body of men in the community, they will be discontented, and the class that you cannot afford to have discontented is the class that teach your youth.

OBSTACLES TO DISARMAMENT

THE question of disarmament is taken up by Signor F. de Chaurand in the *Rivista d'Italia* (Milan). At the outset he draws attention to the argument often urged in times past that the maintenance of a large standing army, constantly recruited by conscription, served as a kind of safety valve for the labor market. Many were convinced that if after the partly-successful efforts to better the condition of the workers, to reduce the hours of labor, to do away with night work, to limit the employment of women and children in factories, and to stem the growth of unemployment due to the substitution of machines for man-power, there had all at once been turned loose upon the European labor market from four to five million men in the vigor of youth, the inevitable result would have been a fearful crisis.

However, if before the war the opposition to a sweeping reduction of armies may have appeared justifiable, to-day the conditions of the problem have changed. There has been a dreadful decrease in the number of able-bodied men; immense works of reconstruction are indispensable to restore life to entire regions, to bring back agriculture to its former state, or rather to a better one, to set in motion again the various industries. The moment would therefore be opportune for a radical transformation of the armed contingents, subordinating their scope and organization to that of the League of Nations.

Leaving aside the question whether war can finally disappear among the peoples, it is indisputable that a limitation of armaments is in accord with the opinions of the mass of those who have fought in the past war, and who do not consider the peace as nothing better than a truce. The peoples, after so many sufferings, feel too keenly the imperative necessity of escaping from the

disastrous errors of the past, not to move resolutely—for a certain number of years at least—along the path of reductions in armies and fleets. And if war could once be looked upon as a crime of "lèse-humanity," if the aggressor must risk encountering the united armies of the old and new world, even the most powerful would consider the contest a hopeless one, and an excess of armaments would offer greater risks than advantages.

The writer feels however called upon to warn his readers against certain dangers. To crush German militarism and to prevent its revival the treaty of peace obliges Germany to reduce her army to a force of 100,000 men, to abolish conscription, and to destroy the fortifications in a zone fifty kilometers wide along the right bank of the Rhine. The war fleet is to be cut down to a very low point, and submarines are forbidden, as are also airplanes or airships, for military use.

The writer not inaptly discovers a parallel with the conditions imposed on Prussia by Napoleon in 1807 by the Treaty of Tilsit, when the Prussian army was strictly limited to 42,000 men, and he draws attention to the fact that in spite of this Prussia was able to prepare a large number of men by discharging those already trained and filling up their places with a series of new recruits, who were given very short terms of intensive training. In this way it was possible for the country to put 200,000 men in the field by the early part of 1813, that is to say nearly five times as many effective troops as were permitted by the peace treaty.

When order shall have been restored, Germany will organize her 100,000 volunteers in such a way that on an emergency they could form the framework of a force of a million men. Quite effective preliminary training would have been provided by the sporting clubs of various types. The experience of England and the United States in the past war gives full proof of the relatively short time needed to raise and train an immense army.

As to war material, a careful examination demonstrates that, for a nation highly developed industrially, the difficulties are more apparent than real. Railroads, motor cars, telegraphs, telephones, etc., are in constant use in time of peace, and all that is requisite for the construction of the special military equipment is always at hand.

The political situation at the present time contributes to render the problem of disarmament, even of partial disarmament, a very difficult one. The nations are agitating special claims which necessarily find energetic opponents, and in the meanwhile privation and suffering, and the damage caused by the war encourage the subversive elements to revolt. The spectre of Bolshevism, evoked in Russia by the revolution, does not invite to disarmament.

THE DRUG MENACE IN AMERICA

WE are one of the worst countries in the world for the use of narcotics, and, until December, 1914, when the Harrison law was passed, consumed more habit-forming drugs than China herself, according to Mr. Walter A. Davenport, in the New York *Sun*. During the five years previous to 1914, we imported 491,043 pounds of opium costing more than $18,000,000 and used the cocaine product of over a million pounds of coca leaves at a dollar a pound. Only 10 per cent. of the total production of cocaine was used legitimately, the balance corrupting, for the most part, boys and girls of seventeen to twenty-two. In New York City estimates of drug habitués have doubled within a period of months to 200,000; and it is believed there are from 1,500,000 to 5,000,000 addicts in the country.

Dr. Royal S. Copeland, Health Commissioner of New York City, recently made a superficial survey of 2723 addicts, of whom 385 were negroes, 850 American-born, 511 Jews, 312 Poles, 399 Germans, 117 Russians, and 324 of various nationalities. There were 507 women, and 725 of both sexes were under nineteen, 841 were between twenty and twenty-five, 626 between twenty-six and thirty, 477 between thirty-one and forty, and 104 over forty years of age. 1080 were unskilled laborers, and 21 per cent. of the 1643 persons engaged in skilled trades and professions are employed in transportation. Nearly 2000 attributed their enslavement to bad companions, 134 to curiosity, and 11 to pleasure; while only 506 gave pain and sickness as their excuse, and 10 overwork.

Of the narcotics brought into New York, Dr. Copeland admits he can account for only 15 per cent. In the country 150,000 ounces of cocaine are made each year, and three-fourths of it is used illegitimately. The enormous quantity of drugs smuggled into the country is not taken account of in estimating that only 25 per cent. is used legitimately. Our total known annual supply of narcotics is enough for "almost three illegal doses every year for every man, woman and child."

The *Survey* tells of the results of investigations in Memphis, Tenn., last fall, where four physicians and five druggists were convicted, and it was learned that 141,000 bottles of morphine had been sold there in the previous seven months. A physician was appointed with sole power to prescribe narcotics. The Associated Charities covered 456 cases, of which 358 were whites; 260 were females and 196 males. About 70 per cent. were between twenty-five and fifty, 12 per cent. above fifty, and 17 per cent. under twenty-five. Twelve per cent. were engaged in skilled occupations, 52 per cent. were unskilled, and the balance unknown. Eighteen per cent. had used drugs for from ten to twenty years, and only 19.7 per cent. needed less than ten grains a day, while 30.9 per cent. took between ten and twenty grains, and 20.6 per cent. required a daily dose of thirty or more grains.

It does not lie in the mouth of any class or creed to place the blame upon any other, for narcotics claim professions, trades and unskilled laborers with blind impartiality. The *Sun* says 49 States have cocaine legislation on their books, but only 20 make it unlawful for physicians to prescribe for habitual users, and but 17 prohibit the possession of drugs by others than those specified. Of the 37 States with opium legislation, 20 make it unlawful for a physician to prescribe for known addicts except in good faith; the opening of opium dens is prohibited or restricted in 27; and 15 restrict the sale of hydrated chloral ("knockout drops"). But 31 States make sufficient exceptions to the more stringent provisions to maintain their known addicts and develop new ones. In eleven States the law specifically permits the sale of limited quantities of cocaine without a physician's prescription. With profits running in some cases as high as 300 per cent., it is not surprising that some State laws are weak and feebly enforced.

The Harrison law is a Federal statute which provides that narcotics cannot be dispensed except upon an order written on a form furnished by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, or upon a physician's prescription; and forbidding a physician to prescribe for an addict except in curative treatment. Considerable leeway was given physicians under the curative treatment clause until the Supreme Court handed down a decision on March 3 which construed the clause to mean that no physician may prescribe for an addict except as part of a course of treatment for the purpose of complete cure, evidenced by the gradual reduction of dosage leading to early total deprivation. New York, Massachusetts, and Tennessee are the only States credited by the national narcotic committee with taking the lead in coöperative supplementary legislation. New York, for instance, passed the Whitney law providing for the filing of reports of all prescriptions for narcotics with the State commissioner; but by failure to provide funds for the bureau, it has been "as effective as a fervent wish." The Harrison law, when in conflict with any State law, is superior, and the recent decision declaring the law constitutional, and making the interpretations it does, impels closer observance and enforcement everywhere. It therefore behooves the State authorities to make provision for institutional care of drug addicts who in many instances may find the sudden cutting off of their supply ruinous to health, if not fatal—especially in the case of morphine and heroin victims.

The national report shows conclusively that the drug menace is a serious and growing evil, and a problem which must be met. The crying need is for institutional facilities to take care of narcotic addicts, who are sick people, not criminals—where treatment can be administered or regulated by either the Government or the States themselves. Close and effective coöperation by supplementary legislation following the Harrison act, with the means for State participation in the enforcement of anti-narcotic legislation with the Federal authorities, should go far toward stamping out this evil, which, if prohibition is to free the so-called slaves to the demon rum, must be handled without gloves through the agency of government, under the advice and direction of competent medical authorities. The addict himself is sick—diseased; but the trafficker in drugs is a criminal of the worst type; and each should be handled on the merits of his case.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE RECORD OF THE WAR

America's Munitions: 1917-1918. Report of Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, Director of Munitions. Washington: Government Printing Office. 592 pp. Ill.

In requesting the preparation of this volume, Secretary Baker recognized the fact that although American munitions production played an important part in the early decision of the war, the very immensity and complexity of the problem made it difficult for this accomplishment to be fully understood by the public, and as the whole people were called upon to make sacrifices for the war, it seemed only right that all the people should be given an opportunity to know what was done in their behalf. Secretary Baker, therefore, asked Assistant Secretary Crowell to have prepared an historical statement of munitions production, "so brief that all may have time to read it, so non-technical that all may be able readily to understand it, and so authoritative that all may rely upon its accuracy." The result is a book of real interest to the general public, skilfully assembled and edited, and presenting within the compass of 600 pages a realistic picture of the nation's industry at war. The report, it should be said, contains much material that the average reader would perhaps not expect to find under the head of munitions. There are chapters, for example, on the Air Service, the work of the Engineer Corps, the activities of the Quartermaster's Department, the Signal Corps and the building of cantonments and camps. The report is, in fact, a comprehensive survey of every field of American industry that contributed to the war.

The War With Germany: a Statistical Summary. By Leonard P. Ayres. Washington: Government Printing Office. 154 pp. Ill.

This is another government publication of exceptional value. Like Director Crowell's report, it deals with all the war-making activities, and it also summarizes the battle operations themselves, the training of soldiers, transporting them overseas, and caring for the sick and wounded. Effective use is made of the graphic method of presenting statistics, good illustrations of which were furnished in Mr. Wade's article, contributed to the August number of this REVIEW. Colonel Ayres is Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff.

What America Did. By Florence Finch Kelly. E. P. Dutton & Company. 343 pp. Ill.

A popular, illustrated account of the nation's achievement in the prosecution of the war. Mrs. Kelly tells how the Army was formed, housed, trained, equipped, and sent over seas and what it did there; how the Navy expanded, worked with the Allied navies, and ran an ocean ferry: how an aircraft program was developed, and how the nation behind the fighters financed the war, built ships, fed the world and did all the things that had to be done to make America's part effective in the final winning of the war. Mrs. Kelly has wisely omitted from her book any account of the various controversies that were developed during the war, nor does she discuss the pros and cons of the criticisms that were from time to time passed upon almost every phase of our war effort. Her book is a positive statement of what was really done.

Helping France. By Ruth Gaines. E. P. Dutton & Company. 235 pp. Ill.

This story of the Red Cross in the devastated area, written by a member of the Smith College unit, looks both backward and forward—backward over the wonderful human record of the organization in the relief of suffering during the stress of war, and forward to the great tasks of reclamation and reconstruction. The principles and methods that governed the Red Cross work in France have never been more clearly stated in any popular work.



A NINETY-TWO-YEAR-OLD REFUGEE FROM HAZEBROUCK
(From "Helping France"—drawing by A. M. Upjohn)

With the Yankee Division in France. By Frank P. Sibley. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 365 pp. Ill.

This entertaining account of the Yankee Division's experiences at the front is the work of a Boston newspaper man of long training, who was sent by his newspaper to follow the fortunes of "the Twenty-sixth" throughout the war. Every New Englander who had a relative in this famous division will find something of interest in Mr. Sibley's volume—the second history of this division, by the way, which has thus far come to our notice.

The Story of the Rainbow Division. By Raymond S. Tompkins. Boni & Liveright, 264 pp.

At least twenty-six States of the Union have been from the beginning deeply interested in the fortunes of the famous "Rainbow Division," to the formation of which those States contributed National Guard units. If any of the fighting divisions deserved to be called truly national in makeup, it was the "Rainbow." New York, the Middle West and the South were all represented in the fighting units, as well in the roster of officers, but the Division's field commander, Major-General Charles T. Menoher, tells us that the team work of these various elements was so good that the Division, as a whole, was "complete, compact, cohesive" and ran "like a well-oiled machine." In this volume Mr. Tompkins tells the story of the Division's successive adventures in the Champagne-Marne defensive, the crossing of the Ourcq, the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient, and the march through the Argonne.

Scenes From Italy's War. By G. M. Trevelyan. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 240 pp. Ill.

We are fortunate in having from the hand of an able and experienced English writer this series of brilliant narratives of the war on the Italian front. Years devoted to the study of modern Italy, signalized by his volume on "Garibaldi and the Thousand," had given the author a peculiar fitness for his task. His personal contact with the Italian military operations began with the first battles of 1915, and continued to the final victory. Mr. Trevelyan, during all this time, was in charge of the British Red Cross detachment on the Italian front. His opportunities for observation were of the best, and there can be no question of the authenticity of his account. Twelve excellent military maps accompany his text.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

Commercial Policy in War Time and After. By William Smith Culbertson. With an Introduction by Henry C. Emery. D. Appleton & Company. 479 pp.

In this book will be found an exposition of some of the more permanent industrial changes effected by the war, and a discussion of American commercial policies that may be required to meet such changes. In the third part of the volume, dealing with world commercial policies, the author proposes a series of international commissions under the League of Nations as a step toward international government. Prof. Henry C. Emery, of Yale, formerly Chairman of the United States Tariff Board, supplies an introduction.

The Place of Agriculture in Reconstruction. By James B. Morman. E. P. Dutton & Company. 374 pp.

This volume outlines and analyzes various programs of land settlement, including Dr. Elwood Mead's scheme, as already developed in California and described in the March number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. The author has had in mind the peculiar needs of discharged soldiers, sailors and marines. He presents in detail the various solutions of the land-settlement problem which have been tried or are now being tried in Great Britain, France, Canada and other countries.

American Problems of Reconstruction. Edited by Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton & Company. 492 pp.

A considerable body of literature relating to after-war problems has already grown up. Among works of this kind the volume edited by Dr. Friedman was a pioneer. It made its appearance in the fall of 1918, and within a few months reached a third edition. It is in the nature of a symposium on the economic and financial aspects of reconstruction. The contributors to this symposium are all recognized leaders in American economic thought and activity. The topics treated are grouped under the heads of "Efficiency in Production," "Adjustments in Trade and Finance" and "Programs, Monetary and Fiscal." Under the latter head Prof. Irving Fisher writes on "Stabilizing the Dollar in Purchasing Power," Prof. E. W. Kemmerer on "The War and Interest Rates," Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip on "National Thrift," Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman on "Fiscal Reconstruction," and Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland on "The Mechanics of Administration." The third edition of the work contains Prof. F. W. Taussig's discussion of tariff problems, which was omitted from the earlier editions.

How to Face Peace. By Gertrude Shelby. Henry Holt & Company. 311 pp.

This is a very practical book—it might almost be called a manual—giving definite suggestions for community programs in reconstruction. Mrs. Shelby seeks to point out ways in which the forces and organizations that were built up to help win the war may be still further utilized to meet the problems that are now upon us. Some of the chapter headings will serve to indicate the specific problems toward which Mrs. Shelby's thought is directed in this volume: "Find the Boys Jobs!" "Forward Reëducation!" "Use Community Labor Boards!" "Extend Hospitality and Recreation!" "Fight Disease!" "Continue Home Planning!"

"Prevent Evictions and Rent Profiteering!" "Help Returned Soldiers or Their Families!" "Americanize America!" Mrs. Shelby writes from a wide experience in community work and close touch with the Councils of National Defense.

British Labor and the War. By Paul U. Kellogg and Arthur Gleason. Boni & Liveright. 504 pp.

Whatever differences there may be between the aims of American organized labor and those commonly recognized by the British Labor Movement, there can be no question as to the value of this attempt by two American writers to interpret for their countrymen the reactions of British Labor to the war. Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Gleason are both careful, trained observers, and they have not been content with a superficial study of conditions. Their book contains 150 pages of important documentary material in the form of an appendix.

The League of Nations Covenant. The Academy of Political Science, Columbia University. 154 pp.

The Covenanter. By William H. Taft, George W. Wickersham, A. Lawrence Lowell, Henry Taft. Doubleday, Page & Co. 188 pp.

The addresses and papers presented at the National Conference of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York on June 5, 1919, have been printed in convenient form for general distribution. Among the participants in the discussion were Senator Key Pittman, Dwight W. Morrow, George Wharton Pepper, George W. Wickersham, Abraham I. Elkus, and ten other leaders of public opinion. Further exposition of the Covenant is contained in the little volume entitled, "The Covenanter," prepared by Ex-President William H. Taft, President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, Mr. George W. Wickersham, and Mr. Henry W. Taft.

The British Revolution and the American Democracy. By Norman Angell. B. W. Huebsch. 319 pp.

In this book Mr. Angell, who in recent years has addressed a very large reading public in this country and Great Britain on international topics, offers an interpretation of British labor programs, in which he attempts to explain "the outstanding moral forces which have brought those programs into being and with which the world will have to reckon in facing its problem of reconstruction." The author does not look upon those forces as all necessarily beneficent; indeed, he is at pains to explain why he regards some of them as particularly dangerous and menacing. In fact, "what is attempted in these pages is not so much advocacy as explanation." Perhaps it is needless to say in this connection that Mr. Angell is one of those who believe that organized labor should make use of political means for carrying out its policies.

The Politics of Industry. By Glenn Frank. The Century Company. 214 pp.

An attempt to catch the spirit and interpret the mental attitude of American business and labor leaders in relation to the social and industrial unrest of the present time.

What Is America? By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Company. 159 pp.

A calm, good-humored analysis of modern America in some of its fundamental, social and economic aspects. Dr. Ross explains how American democracy has kept us through all the years a steady-going nation, and why he believes that we shall continue to be just that, in spite of the strain that has been produced by a social evolution that was unforeseen by the fathers.

The British Empire and a League of Peace, together with an Analysis of Federal Government. By George Burton Adams. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 115 pp.

Of the two essays contained in this volume, the first points out the practicability of a commonwealth of six English-speaking nations, to take the place of the present British Empire, and shows how the transformation of the Empire into such a commonwealth would make easier the problem of America's joining with it in a common international policy. The second essay shows how the principle of federal government has worked out in practise.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Passing of the Frontier. By Emerson Hough. New Haven: Yale University Press. 181 pp. Ill.

The Age of Big Business. By Burton J. Hendrick. New Haven: Yale University Press. 196 pp. Ill.

The Boss and the Machine. By Samuel P. Orth. New Haven: Yale University Press. 203 pp. Ill.

In the "Chronicles of America" series the vanished life of the old West is represented in Mr. Emerson Hough's volume, "The Passing of the Frontier." From the standpoint of American history in its broader aspects, this is one of the most important of all the "Chronicles." Most of what we are accustomed to associate in our thought with characteristic Americanism is related more or less directly to the frontier—a word that no longer has a concrete meaning in our present-day national life. Mr. Hough himself, although by no means an old man, has seen in his own lifetime the remarkable transition that our Great West underwent with the disappearance of the last frontier. He has personally known some of the hardy plainsmen and trappers who helped to make the pioneer history of our Western commonwealths. His story of the cattle trails, the mines, the Indian wars, and the homesteaders of the region beyond the Rocky Mountains, is as thrilling

as any work of fiction. Another great episode in the history of our own times in America is chronicled by Burton J. Hendrick in "The Age of Big Business." This volume opens with a picture of industrial America at the end of the Civil War, describes the development of the oil trust, the steel trust, the telephone corporation, public utilities, manufacturing of agricultural machinery, and finally, the democratization of the automobile. Along with the rise to power of the so-called "captains of industry" came developments in American politics and party organization that are described by Mr. Samuel P. Orth in a volume of the "Chronicles" entitled "The Boss and the Machine." Mr. Orth, however, goes far back of the Civil War in his search for the origins of bossism in our politics. In New York State party government by machine is traced back to Aaron Burr, De Witt Clinton, Martin Van Buren, and the powerful group that later came to be known as the "Albany Regency." A separate chapter in Mr. Orth's book is devoted to Tammany Hall, and the "Lesser Oligarchies" of Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and other American cities, are described. If Mr. Orth has given us a chronicle of what many of us would be glad to forget, it cannot fairly be said that he has overstated the facts.

THE FAR EAST

Modern Japan. By Amos S. Hershey and Susanne W. Hershey. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 382 pp.

A much-needed survey of Japan as it is, not as its friends or its enemies would have it seem to be, is the result of considerable study and observation on the part of Prof. A. S. Hershey, of Indiana University, and Mrs. Hershey. The authors have made skilful use of materials gathered from various sources. In chapters dealing with industrial and economic conditions, poverty, and social evils the authors have not hesitated to call a spade a spade, believing that before such conditions can be remedied the facts must be fully known. On the other hand, they have not neglected those aspects of the subject that give fair ground for optimism.

Japan and World Peace. By K. K. Kawakami. Macmillan. 196 pp.

Probably the best and clearest statement in English of Japan's present international position. Mr. Kawakami is already well known as a candid critic of Japanese national policy. At the same time he makes a vigorous plea for a more general recognition of Japan's position, especially in regard to the race problem aid its relation to the League of Nations. He presents the Japanese viewpoint on the development of China, control of the South Pacific Islands, Siberian intervention, and the effect of German defeat upon Japanese politics. He makes a readable and interesting statement of Japan's case before the world.

The Far East Unveiled. By Frederic Coleman. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 304 pp.

The author of this book is an American traveler of much experience in the Orient. His material was gathered in Japan, China, Manchuria, and Korea during the year 1916. He obtained the views of the President of China and the Prime Ministers of China and Japan. Much of the political and commercial information that he gained in the course of his investigations is of peculiar importance to America, and especially to all American business men who are interested in cultivating trade relations with the Far East. For the most part, he refrains from the expression of his own opinions, relating merely what he saw and heard, without comment. His strictures on Japanese commercial morality, however, are quite in line with those of Professor Hershey.

Self-Government in the Philippines. By Maximo M. Kalaw. The Century Company. 210 pp.

This book, by the author of "The Case for the Filipinos," sets forth in a summary way the remarkable progress made in the Philippine Islands since the American occupation began twenty years ago. American readers will be specially interested in chapters that recount the development of local government, the adoption of the budget system, and the treatment of the non-Christian tribes. It is a record of which America, as the "big brother" in the experiment, may well feel proud.

REFERENCE

The New International Year Book for the Year 1918. Editor, Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead & Company. 790 pp. Ill.

Editors of almanacs and annuals covering the year 1918 have had a peculiarly difficult task. In that year the Great War reached its climax and its conclusion, so far as actual fighting was concerned. In any account of the progress of hostilities during that year much documentary material had to be included. The "International Year Book," under the editorship of Mr. Frank Moore Colby, contains in its five issues, beginning with 1914, perhaps as good a summary of the outstanding developments of the war as it was possible to compile while the conflict was still going on. The final volume of the series has a fifty-six page special article, with maps and illustrations, together with various collateral references. In this, as in other features, the Year Book has proven itself a reliable and convenient book of reference.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



Our Belgian Visitors

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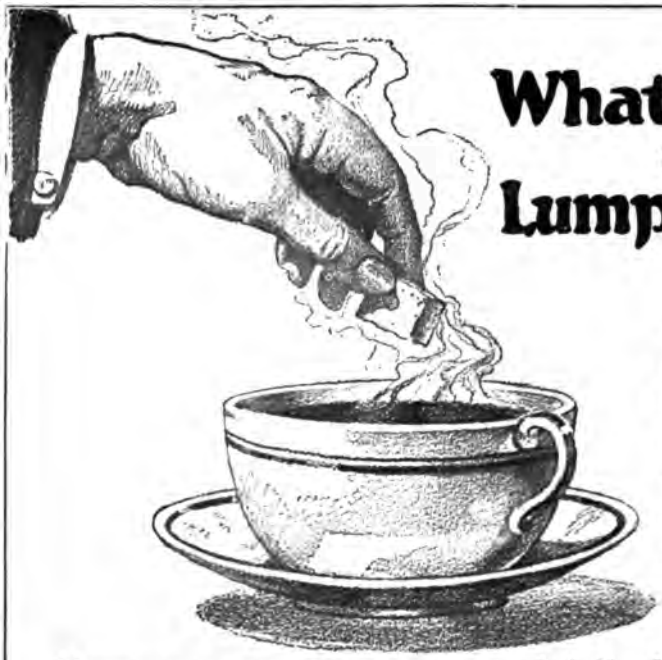
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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM, WHO VISITS AMERICA IN OCTOBER

(No official guests could be more welcome than the King and Queen of Belgium and the heir to the throne. We are glad to present in this number of the REVIEW especial tributes to the King from Dr. Henry van Dyke and Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, who, as American diplomats representing us in neighboring countries during the war period, have intimate knowledge of the noble leadership of the Belgian King. Mr. Mark Sullivan also contributes a character sketch that presents the King's virile personality. Dr. Lyman P. Powell writes touchingly of the moral power and leadership of Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian prelate, whose arrival preceded that of the King and Queen)

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LX NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1919 No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Teachers, In the Present Crisis

During recent weeks, school boards and trustees have discovered that the high cost of living has depleted the ranks of the teaching profession to such an extent that it will be hard to carry on the work of education with anything like standard efficiency. The average pay of trained professional teachers, whether in public schools or in colleges, has been relatively too small for many years past. Recent increases have not sufficed to meet changed conditions of living. In New York City and many other places, the aggregate school budget has increased perhaps from 20 to 30 per cent.; but, with the cost of living advanced from 50 to 100 per cent., the teachers are probably the most poorly paid this season of any class of American workers. Thousands of able young instructors and professors have abandoned the schools and colleges, and gone into business pursuits; and many women teachers have found other occupations. Colleges have been making the most strenuous efforts to find means with which to increase the salaries of their corps of instructors. Harvard University, for example, has organized a campaign for an immediate sum of $15,000,000 as fresh endowment, the income of which is to be applied chiefly to an increase in the pay of teachers.

Shaking Our Schools Out of Ruts

Temporarily the shortage of better teachers for public schools will be to the advantage of the untrained and immature, especially in small towns and country districts. The larger school systems will, even more than heretofore, offer inducements to the good teachers from the country. At least, school-keeping will be shaken out of some old ruts. It is to be hoped that the resulting situation may stimulate the movement for consolidating rural schools, and for the adoption of a deliberate policy on the part of State governments for the maintenance of rural life. Country children should be as well instructed as those of the larger towns and cities. One of the results of the shortage of teachers, furthermore, may be the revival of conscious and deliberate educational effort in the home. Where the school teachers are young girls without professional training, who engage in the work as a temporary makeshift, it is not wise to rely too entirely upon schools for educating children. A sharp distinction should be made between professional teachers of character, experience and proved success, and those of the casual kind. The professional teacher should be well paid, and should be restored to that position of honor and influence in the community that belonged to the schoolmasters of an earlier day.

The Schoolman as Principal Citizen

While there is much to be said for classification and uniformity in the arrangement of teachers' salaries, there are also many considerations in favor of the recognition and reward of individual merit in teachers. Classification and systematic promotion seem to be unavoidable in the treatment of teachers in the public schools of a city. The systems should, however, be so devised as to encourage merit and devotion, and to secure the advancement of the best teachers in contrast with a uniform promotion on the sole criterion of seniority. In small places the wise and enthusiastic principal of a village school or a consolidated country school ought to be paid enough to keep him at his post regardless of rules and customs. He is, or should be, the foremost citizen. The tendency in some cities to organize teachers on the trade-union plan, and secure local charters like so many groups of unionized garment-workers or cigar-makers, is not likely to be permanent. Apparently the sole object of such unions has been to secure salary increases.

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PRESIDENT A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(Mr. Lowell, as head of a great university, is in the forefront of the movement for placing the teaching profession upon a more liberal basis of support in order that our higher institutions may meet the demand for training leaders, scholars, and professional experts)



SUPERINTENDENT WILLIAM L. ETTINGER, OF THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

(Dr. Ettinger, as directing head of the largest city school system of the country, stands conspicuous in the work of our educational leaders for keeping the public schools abreast of the needs of the day)

Teaching Is Not a Trade

But the history of the teacher's calling has been a totally different one from that of workingmen employed under our system of private capitalistic industry. If the schools were business ventures run by proprietors as money-making schemes, the teachers might well be organized for collective bargaining as against the capitalists who were making money in educational ventures and undertakings. But the motive and the function of public education are not analogous to those of private industry. The great object of the schools is to preserve and to improve what is best in our complex national life and civilization. It is much more important for society as a whole that the teaching profession be well sustained than it is for any of the individuals who happen at the moment to be engaged in teaching. If teachers are not paid decently and treated well, their profession will decline rapidly, and we shall have poor schools, while the colleges will lose their power to train even a small proportion of the leaders of thought and action. Trying as are the private economic problems of most of the members of the teaching profession, it remains true that in its very nature the work of the teacher must be as free as possible from personal considerations. There is no other calling that requires such constant practice of unselfishness as that of teaching and training the young.

A Calling That Needs Support

The more devoted the teacher is to his work, the less opportunity he has to give prudent thought to his own affairs. For that very reason society will best serve itself by relieving the teachers from private anxiety. The emergencies of the war called for great sacrifices as exemplified particularly in the cheerful and noble service rendered by the five million young men who went into the Army and Navy. The period of reconstruction following the war is also one of public difficulty and danger, and our teachers of all grades and classes have now an exceptional opportunity for useful service. Most of them know something of history, and are students of current affairs. Their calling tends to make them open-minded, receptive to truth, and dispassionate in judgment. They are able to see that industry, thrift, patience, social good-will, private and public honesty, and a democracy based upon intelligence and virtue, are the essential things for to-day. They know how to direct the thinking of the rising generation and to point out the path of safe progress. Those

achers who decide to make the best
personal perplexities, and stick to the
of instructing the young, are entitled
especial regard and support of par-
of society at large. Meanwhile, in
mmunity, there should be efforts made
rtain the facts about the teachers in
ools in order that the instructors of
ng may not have to bear an undue
hardship in this period of economic
ment that is relatively so favorable
anized wage-earners, and so unfavor-
the salaried classes, especially those
in public work, like teachers, clergy-
firemen, policemen, and post-office
ees.

There ought to be kept clearly
in mind the various points of dis-
tinction between public employ-
workers in private industries carried
profit. In ordinary industry the law
ly and demand is always in operation.
are formed among the workers, and
ents are entered into from time to
ith employers in order that this so-
law of supply and demand may not
too harshly and unequally; but the
les of competition are not thus set
They are merely regulated in their
g by such devices as collective bar-
, periodic agreements and arbitration.
blic employment the conditions hith-
ve been quite different, and it is es-
that the distinctions be kept clear for
ure. The public schools of a city or
ought not to be subject to a strike of
s for higher pay. The health of a
nity—as regards infectious diseases,
mple—ought not to be endangered by
e of sanitary inspectors, health-board
ees, ambulance-drivers, and hospital
s in general. The public duty of
ce on the part of firemen, to whom
n entrusted the protection of life and
y, cannot be set aside in favor of the
duty of firemen to provide for their
s. The protection of a great com-
against crime and disorder is a sa-
ust imposed upon police departments
ave been trained and developed
h several generations.

A policeman in a large commu-
nity is certainly the most indis-
pensable of all public servants.
the young candidate passes the exam-
s and secures appointment to the po-
lice force, he renounces the point of view
of the worker in private industry, and ac-
cepts the wholly different status of a per-
manent public official who represents
governmental authority. Elective officers
like governors and mayors come and go;
but policemen and firemen and the better
class of persons engaged in teaching, in
sanitary work and in certain other forms of
public service, are carefully protected against
arbitrary dismissal and are trained to recog-
nize the responsible nature of their callings.
They may indeed resign as individuals from
time to time; but their moral obligation not
to endanger the public well-being by strikes
is not greatly different from the obligation
of soldiers. It is a great pity that the lead-
ers of organized labor who have generally
been clear thinkers in matters involving
points of principle should not have insisted
upon refusing to bring public employees like
those of the post-office, firemen, policemen,
and teachers into affiliation with the unions
of workmen employed in private capitalistic
industry. This new tendency to unionize
public employees is hurtful to organized la-
bor on the one hand, and is not beneficial
to public servants on the other hand.

Boston's Police Strike

In this discussion we are not
referring to wage-workers in
mechanical trades, transporta-
tion, and the like, who may happen at one
time to be in public employment and at an-
other time in private employment; but are
discussing the callings that are responsible,
permanent and professionalized, and that
are remunerated on a systematic salary basis
and not on the day-wage basis. Boston last
month was the scene of a police strike that
came as an object-lesson to the entire coun-
try. The higher authorities for a day or
two seemed unequal to the task of keeping
order, and there was widespread looting and
petty criminality chiefly on the part of gangs
of hoodlums and irresponsible boys. Mayor
Peters and Governor Coolidge soon asserted
themselves, however, and ample bodies of
state troops were available for the restora-
tion of order. The policemen did not strike
to enforce any particular demand as to wages
or conditions. Their wholly improper action
was in assertion of what they regarded as
their right to form a union that should be af-
filiated with the ordinary trade unions in the
local branch of the American Federation of
Labor. They had been led along false lines
of reasoning to a shocking error in conduct.



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MAYOR ANDREW J. PETERS, OF BOSTON, IN CONFERENCE WITH POLICE COMMISSIONER CURTIS DURING RIOTS FOLLOWING THE STRIKE OF THE CITY'S POLICE

The Point at Issue

Contrary to the mandate of Police Commissioner Curtis, a great majority of the Boston policemen had formed such a union and had entered into relations with the Federation. Commissioner Curtis had suspended nineteen policemen as officers of the union or as leaders in the movement. The strike of the policemen was on behalf of the nineteen suspended men. Nothing that we have said in this discussion should be construed as denying that the policemen of Boston have a right to form an association, or even a right to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We do not know precisely the points of law and fact which were regarded by Commissioner Curtis as justifying his attitude toward the policemen's union and his action in suspending nineteen police officers. In order to be effective, a police force must have *esprit de corps* and must recognize the orders of superior officers. But this very fact makes it all the more requisite that a police commissioner exercise his authority with reason and good judgment. It is well to assume that policemen of Boston were not wholly lacking in a sense of public duty. They put themselves in the wrong by striking; but perhaps the police commissioner had been unwise in the steps he had taken which led to the predicament. Perhaps the crisis could have been avoided by a different policy.

Policemen Should Serve Public Only

It is clear enough, however, that policemen ought not to strike. In our opinion it is also clear that bodies of public officials ought not to be brought into the American Federation of Labor. A part of the duty of a policeman is to represent the general public in the maintenance of order in times when there are strikes, lockouts and disorders in private industry. It is quite as inappropriate for the policeman to be affiliated with trade unionism as for the judges to form a union and become affiliated with employers' associations. The judges must be impartial servants of law and justice. The policemen also must uphold law and order, and ought not to have group connections with other distinct bodies which are actually at this time on strike or are threatening such action. Thus, for all the policemen of Pittsburgh and neighboring cities to be solidly unionized and affiliated with the steel workers at the very moment when, last month, a steel strike was imminent, would have been wholly contrary to sound public policy, and would have left the general community bereft of that confidence in its own agencies for security that it has a right to depend upon. Thus it seems clear that organized labor, in accepting these bodies of public officials, is showing a tendency to over-reach itself and is adding to itself elements of weakness rather than of strength. As for the groups of officials themselves, they are sacrificing something of the dignity and value of their own public status by emphasizing unduly their private demands and relationships.

The Remedy is in Society's Hands

There seems to be no safe kind of compromise with an actual mutiny of sworn officers or servants of the law, in the face of public duty. Sailors may have bitter grievances, and soldiers may be the victims of tyranny on the part of their superiors; but mutinies cannot be safely encouraged or condoned. It follows, however, that those whose tyranny has provoked soldiers or sailors or policemen to mutiny should be severely dealt with, and that grievances should be remedied. Police-



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MASSACHUSETTS GUARDSMEN ROUNDING UP RIOTERS ON BOSTON COMMON DURING THE POLICE STRIKE

men should be exceedingly well paid and very highly trained. As society grows more complex, the policeman's work requires increasing intelligence, and high qualities of personal character and of sound judgment. The policeman is not merely a negative force, but a positive agency for well-being in crowded communities. His position should be made so desirable that there would be lively competition among young men who had made good records in the Army to become members of the police force in their own communities. The permanence of these positions, and the respect and honor due to valuable public service, ought to be accepted by every policeman as a part of his current reward. He cannot expect his salary to rise instantly with changes in the cost of living, but he is entitled to a most considerate hearing when changed conditions suddenly render his pay very insufficient, as in the present year. Treat public servants well and require a high order of talent and service: such is the remedy. Since the Boston situation was so full of object lessons for hundreds of other American cities, it was greatly to be desired that it should be cleared up in a way that lessened rather than increased the danger of like troubles elsewhere. The authority of the State of Massachusetts could not be arbitrated; but the State could afford to be magnanimous, when public authority was unconditionally acknowledged.

A Caution to the Masterful!

In these labor matters many conflicts could be avoided if there were more patience, and a more generous effort to understand the opposing side before crossing the Rubicon of belligerency. Every phase of economic unrest at the present time demands open-mindedness and frank discussion. In times past, the managers of productive capital have in many cases been justly condemned for their treatment of labor and their disregard of the long-suffering public. The war created a vast labor scarcity, and unionism seized its chance to make enormous gains. Organized labor is now in the saddle; and its leadership will inevitably have to face the verdicts of public opinion, in its turn. It will be well for all classes, including the labor groups, if it is agreed that we are to have something better than "Soviet" management of public affairs, and that the Government and the fields of public employment are to be kept independent, and outside of the play of competitive economic forces. Let the new masters of the situation be cautious. After a few days of the Boston strike, it became evident that the proposed general strike of telephone operators, street railroad men, and other unionized bodies in sympathy with the police would be such a reckless mistake as to discredit and harm the cause of organized labor in the eyes of the whole country.



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HON. CALVIN COOLIDGE, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Mr. Coolidge, who had previously been Lieutenant Governor, was elected on the Republican ticket last year and succeeded Governor McCall at the beginning of the present year)

Public Ownership Checked

Already a strong reaction against increasing the functions of Government has set in by reason of unwise and arbitrary attitudes on the part of organized workers. It is necessary for the public to have continuous operation of telegraph and telephone lines, and of railways and local transit systems. But the readiness of employes engaged in these services to menace the public welfare by strikes, has wholly destroyed the influence of these same organized workers in their demand for permanent Government ownership and operation. Until it is distinctly understood that public officials and employes will not resort to the methods of trades unions in ordinary industry, there will be no favorable response to arguments in favor of Government ownership of public utilities. These questions are not to be dealt with by menaces on one side or on the other, but by careful thought and discussion. American workingmen, far from being public enemies, are the very backbone of the nation's life; and their children are the hope of its future. Every good citizen desires to see prosperity diffused and labor well rewarded. Historically speaking, the trade union movement has contributed to the general welfare, just as production through the agency of great masses of capital has furnished labor-saving machinery and has given the country that abundance which has made possible the present improved standards of living. The danger lies now, when organized labor is so powerful, in the attempt to gain desired objects by the sheer use of the power due to exceptional conditions, rather than by temperate and prudent methods.

The President's Influence

Undoubtedly President Wilson's attitude in August had some influence with labor leaders. A great railroad strike that was impending was successfully averted. It was plain that a fresh increase in the wages of class A must increase the cost of some commodity essential to classes B, C, and D, and that the time had come for calling a halt and trying to stabilize conditions. Food costs being most serious for the average family, the Army's surplus supply of canned goods, bacon and so on was sold to civilians at reasonable prices, and attention was diverted to the practices of a few traders who were demanding excessive profits. President Wilson urged labor leaders to restrain strike movements, and arranged for a conference representing labor, employers and the public to be held at Washington early in October. Meanwhile, transportation strikes in New York and Brooklyn were settled by granting



HOW FAR DOES IT REACH?
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AT HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON

(This group of labor leaders has been considering situations of a more critical nature and serious kind than ever before in the history of the American labor movement. In the front row, left to right, are Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the Federation; Samuel Gompers, president; Frank Morrison, secretary; and Matthew Woll, vice-president. In the back row are Thomas A. Rickert, Frank Duffy, James Duncan, and Joseph F. Valentine—all four of whom are vice-presidents of the organization)

half of the wage increases demanded, with an agreement to negotiate or arbitrate regarding the remaining half.

Shall "Steel" Be Unionized

The steel industry has heretofore in the main succeeded in dealing with its own workers without the intervention of outside organizations; while the labor leaders have long been determined to unionize steel as thoroughly as they have unionized coal production or railroads. It is held by the heads of the steel companies, like the United States Steel Corporation, that wages in the steel industry have more than kept pace with the increase in the cost of living; and that the great majority of their employes have not desired to come under a strictly unionized régime. But this is a question which the labor leaders on the one hand and the steel magnates on the other were evidently destined to put to the test of practical experiment. Judge E. H. Gary, as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation and director of its general policies, had been politely declining, for some weeks past, to meet for personal discussion the labor leaders who were seeking to bring about a recognition of a group of unions, some twenty-four in number, corresponding to different kinds of work performed by the employes of the corporation. Failing to obtain President Wilson's specific promise to support their demand for a conference with Judge Gary, these leaders on September 9th called a strike in the steel industry to take effect on the 22d. There were wide differences of assertion and of opinion as to the extent to which the union movement had penetrated the ranks of the workers for the great steel companies. The outside public was bound to be somewhat influenced by the fact that the strike leaders impatiently waived aside President Wilson's earnest request that they defer action until after his October conference.



THE PRESIDENT WITH MRS. WILSON, ON TOUR IN THE WEST

The President and the Treaty

The urgent plea for the President's intervention in the steel controversy came at a time when Mr. Wilson felt himself entitled to concentrate his energies upon what he regarded as a task paramount to all others. He was in the West, traveling rapidly from one place to another, expounding the principles of the League of Nations and the peace treaty, and trying to arouse an active public sentiment in favor of ratification. Undoubtedly the debate in the Senate had produced some degree of popular bewilderment. The Republican Senators had aroused themselves to an increasing hostility of mind against certain arrangements in the great compact of Versailles, so that the main outlines of the treaty had disappeared from view. The military powers of Europe had become a menace largely by reason of their imperial forms of governments, which had been allied with the methods and objects of militarism. Those governments do not exist any longer, and the League of Nations is to be an association of the countries which have popular governments. There is reason to believe that the kind of public opinion which prevents the United States from being a menace to Canada, or to any other country, will gain increasing control of European governments. It is not likely, for instance, that the people of England will permit their government to menace the liberties of any other country whatsoever. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that the British Government is in many parts of the world protecting backward peoples in the growth of real freedom. Under the new conditions, the League can help, and it is entitled to our support.

America's Part Must be Continued

The return of General Pershing, and the parade of the First Division, with the Commander-in-Chief at its head in New York on September 10, brought freshly to mind the amazing episode of America's military intervention in Europe. Cardinal Mercier, the great hero of Belgium, who witnessed that parade, declared that the American Army had won the war and saved the liberties of Europe. It is no longer a question then of our becoming involved in trans-oceanic affairs. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that we can ever again become as deeply involved as we have been during the past three years. The speeches of some of the Senators read strangely, as if they were unaware of what had been happening. It is quite impossible that we should have sacrificed so much to win a victory without having any subsequent sense of responsibility for the maintenance of peace, freedom and justice. As it happens, there is practically no discussion of the terms of peace as they relate to Germany. The controversy turns altogether upon exact provisions in the organization and working plans of the so-called League of Nations. The Senatorial critics of the scheme wish to protect the Monroe Doctrine, demand that America keep her own sovereignty in such domestic questions as immigration and tariffs, and especially insist that America must not send armies and navies to help enforce peace in distant parts of the world at the behest of the League of Nations, without controlling action at the time by the Congress of the United States.

How Valuable Are the Exceptions?

As regards these matters, President Wilson declares that they are already adequately dealt with in the treaty itself. He assures the country that there is not the slightest occasion for making exceptions as to these points, because they are already covered. It would seem, therefore, entirely sufficient for the Senate to adopt a memorandum of interpretation as to these matters, based upon the President's assurances. There seems to be



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A MEETING OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

(From left to right around the table are Senators George H. Moses, of New Hampshire; Hiram Johnson, of California; Warren G. Harding, of Ohio; Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico; Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut; Porter J. McCumber, of North Dakota; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts (chairman); Gilbert M. Hitchcock, of Nebraska; Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia; and Key Pittman, of Nevada)

some difference of opinion as to the method by which the United States could honorably withdraw from the League, unless explicit action were taken at this time. Upon this point undoubtedly the Senate could adopt a memorandum expressing its convictions, and President Wilson could recommend to the Peace Conference—which is still in session—that it amend or modify the treaty in this particular.

British Influence in the League

There has arisen in the Senate a strong objection to the admission of the great self-governing British dominions to separate representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations. The essential interests of the Canadian people in the maintenance of world peace are more nearly identical with the interests of the people of the United States than are those of any other country. In our judgment it would be a distinct misfortune to the United States to exclude great political entities like Canada, Australia and New Zealand from direct representation in the Assembly of the League. The arguments in the Senate seem to be based upon some theory of rivalry between the British Empire and the United States. American sentiment should repudiate that theory once for all. We cannot too warmly welcome the statesmen of South Africa, Canada and Australia as participants in the work of the League of Nations. Their presence there will be wholly to our advantage.

Future Amendments Probable

It was a very difficult thing to formulate the great treaty of Versailles, and doubtless the experience of the future years will show that many mistakes were made; but we are quite frank in expressing the opinion that our Senators have not shown us very much that is vitally wrong. Mr. Root, Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes, as wise and judicious Republican leaders, made some suggestions in the late winter or early spring that were heeded at Paris, and that to some extent at least were actually embodied in the existing treaty. If the document were ratified as it stands, it would not be amiss to seek modifications from time to time in the future. The League of Nations is simply an arrangement for organizing the governments of the world for the purpose of preventing the evils and dangers of militarism, for the perfection of international law, and for the establishment of justice among the nations and the protection of the rights of weaker peoples. This part of the treaty is the tentative framework of a world constitution. It can be amended from time to time just as our

Federal Constitution has been amended. It will be remembered that our Constitution was adopted upon the implied understanding that a series of amendments would soon be adopted to meet the demands of certain States. Such amendments, it will be borne in mind, followed very promptly after the Constitution went into effect.

The Treaty Now Under Final Debate

On September 10th the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, which had been devoting weeks of study to the treaty, reported the document to the full Senate. The Republican majority of this Committee, with the exception of Senator McCumber of North Dakota, had agreed in recommending the ratification of the treaty with certain reservations and amendments. A minority report signed by the Democratic members of the Committee with one exception was presented by Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, this report favoring the adoption of the treaty exactly as presented by President Wilson. It is to be regretted that the debate has often seemed to be partisan and acrimonious, although we do not believe that any one of the Senators has been consciously influenced by any motive except that of patriotic duty. The precise form of this treaty doubtless will have some influence and effect upon the course of history; but there will be many other factors in the shaping of events. Republican Senators are right in their demands that we know, insofar as possible, what commitments we are making under the solemn formalities of the treaty. Generally speaking, agreements that limit freedom of action under contingencies that have not yet arisen are to be avoided. The American people must determine from time to time in the future what is to be the nature and extent of their participation in the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere.

American Influence Abroad

We believe that this is understood in Europe, but some of the Senators would like to have it stated more explicitly. As for the peoples of the old world, they undoubtedly desire the friendship of America, and the aid of this country for safeguarding the world against future war. All this may be true, while much else is true at the same time. Thus, Mr. Simonds, in an exceedingly able discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe in the present number of the REVIEW, shows us how hard it is to secure final adjustments, and how angry each European country becomes if its own ambitions are thwarted through the influence of the dominant group in the Peace Conference. Mr. Simonds thus shows that the United States has become successively unpopular in a number of European countries, because of the disinterested endeavor to bring about a settlement of boundary disputes upon permanent principles. Obviously, it would have been much easier for Mr. Wilson and the American delegation to side-step these boundary controversies altogether; but, as it happened, the Americans were in a disinterested position, and their services on boundary commissions were for that very reason insisted upon. Surely Americans could have had no motive in disappointing the Italians in a detail like the control of Fiume or points on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. But the United States, having participated in the war, was obliged to take part in the Peace Conference that followed; and, just as our agency in the ending of the war had been conclusive, so our participation in the Peace Conference was bound to be conspicuous and vital.

Victory a Continuing Condition

We have expressed the opinion without hesitation that President Wilson would have been better advised if he had insisted upon having the services at Paris of Republican statesmen of the type of Messrs. Root, Taft and Hughes; and we are still of opinion that many members of the Senate should have been urged to spend a considerable time abroad in close contact with the situations out of which the peace treaty has been evolved. But there is ample evidence for the view that America's effort and influence were creditably used in the arduous effort to shape the peace treaty, even as they had been nobly and unselfishly used in the crisis of the war. It is probable that the final action of the Senate may be deferred until the end of October. It would be unfair to Senators to deny that the Republican debate has upon the whole been very able as well as patriotic, although it has not seemed to us to have a true sense of proportion and to have unduly emphasized some details while failing to recognize that the treaty as a whole lies in the necessary line of that coöperation which was involved in the victory over Germany. The victory itself was on behalf of the rights of peoples great and small, to be protected against military conquest. The vic-

tory was not to be regarded as an event, but as a continuing condition. International peace must henceforth be the object of active organization and constant vigilance.

America, Japan, and China

Whatever may be thought regarding the relations of Japan and China, it does not seem likely that any valuable interest would be served by a vote in the United States Senate to amend the Peace Treaty insofar as it relates to Japan's claims in the Province of Shantung. The Japanese people have much more at stake in the proper treatment of China than has any other nation. China, on her part, can derive better practical aid from Japan than from any country of Europe or America. The Japanese have openly agreed that the Province of Shantung, which was rescued from the Germans, will be promptly restored to the Chinese. No evidence has been brought forward in the Senate to show that it would not be distinctly beneficial to China to have Japanese participation in the economic development of the Shantung Province. Japan has evidently made mistakes in her ambition to acquire a dominant influence in China; but we must remember that Japan has had very bad examples furnished her by at least three great European powers, in their past aggressions upon Chinese territory. Her mistakes are to be viewed somewhat leniently, in the light of their high-handed proceedings.

China's Future

The important thing for China is to win the respect of the world by establishing a strong and capable government and giving it loyal support. China is not to obtain her full and ultimate rights by virtue of any championship in the United States Senate. If the Chinese would but try as hard as the Japanese to make national progress, and to secure unity and strength in government councils, they would soon become the foremost power, not merely of Asia, but of the entire world. When they overcome their national faults and do justice to themselves as a great people, they will not only dictate to Japan regarding Shantung, but they will recover all their provinces and ports that are now under foreign control, and do so upon their own terms. Meanwhile, the Japanese have accomplished marvels under great difficulties, and they ought not to be deprived of the American friendship that they have long enjoyed. Quarreling with Japan is not the true way to help China. It is to be hoped, then, that the Senate will not attempt to adjust the Shantung question by voting to amend the treaty.



THE DISMOUNTED MINE
"Be careful! It still might go off!"
From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam)

Delays Also in Europe

As for the delay in ratification, it is well to be reminded that of the five leading powers in the making of the treaty, Great Britain alone had last month completed the formalities of accepting the document. France, Italy, and Japan, like the United States, had not yet proclaimed formal ratification. The President had submitted the treaty to the Senate on July 10, and the Committee on Foreign Relations had reported it back for adoption with suggested amendments after exactly two months of consideration. The end of the third month ought to bring final action. Under the circumstances this would not be taking undue time, although it is not yet clear to the country that the continuance of discussion has accomplished anything specific. Germany is hoping the Senate will destroy Allied unity.

Turmoil Abroad

If we are finding the problems of economic readjustment rather serious in the United States, we may understand something of the course of affairs in Europe by thinking of conditions there as more chaotic than our own. Thus labor troubles in England are far more intense and disturbing than in the United States. The



A TWO-EDGED SWORD

(When the agitator strikes against society he generally hits the workers the hardest)

From *Karikaturen* (Christiania)

demand in this country on the part of labor unions for the nationalization of railroads seems but a faint echo of the attitude of English labor toward a like proposal. Trade unionism as a whole in Great Britain is supporting the miners in their demand for the nationalization of the coal industry, and it is quite possible that unless this demand is heeded by Parliament the unions may attempt to enforce it by bringing about a general strike, with a tie-up of railroads and the stoppage of industry at large. Great Britain is, upon the whole, the best controlled and most orderly of all countries; and the unrest that prevails in British politics and industry is little more than normal when compared with social ferments in some other parts of Europe. Thus, it would be much more agreeable for a visitor just now to sojourn in England or Scotland than in Silesia. The Peace Conference refers the destiny of Upper Silesia to a vote of the inhabitants. The Silesian coal mines are regarded as essential to the running of the German railroads. The mine workers are mostly Poles. The conflict between Poland and Germany at that point is acute, on both industrial and political grounds. The plebiscite will be taken under the auspices of Allied troops, including two American regiments. It is not going to be easy to establish peaceful republics on the ruins of the great military empires. The processes of adjustment will require a good deal of time.

Austria's Treaty Signed at Last

With the great scene when the German delegates signed the peace treaty in the presence of the representatives of more than twenty Allied countries, the world's interest in the work of the Peace Conference reached its climax; and it is not strange that there has been less attention paid to the protracted negotiations which have at last ended in the signing of the peace treaty with Austria. The document was presented to the Austrian delegation headed by Dr. Karl Renner, the Chancellor of the present Austrian Government, on September 2d. The National Assembly at Vienna four days later, on September 6th, by a vote of 97 to 23, authorized the acceptance of the document and instructed Dr. Renner to sign. The German Nationalists in the Assembly voted against the treaty, declaring that it was founded on brute force and that it compelled four million Germans, living in provinces now detached, to come under foreign rule. This German party also declared that ultimate union between Austria and Germany is an absolute necessity. Dr. Renner returned promptly to France and hurried arrangements were made for the ceremony of signing, which took place at St. Germain on the 10th. Dr. Renner alone faced the Peace

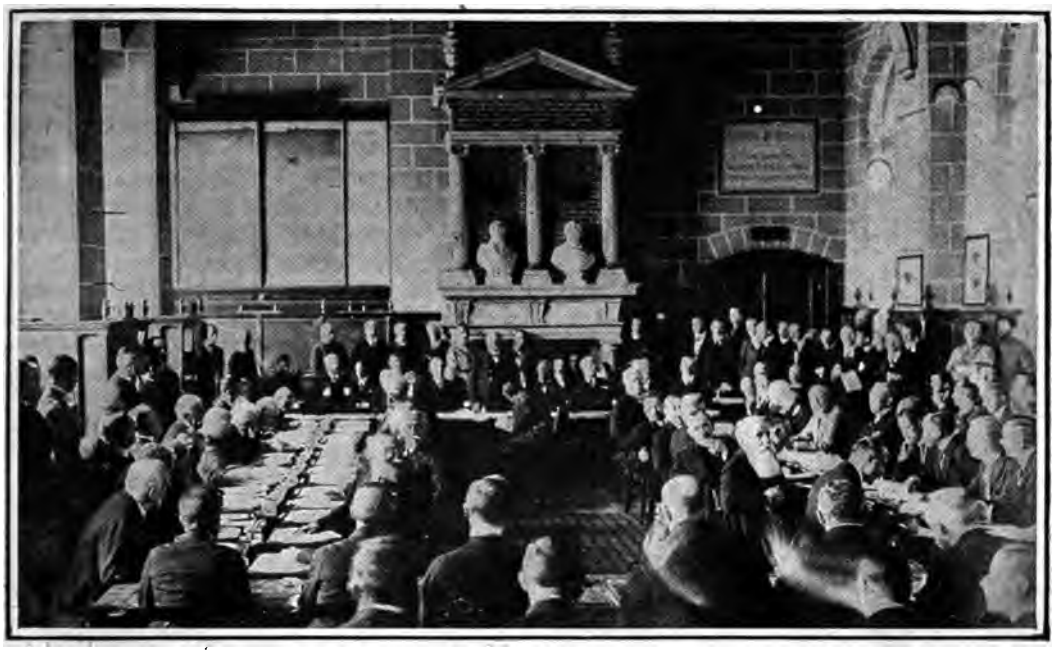


THE ONE THAT PAYS

THE WAITER: "Y-Your bill, sir!"

THE PATRON (*strike fomenter*): "Bill? I don't pay no bills. That's this chap's job—'and it over to 'im!"

From *The Passing Show* (London)



A SCENE IN THE OLD ST. GERMAIN CHATEAU, CLEMENCEAU ADDRESSING THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATES

Conference and signed the document on behalf of his country, now reduced to the rank of a third rate power. He showed good temper and a somewhat pathetic desire for kindliness and good-will among nations as well as for peace. Mr. Frank Polk, our Under Secretary of State, who has taken Mr. Lansing's place in the Peace Conference, was the first signer for the Allies, followed by Mr. Henry White and Gen. Bliss. Mr. Balfour signed with a group of British representatives; Premier Clemenceau headed the French signers; Sgr. Tittoni led the Italian delegation, and Viscount Chinda that of Japan. All the Allies signed except the Rumanians and the Serbians (Jugo-Slavs), whose governments were opposed to the clause guaranteeing the protection of minorities in the provinces acquired by Rumania, Jugo-Slavia and other beneficiaries of the treaty. They will probably sign later.

The Fragments of an Empire

The situation in southeastern Europe is subject to kaleidoscopic changes, and there is no prospect of an immediate settling down. Mr. Simonds gives us in this number a description of the swiftly moving picture in which Rumania has been taking the most conspicuous part. Distributing the domains that were once ruled by the Hapsburgs from the joint capitals of Vienna and Budapest, has not merely taxed the ingenuity of the map makers at Paris, but has had to undergo the more critical ordeal of practical application in the regions concerned. Rumania has been given large territories once belonging to Hungary, but is not satisfied. Furthermore, the Rumanians resent the instruction of the Paris Con-



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THE ANCIENT CHATEAU AT ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAUE, WHERE THE AUSTRIAN PEACE TREATY WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. FRANK L. POLK, OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT
(Who is Mr. Lansing's successor as head of our delegation at the Peace Conference)

ference regarding the equitable treatment of minorities. The Rumanian march to the capital of Hungary was in defiance of the Conference at Paris. Mr. Hoover, as head of the International Food Commission, was trying to overcome famine conditions in the southeast, and he denounced so sharply the Rumanian raid upon Hungary that notice had to be taken of his criticisms. A Hapsburg scion, the Archduke Joseph, had, with alleged Rumanian connivance, been established in place of Bela Kun as head of the Hungarian Government. Mr. Hoover's attitude resulted, however, in changing that situation. It was reported on September 11th that the Bratiano Ministry had probably been upset in Rumania, where the Premier's general defiance of the Paris Conference had been about as reckless as the Carranza regime in Mexico, though more diplomatic. The southeastern complications involve the future of Greece and Bulgaria somewhat vitally; and Serbia, now merged in Jugo-Slavia, is also concerned. It will be hard to secure complete acquiescence in the terms of the treaty which has been submitted to Austria and Hungary in liquidation of the old empire. It would seem that the discussion of this complicated subject is now in its earlier rather than its later stages.

Greece and Bulgaria

The separate Bulgarian peace treaty was in its last stages of negotiation at Paris in the early part of September. The American delegation had been more considerate of the claims of Bulgaria than had other leading members of the Peace Conference. It was felt by the Americans that it would be best for all concerned in the future to allow Bulgaria an outlet on the Aegean Sea. It seemed likely that the port of Dedeagatch would be made free under international protection, thus giving the Bulgarians an outlet by means of the railroad which terminates at that Thracian harbor. Undoubtedly, the American people are in great sympathy with the aspirations of Premier Venizelos and the Greeks. Whatever may be the temporary plans for the Government of Constantinople, it is not improbable that the Greeks will ultimately be placed in authority over a city which is not only Greek in the historical sense, but which to-day has a very large Greek population.

What Is To Become of Turkey?

How the Armenians are to be protected, and what is to become of Turkey, remain unsettled problems, and Europe is keenly desirous of knowing to what extent the United States may be willing to assume responsibility for order and good government in at least the Armenian part of Asia Minor. At the present moment it must be admitted that there is no large sentiment in the United States that actively supports the proposal that our Government should accept mandates for any part of Turkey. It happens that four or five European powers have definitely determined to assume control of parts of the Turkish Empire which they desire to retain as their own spheres; and their proposal for America is that our Government should regulate other parts, especially Armenia, which for one reason or another it would not be convenient for these European countries to manage. It is not for a moment to be assumed that such proposals are sinister, or imperialistic in any bad sense. The British regime in Palestine and Mesopotamia is wholly praiseworthy; and doubtless the French in Syria would provide an excellent administration with justice to all racial and religious elements. The Greeks have strong claim to a considerable part of

Asia Minor, and Italy is not to be reproached for desiring to administer and develop a designated region. On the other hand, a strong argument might be made for preserving the unity of Turkey and providing a general administration, under the direct auspices of the League of Nations, with subsidiary governments for different parts of Turkey in which British, French, Greek and Italian interests would have full recognition.

Mr. Polk and Mr. Hoover

In the work of the Peace Conference for the settlement of the affairs of southeastern Europe and the adjustment of Balkan boundaries Mr. Frank Polk is the new head of the American delegation at Paris. He has already taken so prominent a part that he has become one of the leading figures in the business of the Conference as it has turned to the completion of peace negotiations with Germany's former allies and partners, in that great Mittel-europa project which fell to pieces with Bulgaria's defection and Austria's surrender last year. No American could better represent the spirit of this country's good-will, and its disinterested desire for just and permanent solutions, than Mr. Polk. Another American who has of late been prominent in the press of Eastern Europe is Mr. Herbert Hoover, who returned to the United States in the middle of September, having brought to a conclusion his five years of intense work for the relief of suffering in war-devastated and famished regions. From the North Sea to the Bosphorus, his administrative genius is recognized and he has done much to enhance the good repute of this country abroad. Mr. Hoover's first great international task was that of organizing and carrying on Belgian relief before the United States had entered the war. As American Food Administrator in 1917 and 1918, his name was familiar in every household. Since the armistice he has managed food export and distribution on an enormous scale. It is fitting that he and Mr. Whitlock should be in America at the time of the brief visit of the King and Queen of Belgium.

The King of Belgium

On other pages in this number of the REVIEW we are publishing well expressed tributes to the two great leaders of Belgium in her period of trial, King Albert and Cardinal Mercier. It was the attack upon Belgium



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MR. HERBERT HOOVER

(Who has returned to this country, having ended his work as head of the world's food commission)

in the summer of 1914 that decided the course of the British Government and that fixed the sentiment of the American people as to the moral issues involved in the great war. Throughout the conflict the King and Queen set the example of unselfish and untiring service while showing unfailing qualities of firm leadership. In visiting the United States, King Albert returns to a country which, in his earlier days, was for some time his home, and which gave him a part of his broad training for subsequent public life. He will receive formal honors as the guest of the President at Washington, but he will also enjoy the informal and democratic greeting of the American people who are unanimous in their regard for him and in their desire that Belgium should be wholly restored and amply protected henceforth. The visit of King Albert is to be brief because of necessary public business in Belgium. On the one hand there is to be a general election this Fall, while on the other hand there is now being recruited in Germany a great army of workmen who are about to take part in the rebuilding of places that German explosives had destroyed. The details of this necessary work cannot be otherwise than trying and painful in many



THE KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM, THE QUEEN SHAKING HANDS WITH A SOLDIER HERO

ways, and it will take almost as much courage to live through the next five years of readjustment as during the period of war.

The Changed Face of Europe

At least King Albert's beautiful capital, Brussels, requires no reconstruction; and concentration upon the effort to repair the places that suffered most will soon show results. Gradually Belgium's intense life of industry will be revived, though the human loss can never be made up. Many a European city, meanwhile, must face greatly altered prospects, with the shifting of political scenes and the changing of economic tides. Thus, the population of St. Petersburg is only a fraction of what it was at the beginning of the war; and the magnificence of Vienna must seem a mockery in view of the shrinkage of that capital in European rank. The Hungarians had made Budapest one of the most beautiful and progressive cities in the world, and they are not likely to permit its collapse, or its serious decline in commercial importance; but its further progress must be retarded for a long time to come. In short, the face of Europe is destined to be marvelously changed by the war, even where no devastation was wrought. As Europeans look forward to the resumption of trade and the recovery of some portion of their accustomed prosperity, they are counting quite largely upon the spendings of countless American visitors whose curiosity to see the changed Europe is regarded as a source of future wealth that will yield large returns for many years. The American ships, about which Mr. Knappen writes so instructively in this number of the REVIEW, will help to transport the hosts of expected American visitors, while also helping many European families to find homes on this side of the Atlantic.

Germans Will Seek New Homes

It is reported that several million Germans are listed officially as desiring to emigrate, and that the entire movement will be under government management. It is understood that the South American countries will be the destination of a majority of these emigrants and that many will seek to enter Mexico. German population had grown rapidly, and Germany's increasing foreign trade had given employment at home to hosts of people whose livelihood was gained in the making of articles for export. With the falling off of German trade, there must be some outlet for surplus population. On the economic side, Germany's chief anxiety at present seems to be due to the danger of a shortage of coal and other raw materials.

The New German Constitution

In August, after several months of debate, the German National Assembly adopted a permanent form of constitution for the Empire (Reich). The first part of the document defines the German Reich as a federal republic, and fixes the relations between the larger entity and the several states. The central government is given not only the usual authority as to foreign affairs, defense, coinage and currency, customs, posts



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A SCENE IN THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL, BUDAPEST, SHOWING RUMANIAN SOLDIERS IN A PRINCIPAL STREET

and telegraphs, and so on, but it also has jurisdiction in respect to a wide sphere of social life that leaves the individual states in a very subordinate place. These states are to have popular governments like the members of our own union, but with a less degree of sovereignty. The President is to be chosen by the whole German people for the term of seven years. The President's position is much more important than in France, and is more like that of the American President. There is to be a Chancellor as head of the Cabinet, whose office is less commanding than that of the French or British Prime Ministers. There will be an Imperial Council with at least one representative from each state, Prussia not being permitted to have more than two-fifths of the total number. The Reichstag is restored as the popular legislative branch, with the Imperial Council as an Upper House. The second part of the Constitution contains such guarantees of individual and social liberty as have place in our constitutions, as so-called "bills of rights." Political equality of men and women is provided, and entire freedom of conscience and worship. There must be eight years of universal school attendance, and pupils must attend advanced schools until eighteen years old. Councils are created for industries, and employes are to have a voice in decisions. If Germany had adopted this free constitution half a dozen years ago, there could have been no general war in Europe, and immeasurable suffering would have been averted.

Fragments of News From Russia

News from Russia continues to be contradictory and baffling. It is gratifying to know that American troops are not to be obliged to spend another Arctic winter on the borders of the White Sea. In England, as in America, the pressure of public opinion for the withdrawal of troops from Russia could not be resisted, and it is said that all British troops are now to be sent home from Archangel, although this may expose the anti-Bolshevist population of Northern Russia to serious danger. It is probable that the Allies will continue to supply the anti-Bolshevists with munitions. Our Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Morris, a few weeks ago reported, after a visit to Admiral Kolchak, that this dictator is upon the whole the best man for present leadership in Siberia, although short of military supplies and without a well-organized civil administration. It seems likely that the Kolchak regime will meet its conclusive test within a few weeks at most. Its new fighting line is reported as being about 200 miles west of Omsk. Meanwhile the Japanese have not been withdrawing their forces from Siberia, and it was re-

ported last month that Admiral Kolchak was negotiating for Japanese military assistance on a considerable scale. The Bolshevists were also occupied last month with fighting the Poles on the River Dvina; and, along with contradictory news about Kolchak's advance, there was a seemingly authentic report that General Denikin, the anti-Bolshevist leader in the southwest of Russia, had captured the City of Kiev. This seems to bring Denikin into coöperation with General Petlura, the Ukrainian leader, who is also fighting the Bolshevists. Upon the whole, the fragments of news, when patched together, seem rather unfavorable for the Bolshevists. Their propaganda work in Germany and Hungary has collapsed, and it is possible that their rule in Russia may be nearing its end. Yet their own news service keeps us guessing.

Training for National Service

We have more than once commented upon England's new education act, under which every boy and girl is to be fitted for an intelligent place in the community, with instruction continuing until the verge of manhood and womanhood. Germany now makes universal education a constitutional requirement. We are publishing in this number (beginning on page 304) a most timely article from Professor John Erskine regarding the kind of training that ought henceforth to be given in the United States, so that the rising generation may be fitted alike for peace and for war. Professor Erskine's experience in directing the educational work of our army abroad has given him a point of view that should be widely studied. He advocates the use of our cantonments for a period of compulsory training under military discipline that would occupy approximately the time of a school year, coming at about the end of the average high-school course, and at about the beginning of the average college course. On the educational side, Mr. Erskine would make the work in every sense the full equivalent of the freshman year at college, while giving the student a physical development and habits of application far superior to anything obtainable in other ways. After such a year of training, young Americans would be well fitted either to proceed with college and professional studies, or to take up practical work.



GENERAL LEONARD A. WOOD WITH PRESIDENT LOWELL OF HARVARD, AS SEEN AT A REVIEW OF THE HARVARD REGIMENT LAST YEAR

From the Military Standpoint

General Leonard Wood, last month, before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, advocated universal military training for a period of approximately six months, and undoubtedly he would find it easy to adapt his program to that of Professor Erskine. The War Department and the present military authorities favor the maintenance of a very large standing army, while General Wood advocates a much smaller army, with relatively large investments in the business of training millions of boys for their responsibilities as good citizens and defenders of the country. With all the mistakes and excessive expenditures due to the speed with which the country made itself the foremost of military powers, we have reason to be gratified with the results insofar as the young men of the country have been trained for the years that lie immediately before us. If an emergency should arise at any time within ten years, we could at once organize an army of several million men, made up largely of those trained in the period from 1916 to 1920. We need military supplies and methods by which to keep such new agencies as aviation abreast of the



© Paul Thompson
GENERAL PERSHING LEADING THE NEW YORK PARADE OF THE FIRST DIVISION, ON ITS RETURN FROM SERVICE IN FRANCE AND GERMANY LAST MONTH

times. Meanwhile, a system of training for citizen duty, which should include military service, police work, fire-fighting, and so on, should be provided for the annual crop of eighteen-year-olds who cannot safely be neglected. It would be a wise investment.

General Pershing's Reception

The welcome accorded General Pershing on his return last month was sincere and enthusiastic. It was attended with many expressions of appreciation from foreign authorities as well as from Pershing's fellow citizens. If some other general had been sent abroad to be the Chief Commander of our forces, he might have done as well as Pershing, but no military critic has arisen to argue that someone else would have done better. He seemed to rise in an adequate way to the ever increasing responsibilities of his task. The New York parade was highly impressive, and the dignity and modesty with which Pershing in the first days of his return met plaudits and compliments on all hands, fully sustained the hopes of the country that he would measure up to the high personal standards of our foremost military heroes of the past. Appearing before a great mass of discharged soldiers in New York under the auspices of the new society called the American Legion, General Pershing warned the boys to keep the organization out of politics. It was pleasant to note that no attempt was made to give the General's return a partisan bearing, or his welcome a political suggestion. The year 1920 will shape its own political situations.

The Cummins Railroad Bill

On September 2 the bill for reorganizing the affairs and operations of the railroads was presented to the Senate by the sub-committee (of the Interstate Commerce Committee) which has been engaged for some months in drafting the measure. It is known as the Cummins bill because Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa is chairman of the drafting committee. The bill provides for greatly increased powers for the Interstate Commerce Commission; for supervision and control of rates, wages, operation and financing by the Government, for regional consolidations of the country's railroads into from twenty to thirty-five different systems, and for the termination of Government administration and the return of the roads to their private owners on the last day of the month in which the bill goes into effect. The measure represents the Senate Committee's best judgment as to the solution of the all-

important railroad problem, after hearing a half hundred different proposals, including the radical "Plumb Plan," which, however, does not seem to have had any important influence on Senator Cummins' program.

Important Features of the Bill

The salient features of the measure are the provisions for fixing wages and rates, participation of the employees in control, the limitation of the investors' profits, and the prohibition of strikes and lockouts. It creates a Committee of Wages and Working Conditions, composed of four representatives of labor and four representatives of the railway companies; a majority vote to decide. If the wage committee is evenly divided on any question, it is referred to a new body provided by the Cummins bill, a railway transportation board, made up of five members appointed by the President, whose decision is to be final. With this Governmental control of wages and labor's participation in fixing them provided for strikes and lockouts are absolutely prohibited. Labor and the Government are also to have a voice in the general operations of the railway properties, through the presence on the board of directors of each corporation of two members chosen from the classified employees and two directors representing the Government.

Limitation on Profits

One of the important differences of opinion among those who have been constructing new plans for railway operation has concerned the voluntary or compulsory consolidation into regional systems. The Cummins measure permits voluntary consolidation for seven years, after which the process would become compulsory. As to the profits of the roads, the Government is to make no guarantee, but on the other hand it is provided that the revenues to the owners shall be limited to "fair" dividends based on the physical value of the properties as ascertained by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Profits above this "fair" return are to be used, half for the benefit of the employees, to lessen working hazards, extend hospital relief, insurance, pensions and technical education and to establish a profit-sharing system. The other half of excess earnings would be used for equipping the railways. In presenting the bill Senator Cummins said openly that something similar to the measure would have to be put into effect, or else Government ownership would be inevitable.

Criticisms of the Bill

Doubtless the authors of this bill scarcely expect that it will become law as it stands, or even nearly as it stands, but it does now form the official starting point for the constructive and remedial railway legislation recognized by everyone to be absolutely necessary to prevent disaster. The most vigorous criticisms of the Cummins measure that have been made public so far have come from the representatives and spokesmen for the investors who own the roads. They have been able to make out a strong case against a program that limits their utmost hopes to a "fair" return while making no very definite preparation, much less a guarantee, for their receiving any revenue at all. Dismissing the interests of investors from the discussion, it would seem from the standpoint of the public itself that there would be small hope of getting the capital necessary to finance, maintain, and extend our railways under a plan which offered so precarious and limited return for the money. The railroads are not profitable; and in this measure there is no definite formula for making them earn money. But there is a refusal to allow the owners to take more than so much of what they may earn. What inducement can such a situation present to an investor as compared with the securities of a steel factory, a copper mine, an automobile business, a chain of stores, which are already making money and in which his return is not limited at all?

Low Rates For Foreign Exchange

One of the most puzzling current problems of the much troubled industrial and financial world is the unprecedented decline in foreign exchanges which has now brought the English pound sterling, the French franc and the Italian lira to points, measured in the United States dollar, very much lower than they have been in several generations. The pound sterling was normally worth about $4.83 in our money, the franc about 20c., and the lira about the same. At the end of the last month, the value of a pound sterling in American money had fallen to $4.24. Instead of an exchange rate of five francs for a dollar, it required nearly 8 francs. And the Italian merchant found that when he purchased American goods, he had to produce more than 90 lira, instead of approximately 5, for every dollar. Furthermore, experts in international exchange predict still further declines because of the impera-

tive needs of European countries for our commodities, which will further add to the supply of commercial bills in the American market. Bankers are at their wits' ends to know how to remedy the situation. Some of them suggest that it might be done by the formation of a joint gold pool by the United States, England and France. Certainly something must be done if trade is to be continued between America and Europe. During last June, our exports reached a value of $918,000,000, half of which went to England, France and Italy. These countries sent us in return imports of only $30,000,000, or scarcely one-fifteenth of our exports to them.

What Europe Is Buying From Us

Of these June exports to Europe from the United States, France took $23,000,000 worth of steel and iron in various forms, from locomotives to wire nails, while $11,000,000 worth of railroad cars was another large item. Wheat and flour to France amounted to $21,000,000; raw cotton, $14,000,000; sugar, meat and condensed milk, nearly $17,000,000; and tobacco, $3,000,000. In the case of England, which is our largest single customer,—taking in a single month goods valued at about $300,000,000,—the largest item was shipments of meat coming to $78,000,000; raw cotton for the looms of the midlands, $54,000,000; wheat and flour, $33,000,000; tobacco, $12,000,000; condensed milk and sugar, about $18,000,000, and leather, $54,000,000. Italy's imports from America are of the same kind, though of course in smaller quantities. The figures of trade for July and August had not been published when these notes were written, but are known to have fallen off rapidly from those quoted above. Unless something can be done to correct the abnormal situation in foreign exchange, it is obvious that Europe's purchases from us must continue to be scaled down. An Italian purchaser buying shoes from a New England manufacturer at $3.50 per pair, now finds they cost him as many lira as are normally equivalent to nearly $7.00.

Our Great Mineral Output

The recent Government report on the mineral resources of the United States shows an extraordinary increase in production value over last year, being more than five and one half billion dollars, a half billion in excess of the figures for the previous year, two billion more than those of 1916, and more than double the amount of any previous year in our history. This was in spite of a great decrease in the output of coinage metals. The gold miner, being bound legally to a fixed price for his product, finds the cost of production soaring sky high, and the mines with smaller margins of profit must close. There was a notable decrease, too, in materials for building, which declined some 26 per cent. These declines were much more than made up by the increased demand for, and production of, petroleum products and iron and steel. Concerning petroleum, the report warns that the production of oil in America is increasing more slowly than the consumption and that we need additional foreign sources of supply. The United States is the greatest consumer of petroleum in the world. The country's current output is at a rate of 18,000,000 barrels per year greater than in 1918, and still the stocks are being depleted, Mexico making up a part of the deficit. The latest figures of the Geological Survey show that instead of falling off with peace, the demand for oil has actually increased.

A Plan to Pool British Debts

Mr. P. W. Wilson gives in this issue of the REVIEW a picture of Great Britain's financial situation, which to many economists seems so desperate as to call for the most urgent measures. A plan which Mr. Wilson has not mentioned in his article has been submitted to the British and the Dominion Governments by Mr. W. A. Watt, acting Prime Minister of Australia. This is to pool the war debt of the whole Empire, the total amounting now to 7,584,000,000 pounds sterling. It is argued that the several parts of the Empire should carry together the financial load of the war, just as they shouldered the burden of fighting the war. It is urged that the combination would be powerful in credit to a degree not known before in the financial world, and that millions of pounds of interest would be saved. It is proposed to establish an "Empire War Debts Commission." The Imperial war debts would be managed and ultimately paid by the Commission, the existing loans being converted into war loan stock as they matured. Each Government would pay to the Commission a yearly sum equal to the amount payable yearly on the last day of 1919 for (a) interest on war debts; (b) expenses, and (c) sinking fund.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 13, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 19.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations meets with the President at the White House, and questions him for three hours and a half to acquire information on and interpretation of certain sections of the Peace Treaty; a stenographic report of the meeting is made public.

The House passes over the President's veto a bill repealing the Daylight Saving law; the vote is 223 to 101, eight more than the necessary two-thirds.

August 20.—In the Senate, Mr. Pittman (Dem., Nev.) introduces a resolution embracing four interpretative reservations of the Peace Treaty, designed to meet criticisms and yet to have the approval of the President; the reservations would be separate from ratification of the treaty.

In the House, Mr. Johnson, chairman of the Committee on Immigration, introduces a measure which refuses admission of immigrants for two years.

August 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Fernald (Rep., Me.) criticizes the growing tendency toward federal supervision of American business.

August 23.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations votes 9 to 8 in favor of amending the Peace Treaty by substituting China for Japan as the nation to which Germany must surrender Shantung.

August 26.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee votes 9 to 7 to amend the Peace Treaty by eliminating the United States from membership on all commissions except that dealing with reparations; the amendment is proposed by Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.).



HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, ATTORNEY GENERAL

(Who has been leading the Administration's fight to reduce the cost of living by preventing exorbitant prices for the necessities of life)

August 27.—In the Senate, Mr. Lenroot (Rep., Wis.) introduces a bill providing for unification of the railroads of the country; 40 per cent. of excess profits would go to employees.

August 28.—The House passes a bill designed to give the rank of General to John J. Pershing for life.

August 29.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) urges the rejection of the Peace Treaty as harsh and cruel to Germany. . . . The Foreign Relations Committee adopts an amendment to the treaty, 9 votes to 8, offered by Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.), assuring the United States as many votes in the League of Nations as are possessed by the British Empire; another amendment adopted would prevent dependencies like the British Dominions voting upon questions affecting the mother country or other dependencies of that country.

August 30.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) speaks for the fourth consecutive day in an attempt to defeat the Public Lands Leasing bill.

September 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.), chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, introduces a railroad bill which embodies results of several months' consideration by a sub-committee; it provides for immediate return of the roads to private ownership, creates a railway transportation board, and divides the roads into 20 to 35 separate systems; employees are to share in excess profits. . . . The bill providing the permanent rank of General for Pershing is passed.

September 3.—The Senate passes the bill to permit the leasing of public lands containing deposits of oil, coal, and gas.

September 5.—The Senate adopts the measure designed to enforce nation-wide prohibition.

September 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Poindexter (Rep., Wash.) begins what is believed to be a series of speeches by opponents of the Peace Treaty, to "answer" the President's addresses throughout the country. . . . The Committee on Foreign Relations begins hearings on conditions in Mexico, with Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) as chairman of a sub-committee.

The House passes a bill creating the permanent rank of Admiral for William S. Sims (in command of American naval forces in European waters during the war) and for William S. Benson (Chief of Naval Operations).

September 9.—The House passes a bill designed to permit coöperation of the national banking system with corporations e[illegible]ed in export trade.

September 10.—In [illegible]enate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) presents [illegible]jority report of the Committee on Foreign [illegible]ions on the Peace

Treaty, proposing many amendments and four reservations.

September 11.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) submits a minority report of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The House votes an inquiry into charges that the Postmaster-General has failed to observe Civil Service rules.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 18.—It is held by a Nebraska court that the federal prohibition amendment has not been ratified in that State until the voters approve the action of the legislature; Nebraska had been counted as the thirty-sixth State to ratify, completing the necessary three-fourths.

August 21.—President Wilson, replying to questions submitted by Senator Fall, declares that he has not the power to proclaim peace prior to ratification of the treaty, and that such action would be a stain upon our national honor.

August 25.—The President receives a large delegation of railroad shopmen, who demand 85 cents wages per hour; he issues a statement to the public, urging a truce in wage questions pending readjustment of living costs, and declares that "demands unwisely made and passionately insisted upon at this time menace the peace and prosperity of the country as nothing else could."

August 26.—The Federal Trade Commission recommends a Government monopoly of refrigerator cars and those used for transportation of livestock, to break the private control by five great packing companies.

In the Tennessee Democratic primary, Lee M. Russell (Lieutenant Governor) is nominated for Governor.

September 3.—The Virginia House of Delegates and the Alabama Senate defeat a motion to ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment.

Gen. John J. Pershing is commissioned a General for life, under special legislation passed by Congress.

September 4.—President Wilson begins an extended tour of the country, "to point out to the people what the peace treaty contains and what it seeks to do"; he speaks first at Columbus, Ohio, and later at Indianapolis, Ind.

September 5.—The Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield, resigns from the cabinet, to take effect November 1.

The President addresses two audiences in St. Louis, Mo.

September 6.—The President makes addresses in Kansas City, Mo., and Des Moines, Ia.

September 8.—President Wilson speaks at Omaha, Neb., and Sioux Falls, S. D.

September 9-10.—The New Hampshire House and Senate ratify the woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

September 10.—The President speaks at Bismark, N. D.

September 11.—The President makes two addresses in Montana, at Billings and Helena.

September 9.—The President addresses the Minnesota legislature and public audiences in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

September 12.—The President speaks in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and Spokane, Wash.



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HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, OF NEW YORK, WHO HAS RESIGNED FROM THE CABINET

(Mr. Redfield has served six years and a half as head of the Department of Commerce. His work has been performed quietly and modestly, but with great intelligence and fidelity. His retirement is a loss to the public service and to the commercial interests of the country)

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 15.—The Prince of Wales, arriving at St. John, N. B., sets foot on Canadian soil for the first time.

August 16.—Federico Tinoco, for several years unrecognized President of Nicaragua, reaches Jamaica on his way to Europe, having recently fled after an attempt at assassination.

Liouba Davidovitch becomes Premier of Serbia.

August 18.—Premier Lloyd George, addressing the House of Commons on Britain's domestic affairs, warns that expenditures must be reduced and production increased; he announces Government plans to abandon ultra-protection, to buy certain coal mines and give miners a share in control, and to introduce legislation establishing a 48-hour working week in nearly all industries and an industrial council of employees and workmen.

August 19.—The Japanese Government announces changes in the administration of Korea, substituting civil rule for military and declaring a purpose to treat Korea in all respects similar to Japan proper.

August 20.—President Ebert takes oath of office under the constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly; a notable section of the constitution limits any state (Prussia) to two-fifths of the votes in the Council or upper chamber.

August 29.—The Prince of Wales holds an

informal public reception at the City Hall in Ottawa.

General discussion of the Peace Treaty comes to an end in the French Chamber of Deputies, the Socialist members refraining from speaking.

September 2.—An unsuccessful attempt is made to assassinate Baron Saito, new Governor of Korea, upon his arrival in Seoul.

September 6.—The Austrian National Assembly votes 97 to 23 to sign the peace treaty, first adopting a resolution of protest.

September 8.—President Bertrand of Honduras abandons his office and takes passage for the United States, upon the approach of revolutionary forces under Gen. Lopez Gutierrez.

September 9.—The Prince of Wales, touring Canada, reaches the western metropolis of Winnipeg.

September 12.—It is reported that Admiral Kolchak's southern army has surrendered to the Bolshevist forces in Russia.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland, Viscount French, prohibits meetings of the so-called Irish Parliament; many arrests are made and headquarters searched for treasonable literature.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 15.—Agreement is announced between the British and Persian governments under which Great Britain will furnish advice and financial aid in the rebuilding of Persia; the agreement meets with some criticism in France.

The Peace Conference informs Rumania that readjustments in Hungary will be made by the assembly of the Allied and associated powers and not by the Rumanian army or the Rumanian government.

August 16.—King Alphonso signs the law passed by the Spanish parliament authorizing acceptance of the League of Nations and labor sections of the Peace Treaty.

August 17.—Letters from two American aviators lost in Mexico and captured by bandits inform United States Army authorities that they are held for $15,000 ransom.

August 19.—The two United States Army aviators are released by Mexican bandits in exchange for ransom money; a troop of cavalry, with airplanes as scouts, immediately crosses the border to search the mountains for the bandits.

August 20.—American troops in Mexico break up a bandit stronghold in a mountain pass, killing four men.

August 22.—The Supreme Council of Paris informs Archduke Joseph that he must abandon his leadership in the Hungarian Government in the interest of European peace.

August 23.—Archduke Joseph relinquishes authority in Hungary upon demand of the Allies.

August 27.—It becomes known that the American High Commissioner in Turkey, Rear-Admiral Bristol, has given warning that Armenian massacres must cease.

August 29.—The United States recognizes President Leguia as head of the de facto government in Peru.

September 2.—The revised text of a peace treaty is handed to the Austrian delegates, five days being allowed for acceptance or rejection without further change.

September 5.—The Supreme Council at Paris completes the text of a treaty of peace with Bulgaria.

September 9.—The leaders of three revolutionary factions in Mexico petition President Wilson for a hearing "to plead the cause of oppressed Mexico"; they suggest a conference of all the elements controlling their country, to consider reconstruction and restoration.

September 10.—The peace treaty between Austria and the Allied and associated powers is signed at St. Germain, near Paris, Chancellor Karl Renner signing for Austria; Frank L. Polk heads the American signers; the Rumanian and Jugoslav delegates refuse to accept the treaty.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 16.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the cost of living has increased (in New York City, for example) 79 per cent. since 1914.

August 17-18.—The subway and elevated lines in New York City are tied up by a strike of employees, who demand an increase of 50 per cent. in wages; the strike is ended through mediation, the men receiving 25 per cent. increase and arbitration of remaining demands.

August 21.—The great Pearl Harbor drydock constructed for the United States Navy in Hawaii, is formally opened by Secretary Daniels; the structure is 1000 feet long, and had been under construction since 1910.

August 24.—Railroad service in Los Angeles and Southern California is halted by employees in sympathy with strikers on electric roads; the men refuse to obey instructions from the Brotherhoods and the Railroad Administration to return to work; fruit and livestock shipments are abandoned en route.

August 28.—The will of Andrew Carnegie distributes an estate of $30,000,000, after philanthropies during his lifetime exceeding $350,000,000; he provides annuities for the two widows of Presidents, for the ex-President, and also for several British statesmen.

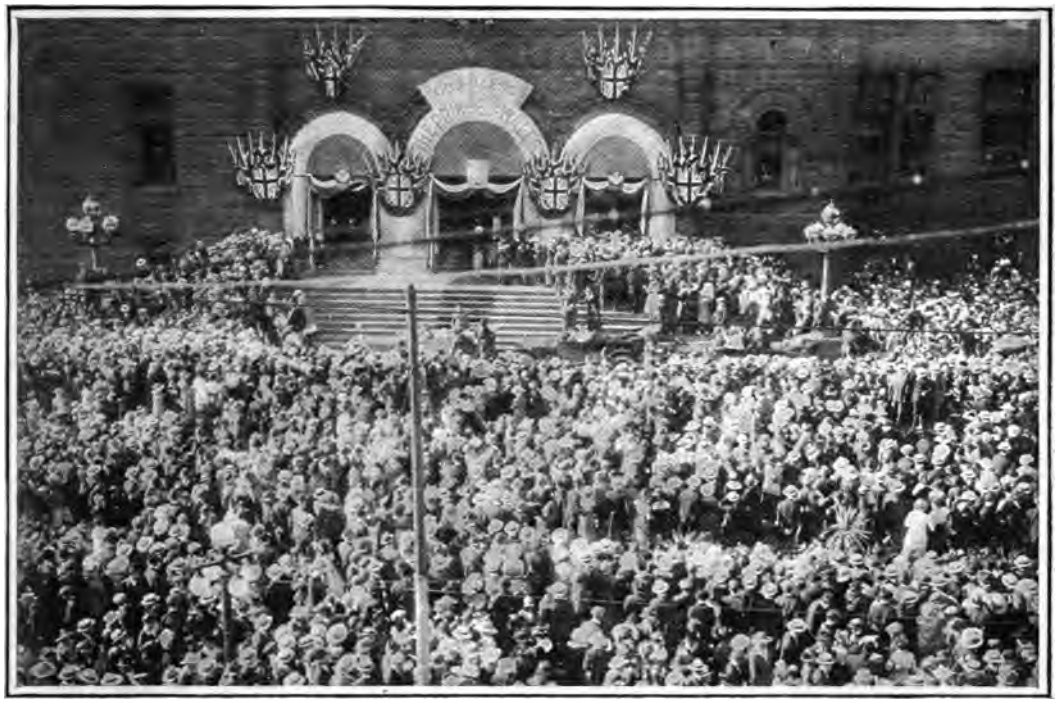
August 30-31.—Race rioting in Knoxville, Tenn., results in the death of two persons; order is restored by the militia.

August 31.—The President in a Labor Day message announces that he is calling a conference of representatives of labor and those who direct labor, to discuss fundamental means for bettering relationship of capital and labor and putting the wage question upon another footing.

September 6.—An actors' strike in New York City, which had lasted four weeks and closed all the principal theaters, is ended by a compromise agreement.

September 8.—General Pershing arrives in the United States, after two and a quarter years as commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in France.

September 9.—Cardinal Mercier, heroic defender of the Belgian people's rights during the German invasion, arrives in the United States to convey the gratitude of the Belgians to the people of America (see page 376).



A TYPICAL SCENE IN CANADA DURING THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES
(Everywhere the Prince displayed an enthusiastic desire to meet with the Canadian people, who on their part seized every opportunity to welcome him)

A large part of the Boston police force goes on strike after the suspension of patrolmen active in forming a union.

The Trades Union Congress at Glasgow, Scotland, refuses to accept the radical doctrine of "direct action" in the present political and industrial crisis.

September 10.—Representatives of steel workers' unions, meeting in Washington, declare a strike against the United States Steel Corporation, after failing to arrange a conference with the officials of the corporation.

General Pershing leads a parade in New York City of the First Division, which had been the first to embark overseas, first to fight, and the first to enter German territory as troops of occupation.

September 12.—The Boston police vote to return to duty after an appeal by the president of the American Federation of Labor that they await the outcome of the labor conference called by the President.

OBITUARY

August 19.—Rudolph Edward Schirmer, a prominent music publisher, 60.

August 23.—Brig.-Gen. James Worden Pope, U. S. A., retired, 73. . . . Floyd Wilding Triggs, cartoonist, 47. . . . Augustus George Vernon Harcourt, a distinguished British chemist, 84.

August 24.—Theodore Cooper, of New York, civil engineer and authority on iron and steel construction, 81. . . . Joseph F. Naumann, president of the Democratic party in Germany, 59.

August 26.—Adolph Werner, for more than half a century professor of German at the College of the City of New York, 80. . . . Sir Richard Crawford, financial and trade representative of Great Britain at Washington during the war, 56.

August 28.—Gen. Louis Botha, premier of the Union of South Africa and former Boer leader, 56.

August 29.—Rear Adm. Thomas Chalmers McLean, U. S. N., retired, 71.

August 31.—Dr. Joseph Zeisler, of Chicago, an authority on dermatology, 65.

September 4.—Eben Briggs Thomas, head of the Lehigh Valley Railroad for seventeen years, 77.

September 6.—Admiral Baron Charles William Beresford, the famous British naval commander and critic, 73.

September 7.—James Walker Osborne, a noted New York criminal lawyer, 61. . . . Horace Traubel, editor, poet, and biographer of Walt Whitman, 60. . . . Charles M. Jacobs, who designed and supervised construction of railroad tunnels under the Hudson River, 69.

September 8.—Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, 1895-1899, 60.

September 9.—John Mitchell, the labor leader, for ten years president of the United Mine Workers, 49. . . . Anthony R. Burnam, former Chief Justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, 74.

September 11.—George Gunton, teacher, editor, and politician, 74. . . . Baron Ichizayemon Morimura, a Japanese merchant with connections throughout the world, 80.

CARTOONS OF UNREST



PROBLEM: HOW TO BRING THE ONE DOWN WITHOUT THE OTHER
(A continuation from last month of the much-discussed H. C. of L. serial)
From the *Telegram* (Portland, Oregon)



ONE OF THESE IS RULER OF MEXICO
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



A NATURAL PHENOMENON
(A personal experience that most of us have had recently)
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



WHEN THE POLICEMAN STRIKES
From the *World* (New York)



GOING TO TALK TO THE BOSS
From the *News* (Chicago)



THE EMPTY PLATE!
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



COAST TO COAST
From the *World* (New York)





OFF AGAIN, ON AGAIN, GONE AGAIN
From the *National Republican*



THE GERMAN ASS

THE ENTENTE: "Only an ass can carry such a load."

(The load is labeled "Blame for the War," "Loss of the Colonies," "Surrender of the Kaiser," "Restoration of Belgium and Northern France," "Giving up of Merchant Ships," etc.)

From *Eladderadatsch* (Berlin)



GRAVE-DIGGER CLEMENCEAU AND THE SAINTS

He that diggeth a pit for others shall fall into it himself!

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart, Germany)



THE FOURTEEN POINTS AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

"Woodrow Wilson, what about your fourteen points?" "Don't disturb yourself, O Lord—we didn't keep to your ten commandments, either."

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



KILLING THE GOOSE THAT LAYS THE GOLDEN EGGS
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



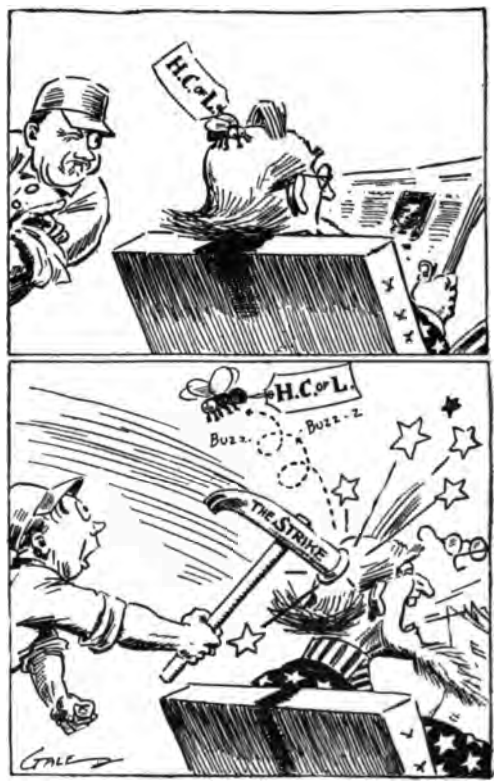
"PUSSY-FOOTING IT!"
(Repelling the American prohibition invasion)
From the *Bystander* (London)



THE MAD DOG
From *Opinion* (London)



TWO GOATS MET ON A NARROW BRIDGE, AND AS NEITHER WOULD GIVE WAY THERE WAS A TERRIFIC TUSSLE, WHICH ENDED IN BOTH FALLING INTO THE CATARACT
From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



IT ISN'T THE RIGHT METHOD
From the *Times* (Los Angeles)



THE BUCK-JUMPER
From the *World* (London)



HIS TO MAKE OR MAR
From the *Daily Tribune* (Sioux City)



GERMANY'S OPPORTUNITY
From the *Times* (New York)

IN their pictorial comments on the industrial unrest of the day, English and American cartoonists are in general agreement as to point of view and even, to a certain extent, as to method of treatment. Compare, for example, "Germany's Opportunity," from the New York *Times,* and "An Old Fable Illustrated," from the London *News of the World,* both of which are reproduced on this page. In each instance the tussle between capital and labor is rep-



AN OLD FABLE ILLUSTRATED
From *News of the World* (London)



SINBAD THE SAILOR AND THE MAN OF THE SEA
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Aus



"WANTED AN ELASTIC DOLLAR!"
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, New York)

resented as the occasion of a trade rival's successful raid. In the one case the rival is Germany, in the other, Uncle Sam.

The cost of living naturally continues to engage the interest of the cartoonists, as of other folk.



RUNNING AMUCK
UNCLE SAM: "I don't know where we're going, but we're surely on the way."
From the *Leader* (Pittsburgh, Pa.)
Oct. 3



"MAZEPPA!"
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco)



VERY "DRASTIC MEASURES!"
From *John Bull* (London)



GENTLEMEN, IS THERE ROOM FOR ONE MORE?
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

WILSON: "The other paw, please."
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE DYING LION

(Is British trade to be sacrificed to the extreme demands of British labor?)
From the *World* (London)

This page also illustrates the community of viewpoint between the United States and England on the labor question.



"NOTHING DOING!"
From the *Bystander* (London)



WHO WILL RUN THE RAILROADS?
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

As to the management of American railroads, the confusion of counsel now prevailing is amusingly pictured by the cartoonists of Cleveland, Omaha, and Portland.



SATISFIED!
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Nebraska)



MAKING IT CLEAR TO HIM
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon)



KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM, WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH AND CROWN PRINCE LEOPOLD
(The King has just made his airplane flight)

BELGIUM'S SPIRIT INCARNATE

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

(Former American Minister to the Netherlands)

AMERICA has never received a nobler guest than Albert, King of the Belgians.

Years ago he visited our country, as a simple, earnest young student, preparing himself for the unknown duties of a perilous throne. He was chiefly studying and "observing the world" because he felt that his kingdom was to be a part of it and must stand or fall by its external ties.

He was the ideal for good success. The education of the Prince developed the qualities of the young monarch with confidence, courage with patience, justice with sympathy, integrity of heart, and a kind of moral sagacity which trusted right against might. In the years of peace these talents made his reign prosperous and won the heart of a difficult people. In the fierce emergency of war they stood the strain: rose to that spiritual height of genius which upholds the right "in scorn of consequence"; and they held the heart of that difficult people loyal to their good cause embodied in their King. In thousands of the huts and lowly lodgings where the poor exiles of Belgium had found refuge, homeless, hungry, and distressed, have I seen enshrined and honored some simple picture of Albert, Roi des Belges.

It is true that Belgium saved Europe. Let us remember also that the story of Belgium is the epitome of the war. The Ger-

man spirit is unmasked in her invasion; the spirit of the Allies is incarnate in the resistance of her people led by their King. Nobler words have never been spoken than those which he addressed to the Parliament at Brussels on the fateful morning of August 4, 1914: "I have faith in our destinies. A country which defends itself commands the respect of all; that country does not perish. God will be with us in our just cause."

Those fearless words were not only spoken, they were lived out. For more than four years of struggle and suffering the King shared the perils, privations, and hardships of the army and the people. He clung to the last unconquered corner of Belgium as if it were his Holy Land. Whatever else he was forced to surrender, he never gave up honor and hope. And when at last by the help of France and Britain and America, on which he had counted, the victory was won and the German hordes were driven back, he rode in quiet, simple triumph through his ancient liberated cities, not boasting nor breathing out revenge, but thanking God, who had been with him and his people in their just cause.

Now he comes to us crowned with glory and honor; by the judgment of the world a hero; by the consent of the people a King; by the grace of God a true man. At his side, his equal in moral stature and helpmate for him, comes the brave Queen who forgot her own frail health in ministering to her people, and grew strong as she spent herself in helping others. To this royal pair, great in character and exalted in service to the world, America gives a royal democratic welcome.

A TRIBUTE TO THE KING AND QUEEN

BY MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

(Former American Minister to Denmark)

WHEN one realizes how sacred the person of a king is in the eyes of a people who unite love of him to their duty to him, one knows that the people of Belgium have paid their brothers across the sea the highest tribute in their power in concurring with the ardent wish that he should show in person his gratitude to our country. He lost no time, and his Queen was as eager as he.

At the same time we cannot forget our debt to this King of the Belgians, who stands for those traditions which Caesar noted long ago. A lesser man might have been tempted, for there was a tempter who offered him the Kingdoms of the World. He resisted and he saved our country as well as England and France. Had he faltered, Freedom might have shrieked in vain. It was the flash of his sword that aroused Europe.

Our support was not only that of a reparation for our hesitation, when at last aroused from false dreams of peace. To the King and Queen of the Belgians, symbols of the bravest of lands, we owe our resurrection.



KING ALBERT AN INTERESTED SPECTATOR WHILE MARSHAL FOCH DECORATES A BELGIAN SOLDIER FOR BRAVERY

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

BY MARK SULLIVAN

THESE ceremonial calls with which the Allies are celebrating the ties that grew up among them through the fraternity of war, are an agreeable expression of a sentiment which lies in the most wholesome depths of human nature. Among all their best and most exalted that the nations have been sending to visit us, there is none better adapted to give America a sense of comradeship and kinship than King Albert of Belgium.

It is not a mere figure of speech, but the accurate statement of a probability that if fate had not called him to a throne he would to-day be a vice-president of the Great Northern Railroad, straightening out curves and reducing grades in North Dakota; leading a professional career not very much in the limelight, not much interested in the financial end of it, but preoccupied with the engineering side of the work; and finding his most valued compensation in the pleasure of devising new ways to do the job better and better; living in a modest suburb of Minneapolis, urging his children to study hard and take plenty of exercise—he would be typical of the best that America has. His early education was in the line of civil engineering, and some twenty years ago he worked at it under the late James J. Hill.

In appearance he reminds one of General Leonard Wood—the upright and soldierly bearing that reflects stern living and physical discipline, coupled with a firmness and sharpness of countenance and expression which come from intense concentration, during the educational years, upon some form of science; the power of command, and the administrative ability that comes from self-discipline and accurate thinking.

The decision which King Albert made on that fateful summer day was one of the great decisions of history. "A country," he said to the emergency session of the Belgian Parliament on August 4, 1914—"a country which defends itself commands the respect of all; such a country will never perish; I have faith in our destiny; God will be with us in this just cause." A decision like that, a decision which in the course of time turns the course of history to a full right angle, is not made by a man whose mental processes have grown weak with soft living. It is good that the man who had to make it, who had to stand up to the crisis which came with the suddenness of a cannon-shot, was one who kept himself in hard mental training and whose emotions were keyed to be in the best in human nature. That decision will make the name of Belgium live like Thermopylae. Belgium did not have much of a national personality nor much history. That decision gives her both. She was a buffer state, made up out of tag ends of land and peoples. Her beginning was as late as 1830, and Albert is only the third of her kings. But that decision to stand and fight gives her tradition and solidarity. Albert is probably as secure on his throne as any king on earth. He is what a modern king ought to be. He has the character and personality that fills the eye, and satisfies the human impulse for a figure to look up to. At the same time he has the intellectual qualities, the kind of training and the kind of interests which are called for in the job of administering a modern nation.

Once, when Colonel Roosevelt was in Europe he called upon a certain king (not Albert). The king, as he rose to receive Mr. Roosevelt, laid down a book, open, with the title on the back turned upward. Seeking an opening for the conversation, Colonel Roosevelt noticed that the book was Bryce's "American Commonwealth"; and when he made some allusion to it this king replied, "Yes, I am teaching my son to understand and administer a democracy." That is the conception which King Albert has of his position. I am told by one who I am sure knows that Albert has long been a regular subscriber to the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and when it fails to come, misses it, and has it looked up.

America can take off its hat to King Albert; it can admire him without the faintest reservation that closer knowledge might show a touch of clay; it can look up to him. While we shall see in him the physical figure that a king ought to have, we may not





Photographs by Lindsay Gordon

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM

find in him the manners that a false and theatrical idea of royalty has led us to expect. The one thing that Albert could not possibly do is to be theatrical. He has lived through one of the most dramatic rôles in all history, but there was never a moment when he was theatrical. He was at all times merely the chief engineer who happened to be responsible for the job at the moment the dam broke. Leading his army, his only preoccupation was technical excellence; on his throne he was dignified and simple; in his communications with other countries he was intent merely on clearness of expression.

But if we fail to find the manners of a stage king, most surely we shall see the manners of a very great man. He is simple and lacking in self-consciousness, except such self-consciousness as inclines him to modesty, almost to bashfulness. When he and the queen visit London, they stop at a hotel as plain citizens, go shopping, see a play or two, and slip home without the formal society of London knowing of their presence. When he ascended the throne, nearly ten years ago, there was a common saying in Brussels that he "went up with his wife and children."

Without taking himself seriously, nor his royalty seriously, he takes the job of administering Belgium with the utmost seriousness. He has that sense of responsibility that arises out of intellectual strength, the kind of moral integrity that a good engineer acquires. When he said that "the foundations of a nation's prosperity are the intellectual and moral forces of its people," he was not uttering a platitude nor repeating something he had read in a book; he was expressing, with that direct clearness of expression which his hard thinking gives him, something that he had thought out for himself. Always keeping that spiritual cornerstone of national policy, he has devoted himself with the force of a strong man and the skill of an engineer to the physical equipment of his nation. As he studied railroading under James J. Hill, so did he study shipping in England, and he makes speeches in the Belgian Senate which might perfectly well be the annual reports of the managing director of a great shipping corporation. He has the best personal equipment for managing a nation's business of any living monarch; and Belgium with the great endowment of prestige, national solidarity, and respect that the war has given her, under the administration of this still comparatively youthful king, will cut a figure among the nations far beyond her size and population.

less was that the Government of the United States would care for everything. There are, however, as every pastor knows, certain cases of peculiar significance which never can be helped officially. The extent of the Cardinal's benefactions made possible by American generosity before our entrance into the War was not disclosed and could not be. The mere hint of any embarrassment to the Cardinal or curtailment of his usefulness was enough to send me to Mr. Whitlock's desk where without prompting—I do not recall that Mr. Whitlock knew what I was writing—I wrote notes to several friends at home who edit magazines and weekly papers, requesting them to pass the word on through their columns without quoting me or anyone. I have some reason to believe that the appeal was not without result.

No one knows how Cardinal Mercier would classify himself. But we may all be sure that like the Master whom he follows he would have us understand that his motto is, "Not to be ministered unto but to minister." In the hour of Belgium's supreme trial the spirit of service found expression in patriotic terms, and I like to recall that when someone suggested that it would have been adequate if Belgium at the beginning had made a mere pretense of resistance to invasion the Cardinal indignantly replied:

The laws of conscience are sovereign laws. We should have acted unworthily had we evaded our obligation by a mere feint of resistance. And now we would not rescind our first resolution; we exult in it. Being called upon to write a most solemn page in the history of our country, we resolved that it should be also a sincere, also a glorious page. And as long as we are required to give proof of endurance, so long we shall endure.

After my return from Europe I entered on a campaign of patriotic writing and speaking for many public causes. I have just completed my seven-hundredth address traveling round and round the country, and usually giving Belgium special place. About her heroism and endurance all agree. Whether I have been talking up in Minnesota, where the Heir Apparent once was known, or staying overnight in some good Protestant parsonage where the Cardinal's name is as truly one to conjure with as in his own ecclesiastical fold, I have always found the same respect, admiration and affection for the two great men of Belgium. Like the King, the Cardinal has a memory. One good American who saw both a few weeks since explained how I was speaking every day during the summer for the Midland Chautauqua and always pleading for perpetual affection for Belgium. It was therefore not a great surprise to me when recently along with personal souvenirs indicating gracious consideration from both there came from the Cardinal the following message:

"I beg M. Lyman P. Powell to tell his countrymen how deeply thankful I am to them for the great help they gave for the relief of Belgium and for the wonderful services rendered by their army to civilization."

CARDINAL MERCIER ON PATRIOTISM

(From the Pastoral Letter of 1915)

LET us acknowledge that we needed a lesson in patriotism. There were Belgians, and many such, who wasted their time and their talents in futile quarrels of class with class, of race with race, of passion with personal passion.

Yet when, on August 2, a mighty foreign power, confident in its own strength and defiant of the faith of treaties, dared to threaten us in our independence, then did all Belgians, without difference of party, or of condition, or of origin, rise up as one man, close ranged about their own King and their own Government, and cry to the invader: "Thou shalt not go through!"

At once, instantly, we were conscious of our own patriotism. For down within us all is something deeper than personal interests, than personal kinships, than party feeling, and this is the need and the will to devote ourselves to that more general interest which Rome termed the public thing, *Res publica*. And this profound will within us is patriotism.

Our country is not a mere concourse of persons or of families inhabiting the same soil, having among themselves relations more or less intimate, of business, of neighborhood, of a community of memories happy or unhappy.

Not so; it is an association of living souls subject to a social organization, to be defended and safeguarded at all costs, even the cost of blood, under the leadership of those presiding over its fortunes. And it is because of this general spirit that the people of a country live a common life in the present, through the past, through the aspirations, the hopes, the confidence in a life to come, which they share together.

THE EUROPEAN REACTION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE RUMANIAN STICKS

FROM November, 1914, to March, 1917, the present Prime Minister of France was accustomed to say each day in his newspaper, "The Germans are at Noyon." In something the same fashion it is now appropriate to note that the Rumanians are in Budapest. A month of futile note writing and of even more ineffective ultimatums has so far failed to dislodge the Rumanian armies of occupation or to elicit from the Rumanian Government any other comment than the absurd assertion that none of the notes or of the ultimatums have reached the Bucharest government. Meanwhile the Rumanian delegates at Paris have declined to sign the Austrian peace treaty.

Actually, then, Rumania has not only continued to defy the Paris Conference but it has set out on a course deliberately calculated to bring down in a heap the whole edifice of the League of Nations and to refute all the arguments on which the League of Nations has been based. As I pointed out last month, the Rumanian opposition is by no means an incident. On the contrary it is a decisive test of world conditions and world sentiments.

Now, in the present article I desire to discuss in some detail the European, as contrasted with the American point of view in this Rumanian incident. In the United States there seems to be a pretty widespread notion that one impudent and insignificant state has become confused as a result of too recent prosperity in annexation and has, off its own bat, undertaken to talk and to act like a great nation. There is, therefore, a considerable clamor in the United States that disciplinary steps be taken at once to reduce this little state to its proper attitude, and this clamor comes from precisely those who regard the League of Nations as an established fact and see with impatience the first challenge.

The truth is, of course, that Rumania is neither a little state nor is she acting off her own bat. As a consequence of the changes in her frontiers, incident to Austro-Hungarian defeat and Russian collapse, Rumania has become a nation with an area as great as Italy, with a population to-day of 16,000,000, living on a territory capable of sustaining a much larger population than Italy, and her population is increasing with great rapidity. In less than half a century, therefore, Rumania will, in all human probability, be a great power. Moreover she must be reckoned with henceforth as a very potent factor in all combinations that may be made.

She has an excellent army, organized by the French General Staff, battle-trained, an army which despite opening disasters due to Russian treachery and later surrender due to Russian collapse, displayed admirable courage and skill and remains one of the considerable military forces in Europe, actually taking rank after the armies of the five great powers.

In addition, by her position Rumania controls the Lower Danube, and as recent events have shown, Hungary is completely at her mercy. Thus she supplies the only possible avenue of approach to South Russia in case the Allies ever decide to join hands with the Ukrainians against the Bolshevists.

What I am trying to make clear is that Rumania is herself henceforth a nation whose military and economic resources, whose army, whose grain, whose oil, whose minerals, give her a position quite unlike that which she occupied when she was only the largest of the minor Balkan States. Actually she is greater to-day and infinitely more powerful than were all the Balkan States together at the outbreak of war.

II. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In addition to her own strength Rumania at the present time is aided by the fact that the Italian Government and people and a large portion of the French people aside from the government itself look with approval upon the policy pursued by the Rumanians in recent days. The Italian attitude is simple. The Rumanian case is on all fours with the Fiume and Adriatic questions. So far as the Adriatic question is concerned, Italy was promised by France, Great Britain and Russia that if she came into the war

she should have certain territory both along the Adriatic and in Asia Minor. Italy performed her part of the bargain, but when she came to demand her pay President Wilson interposed his veto. Exactly in the same fashion the same great powers, with Italy added, promised Rumania all of the Banat if she would enlist. She did enlist and now, under President Wilson's impulsion, the great powers are insisting that Serbia have a part of the Banat.

If Rumania by her invasion and occupation of Hungary can successfully defy the Conference of Paris she will establish a precedent. By this precedent Italy will benefit. Italian troops to-day occupy the Adriatic Littoral. Possession the Italians have. A League of Nations which cannot evict Rumania from Budapest can hardly hope to persuade the Italians to leave Fiume. In other words the Rumanians are bringing discredit upon the whole League of Nations and idea of moral suasion, and the Italians are eager to see exactly this happen, since Mr. Wilson, the great proponent of the League of Nations, has denied to the Italians the possession of lands not only coveted by them but promised to them by their allies.

III. The French Point of View

The French view of the Rumanian episode differs from the Italian, first, because it is unofficial since the Clemenceau Government still stands by the Paris Conference policy. It is different also because the French have no territorial aspirations which can be compared with Rumanian or Italian ambitions. But French sympathy with Rumania is based upon two things—a traditional and historic friendliness between the two Latin nations, and a profound desire to preserve this friendliness, this alliance of recent months, in any future European crisis.

The French as a nation have never had the slightest confidence in the League of Nations. They have never believed in its principles. They have never regarded its future with anything but distrust or derision. They are satisfied that if the Hague Conference could not bind the German tribes, the Covenant of the League of Nations will have no greater influence upon the same tribes when they are out for plunder again. Their conception of a League of Nations was a body which had effective and coördinated military power—which was in fact a perpetuation of the alliance which defeated Germany—continuing to retain military weapons, ready under central command for immediate action if Germany should disregard the terms of peace.

It was for this kind of a League of Nations that France contended in the Conference. When she failed to achieve it she asked instead that alliance with America and England which was a treaty of insurance against a new German attack and constituted in fact the League of Nations and the only League of Nations in which she could believe. This course was the compromise of the Clemenceau Government which deliberately adopted the policy of giving Mr. Wilson what he wanted in so far as his desires did not do violence to French interests and protecting those French interests by special arrangement when there was a collision. The Clemenceau Government, under the impulsion of André Tardieu, the High Commissioner who represented France during the war in America, like the British Government, recognizing the importance of American association and assistance at the present time, set out to please Mr. Wilson and the American Government as represented in Paris, to accept a League of Nations plan in the deliberate belief that this would alone contribute to perpetuate Franco-American friendship.

But this course was by no means accepted by all of France, and with ever-increasing clarity able and eminent Frenchmen have been crying out against a policy which has involved French adoption of American methods in Europe. Frenchmen find themselves aghast at the fact that the intimate association between Great Britain, France and the United States has made France a party to an acute quarrel with Italy, whose neutrality alone saved France in 1914 and whose friendship and alliance can only safeguard France in the future.

These Frenchmen do not believe the security of France should be risked, the permanent hostility of Italy invited, merely to draw a Dalmatian frontier in accordance with an ethnographic map. They do not believe that France should risk an attack upon two fronts next time solely to carry out the Fourteen Points of Mr. Wilson.

Totally disapproving of the policy of their government in the matter of Fiume, these Frenchmen are even more angered when they see their country brought into

conflict with Rumania by a similar adhesion to Mr. Wilson's principles and American leadership, while even the Clemenceau Government finds itself unable to follow Mr. Wilson when America undertakes to champion the Bulgarian against the Greek in Thrace.

IV. A European Declaration of Independence

Now exactly the same unrest discoverable in France, and patent in Italy, can be detected in Great Britain. There are in the United Kingdom more adherents to the League of Nations than on the whole Continent of Europe. But there are not many, and more and more influential Englishmen are crying out against an American leadership which is involving Great Britain in quarrels with Italy, Rumania, Greece, which holds out the prospect of alienating still other European countries. These men believe quite as honestly that the League of Nations is an illusion as President Wilson and his followers believe it is the cure for the world's oldest diseases, hitherto incurable. They believe that Great Britain will have to fight for her life again, just as Frenchmen believe that France will have to defend herself again, and as Italians are satisfied that their future hope lies in the strength of their frontiers rather than in the Paris Covenant. These Frenchmen, Englishmen and Italians are unable to lay aside the lessons of experience taught by hundreds of years of their history, and abandon those old-fashioned safeguards which were found in alliance to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Now if the world settlement is to be made on the basis of the balance of power it is quite clear that it is important for the English, and vital for the French, to preserve friendships and cement alliances. Above all it is a matter of life and death for France and of very grave importance for Britain not to make new enemies who will appear in the ranks of their old foes if war comes again.

This is the thing that underlies the Rumanian incident. Rumania has defied the League of Nations idea and the Conference of Paris, which for the moment expresses that idea. She has done it with the approval of Italy, which has repudiated the League of Nations principles so far as it affects Italian interests. She has done it with the sympathy of a large section of the French, who have become impatient of an American leadership which they believe is headed straight for ruin so far as France is concerned. They have done it with more than a tacit complaisance on the part of a very considerable section of the British people. The explanation of this is that Europe is becoming impatient, restive, unmistakably bad-tempered over the continued exercise of American influence upon European policy, an influence which in the minds of these Europeans is fraught with grave disaster for Europe as a whole and above all for the nations which follow the United States policy.

Before I left Paris in May this restiveness was apparent, although it was much restricted by censorship and little perceived by American representatives confident that the European people, as contrasted with their governments, were totally converted to American policies. The fact seemed then to be quite otherwise. From Paris it appeared that certain governments found themselves compelled to accept American leadership because of material considerations, but that no European government or people accepted American principles or endured without chafing that American leadership which more or less persisted in Paris up to the signature of the Treaty.

V. The Balance of Power

I wish it were possible to explain to my American readers that European point of view which has been so totally obscured by all the comment which has reached America since the Peace Conference began. The European point of view is the result of many centuries of suffering, experience and struggle. Nation after nation has achieved unity, and having achieved this unity, has endeavored to dominate the Continent. The protection of the liberty of the individual state has been assured in this time by an association of states against the single menacing power. The sole ultimate resort has been armies. Over and over again Europe has endeavored to find some authority which would prevent war and restrain the imperialistic aspirations of that power which was momentarily strongest. All these combinations and alliances have failed because nations and peoples which felt themselves strong enough to dominate the Continent were ready to risk the perils incident to making the try.

None of the great wars of the nineteenth century in Europe could have been prevented by a League of Nations. They were in the main caused, after the Napoleonic time, by the efforts of Russia and Germany to expand and of Italy and the smaller Balkan States to achieve liberation. It would not have been possible for any League of Nations to have stopped Russia, except by fighting wars like the Crimean War. Germany's three wars of aggression, against Denmark, Austria and France, were wars which had the support of all the German people, despite the wholly unjustifiable character of German policy. The Concert of Europe which was the pale predecessor of the League of Nations was unable, despite the fact that it included all of the Great Powers, to prevent the little Balkan States from keeping Europe in a ferment and ultimately setting the whole world on fire. Moreover, the Concert of Europe itself collapsed long before August 1, 1914, in the presence of that new spirit in Germany which was based upon the conviction that the Germans, could repeat the achievement of the Romans, at least in Europe.

Looking back over all their history, recent and remote, the Europeans find justification for the policies followed by their statesmen of the past and for the political instincts inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. There is no informed European who believes that Germany will accept the terms of the Treaty of Paris except under duress. There is no European who does not believe that Germany will seek to regain her position in the world and will be assured in such a venture of the support of the Hungarians and the Austro-Germans as well as the Bulgarians, all of whom have suffered equally at Paris. But this is an alliance of 80,000,000 of people at the outset, and how shall this alliance be checked or held if the Italians, the Rumanians, the Greeks, are driven to make common cause with the Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians and the Bulgarians as a consequence of the subordination of European to American policies? If America is permitted in Paris to decide purely European questions, thus creating new enemies for her present Allies, the logical consequence seems to many European minds now, the creation of a new German menace far greater than the old because it contains many of the States which fought Germany last time.

As a result there is a very marked reaction against America going on in Europe at the present time. There are many signs which disclose the fact. There are many voices raised in protest. There is a growing tendency to believe that, great as American resources are and essential as American assistance is to the rehabilitation of France, of Britain, of Italy, too great a price can still be paid for that assistance. To let American leadership embroil the French and the Italians, the French and the Rumanians, the French and the Greeks, while it does not and cannot reconcile the French and the Germans is, from the French point of view, to make a woful mistake. Therefore the collapse of American leadership, the overthrow of the League of Nations idea, the discrediting of the whole experiment through some such episode as the Rumanian, is welcomed in Paris in many quarters.

Exactly this European emotion is identified and denounced by many Americans as a survival of selfishness and of imperialism. This is only partially true at least. The fact is that generations of Frenchmen have been taught by bitter experience that the Germans are a predatory people, whose immemorial habit has been to invade the regions west of the Rhine to devastate and plunder them. They have experienced two terrible invasions in the last fifty years. They see Germany, although beaten, frankly asserting that she accepts the Treaty of Versailles only under compulsion and they see in the future, with the revival of German strength, a return of the German danger.

American policy asked them to accept the League of Nations as the sole guarantee against the future with all the lessons of the immediate past before them to indicate that to the Germans treaties are scraps of paper. They have therefore insisted upon that Anglo-French-American alliance which is to take the place of the Rhine barrier. But not all Frenchmen, possibly not a majority of Frenchmen, believe the substitute is satisfactory and as the opposition to the treaty of alliance grows in America the faith of France in the substitute rapidly diminishes.

The Clemenceau Government was completely at the mercy of America during the Conference of Paris because France was helpless without American assistance and British support, and the British Government, for political quite as much as for sentimental reasons, adopted a course which aligned Great Britain behind America in

most of the test questions. France had therefore to accept Mr. Wilson's decisions where these were supported by Lloyd-George, or else find herself isolated, bankrupt, ruined. She did accept them, but not without protest, not without misgivings, not without a certain measure of resentment.

But in accepting American leadership under compulsion, the French did not perceive, as nobody could, that the consequences would be the alienation of Italy and Rumania, the weakening of Poland, a vital concern for France, and the possible repudiation by the United States of Mr. Wilson's whole leadership and the far more likely repudiation of his proposed Triple Alliance to insure France.

Thus the developments of recent weeks and months in Europe and America alike have contributed greatly to strengthen that opposition which was at all times hostile to the subservience of French policy to American dictation, even in the face of French necessity, and there was a profound resentment in France over the fact that this subservience had been made almost inescapable because the British had aligned themselves solidly with the Americans.

The literal truth is that the French did not take the League of Nations from Mr. Wilson directly, on the contrary they only took it when they discovered that British policy at Paris would consist in the adoption of Mr. Wilson's ideas except in the matter of the freedom of the seas, and that they would be isolated if they did not follow suit. France was conquered rather than convinced and French opposition was never wholly silenced and never in the least placated.

VI. Alternative Courses

From the outset there have been offered to the French various alternative courses. The Italians have steadily argued that it was much more important for France to have the assured support of Italy, purchasable by supporting Italian claims on the Adriatic, than an American aid which the Italians argued would prove illusory. Clemenceau having to choose between American and Italian chose America, but when President Wilson issued his Fiume statement the French emotion was unmistakable. There was a feeling that Mr. Wilson had sacrificed France to an abstract ideal and that one of the consequences of the ultimatum which was concealed in the appeal to the Italian people might be an attack upon France by Italy if Germany ever assailed the French as they had in 1914.

Meantime in Great Britain there was a profound reaction stirred by the fashion in which the British representatives in Paris, in following Mr. Wilson, were alienating France and there was a positive crisis soon after President Wilson's return from America culminating in action by the British Parliament which led Lloyd George to reverse his course and support the French—notably in the Sarre affair.

What the British, who were responsible for this reaction saw was that Mr. Wilson's leadership was separating France from Great Britain and giving the French no other choice than a return to Germany in any repetition of Anglo-French rivalries. Moreover they perceived that, impossible as the change appeared, French possession of Alsace-Lorraine removed the one obstacle which had hitherto prevented such an alliance. This reaction in Great Britain escaped comment in America so far as I was able to observe, but it constituted one of the real crises in Paris and marked the first step in a rebellion in Europe against American leadership.

Now we have had since January protests in Great Britain called forth by American policy which brought France and Great Britain to the breaking point, something more than protest in France against American leadership which brought France and Italy from the condition of allies to the situation at which French soldiers were murdered by Italian in Fiume, and last of all, a more general unrest growing out of the Rumanian episode, all of which has served to encourage the Rumanians.

It is one thing to send word to the Rumanians that they must get out of Budapest. It is another thing to coerce a nation with 300,000 troops under arms, particularly when this army has seized all the military resources of Hungary. Now to enforce the various ultimatums the troops available are mainly French and I do not believe the French nation would permit the Clemenceau Government to use French troops to fight Rumanians. Moreover, it seems perfectly clear that the Italians would support the Rumanians in any clash, and France would find herself at war with Rumania and Italy, a war provoked, from the French point of view, by a slavish adherence to American policy.

But if the French troops won't fight the Rumanians, then where are the troops coming from to do it? Certainly not from Great Britain. Most assuredly not from the United States. Therefore Rumania has stayed in Budapest, will stay until she completes her seizure of precisely the materials the Hungarians stole when they were in Rumania, will retire when she gets ready to frontiers of her own fixing, and can safely defy all coercion which consists in moral suasion alone.

But if Rumania can do this, why not Poland? Why not Greece? Thus in the last month we have seen Venizelos, after momentarily listening to American arguments indicating reasons why Bulgaria should have part of Thrace inhabited by Greeks, refuse such a solution and do this with the approval of the British and the French. We have seen the whole Greek people demanding passionately the reason why America should champion the hereditary enemy of the Greeks, the nation which has three times in recent years attacked its neighbors for imperialistic purposes.

And whatever question there was as to Rumania, there can be no question as to Greece. In the latter case not only were the British and French openly sympathetic with the Greeks but their governments felt the pressure from publics growing restive, at the multiplying of incidents separating recent allies and growing out of American policy.

More than this, Rumania having a quarrel with the Serbs over the Banat, began to mobilize divisions with the avowed purpose of driving out the Serbs beyond the Theiss and the Danube, that is out of territory assigned to them by the League of Nations. Such a course would be assured of Italian support and coöperation, since the Italians are just as eager to restrict Jugo-Slav frontiers on the west as are the Rumanians on the east and just as unwilling to accept President Wilson's policies as to Fiume as the Rumanians are as to the Torontál.

That the Rumanians would do this, was told me perfectly frankly in Paris before I came home. But when Rumania undertakes to do this with the support of at least one great power, while the Serbs have the support of others, we are back once more at the old Balkan situation which preceded the World War and provoked it. The Balkan States are once more made the catspaws of still larger Powers and all the old unhappy circumstances are revived.

VII. What It Means

I have dwelt at length upon the reaction now going on in Europe because it seems to me that it is essential that some portion of it should be understood in America. There has been a widespread impression here that American ideas enlisted a great following on the Continent. My six months in Paris indicated just the opposite. So far as the Continent was concerned there was submission to America in political leadership simply because there was an obvious necessity to obtain the material assistance of the one great nation whose resources had been untouched by the war. Starvation and worse were the alternatives, but to believe there was willing submission is, in my judgment, to misunderstand the facts.

Europe is in some small degree at least beginning to get on its feet. As the immediate menaces of Bolshevism and of Germanism diminish there is an unmistakable resurgence of European ideas. This resurgence is hastened by two factors, by the number of controversies between allies provoked by American policy and by the gradual appreciation in Europe of the fact that America itself is divided over the League of Nations and over the President's leadership.

This European reaction tends more and more to revive old ideas based on the principle of the balance of power and of alliance as contrasted with the American idea of a League of Nations. The French people, like the British people, perceive that the Germans have been conquered but not reconciled, remain hostile, and may in the future seek to regain their lost provinces and reconquer their old position in the world. They see that, as a consequence of American policy, these Germans with their former allies who have been equally punished, may find new allies in Italy, Rumania and even in Greece, since all three of these States have had their dearest aspirations vetoed by the Conference of Paris in which Mr. Wilson presided in fact, and America dictated policies with the consent of the Allies.

Now if the United States Senate should repudiate the Anglo-French-American treaty of insurance, in my judgment the Clemenceau policy and course would be repudiated by France. The French would abandon all thought of a League of Nations and seek

safety in an alliance with Italy and with Rumania. Italian support would be assured the French on the Rhine and French support of Italy on the Adriatic. The Rumanian barrier to German expansion on the southward would be established by a Latin alliance and the support of all these Latin nations would go to Poland and the Poles would be able not only to extend their eastern frontiers but to revise in their own favor the settlement of Danzig and of East Prussia.

In this situation the British would have to choose between America and the Continent and while I do not think any accurate forecast of that decision possible, at least it is certain that a very strong fraction of the British public would insist upon a continuation of an alliance with France, which alone can safeguard the English Channel and ensure that the resistance to Germany would begin at the Rhine and not at the Straits of Dover.

But by contrast I do not believe that the adoption by the United States Senate of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Triple Alliance will long or materially delay the European reaction. It seems perfectly clear to me that the United States is not prepared, that the American people are not prepared, to send armies to police Europe, Asia or Africa, to coerce the Rumanians, the Greeks or the Italians, and the events of recent months all indicate that nations are no more ready now than they were before to lay aside racial ambitions and national aspirations in the presence of moral suasion alone.

Further, and this is the point I am trying to make: There is a widespread and significant reaction going on in all European countries recently associated with us in the war against American leadership and the application of American principles in such fashion as to break up the solidarity of that alliance which was hardly strong enough to hold Germany.

The period of our great contribution to Europe in the way of money, food, and material is over. European dependence upon us will grow less and less as time passes. As that dependence diminishes there will be less and less temptation to follow American leadership and a greater and greater demand on the part of the various publics that European policy shall return to European principles. This, in my judgment, is what has made the Rumanian episode so significant and is what is mainly important at the present moment in Europe.

We all see going on in Washington and in the country generally an agitation based on the assertion that the League of Nations Covenant does not sufficiently safeguard certain American interests and policies like the Monroe Doctrine, and does involve us in dangerous European controversies. So far as it is possible to define it this represents an instinctive American reaction against too close intermingling in the affairs of Europe, a turning back in thought at least to the old American policy of isolation.

Now, coincident with this reaction in America which is taking the form of a distinct antagonism to European methods and matters, there is in progress a similar reaction in Europe against American ideas and policy. We are asserting at least through one party in the United States Senate that Europe must respect the Monroe Doctrine to keep out of American affairs generally. Far less openly, but no less clearly, Europe is beginning to assert a similar desire that America should refrain from shaping policies in matters purely European and shaping them in such fashion as to prompt European discord and endanger the safety of certain European nations. Both reactions are natural, and in my judgment whatever be the result of the American controversy we shall see many interesting and important developments in the European field in the next few months.

WHY NOT *HELP* MEXICO?

BY EDWARD MARSHALL

I THINK everyone who has considered the matter at all feels certain that the United States ere long must take some action with regard to Mexico. The question in all minds so believing is: What should that action be?

The answer to that query does not seem difficult to one who even crudely knows the Mexicans and understands their situation, its causes, its existent phases and its future possibilities. It is simply this: Help Mexico to help herself.

Physically Mexico is one of the most beautiful and one of the richest countries in the world; their history shows the Mexicans to be a people capable of astonishing achievement: they had irrigation long before the Egyptians dreamed of it and a pictorial art and splendid and developed architecture before Europe slowly, laboriously and bloodily had crawled out of savage crudity.

Their purely modern failure has been political and for that many good excuses lie in the undeniable fact that since the European's first conquest of their country, which he owed to no racial superiority of mind or of morale, but only to the fact that he had borrowed gunpowder from the Chinese, the Mexicans never have had an opportunity to develop normally, to make of themselves the best of which fundamentally they have been and still are capable.

Failure of Mexican Leadership

During the Spanish régime Mexico was terribly oppressed, ruthlessly and finally completely, if slowly, shackled with superstition, held forcibly in ignorance and made a slave-land; during the French régime it suffered less but gathered nothing helpful for its future guidance, losing neither its superstition nor its slavery; war with the United States lost for it some of its most precious territory and taught it absolutely nothing because its conquerors took what had been won and left that which remained Mexican to get on without offering help or guidance. In the years during which the nation has been nominally or actually its own master, it has been cursed by one government after another founded on the sand of selfish, never on the rock of unselfish and high-minded revolution: it has suffered a succession of revolutions, each successful one of which has been led by men seeking not their nation's good, as did the leaders, for example, of the American Revolution, but only their own aggrandizement.

No Mexican leader who has been successful has sought to help his people wholly out of bondage; most merely have wished to change the name upon their shackles. Of the principal figures in Mexico's recent history Diaz was a constructionist, but was very, very far from spiritual unselfishness; he tolerated and used peonage, which is a modified slavery; Madero was an idealist, but lacked nearly all the practical qualities; Huerta was a mere barbarian, untutored, unaspiring, except for his great lust for women, gold and power; Carranza is a stubborn, unintelligent, almost wholly untaught individual. And the same or approximate qualifications might be linked with the mention of nearly every other Mexican leader. Of course men like these have not tried to build a Mexico for Mexicans; they have tried to build, each one, a Mexico to suit himself. Mexico had no great civilized people from whom to draw her theories of leadership, as the United States had for its draughts of men and thought progressive England and idealistic France. Perforce Mexico's institutions were based upon those of the Spaniard, and institutions thus founded have failed wherever they were planted in the once far-flung but now exterminated arc of Spanish possessions.

Mexico has not lacked good men; probably she has not wholly lacked great men; but the combination of the Spanish Church and those revolutionary political trends which were normally resultant from the Spanish rule have implanted in her native leadership no irresistible and truly democratic impulse and therefore have given her no proletariat sufficiently informed, sufficiently literate, sufficiently free and accurate of mind to be able competently to study national policies and participate intelligently in

or compel their right solution. Not even their most bitter critics can charge this fault against the Mexican people, who, to an extent unrealized by most Americans, are of pure aboriginal blood, suffering from the loss of an ancient culture not without its merits and for which nothing but oppression ever has been offered as a substitute. These things must remain an indictment against the grim adventurers who first by bloody conquest took possession of the country and later by the constant exercise of methods always brutal, held it till the French drove them away, later scarcely improving on their management, and soon themselves being eliminated by fever and maladministration, leaving the Mexicans to shift alone without oppression from outside but without instruction from without or from within.

Pros and Cons of Intervention

Therefore at this time it seems important that every American should inform himself concerning these and many other things affecting Mexico, carefully considering what course his nation should pursue toward this new, almost wholly helpless people, lying separated only by a narrow river from our prosperous and, in spots, our happy land.

From the days of the great Washington, through those of the tremendous Lincoln, the dynamic Roosevelt and the extraordinary Wilson, the more fortunate United States has had leadership which has affirmed that it has wished no gain through conquest. To discuss in this aspect the Mexican War would be useless at this time; after our victorious if brief and not particularly difficult war with Spain we gave the world the proof of our loftiness of principle; no American has gone on record as even wishing territorial aggrandizement as a result of our participation in the great European War now trying gaspingly to end.

There are Americans who, through sheer selfishness, perhaps augmented by aggravation over Mexican misgovernment and failure to protect honest American investors, actually desire American conquest and retention of control over Mexico, but probably these, if listed, would prove to be few in number. The interventionists, who are growing rapidly in strength, in the main wish simply that Mexico may be put out of her misery by being snatched away from it although she may cling to it, and that America may be relieved of that continual, nagging worry which must be inevitable as long as anarchy, starvation, and commercial paralysis exist in the great country which links us to the Isthmus.

There are many perfectly good arguments against Mexican intervention and for it few save the very strong one that Mexico has fully proved her inability to rule herself and therefore should have honest help until she learns the lesson of self-government. For us to intervene upon that general ground would be no novel thing, for it was exactly on that basis that we took armed control of Cuba and the Philippines. Cuba we have cleaned up, organized, and instructed more than once and (more than once) returned to her growingly informed sons with the proviso that if they do ill we shall spank them again and once more send them to bed while we control their domicile until they promise to behave. The Philippines, a far more difficult problem, we are solving slowly. Our gift of independence to this people may be deferred through no fault of theirs or ours, but because of outside international conditions. When we find it safe we shall bestow it.

But the spanking of big Mexico would be a matter very different from the good-natured punishment of Cuba. Mexico's population (before her recent wars and their aftermath of famine and disease) was 15,160,000 and her area is 767,000 square miles against Cuba's population of 3,400,000 and area of 14,164 square miles and the Philippines' 8,878,000 population and 115,026 square miles. The American who believes that to attack and conquer Mexico, even in her weakness and for the purpose of planting on her soil forever the banner of democracy, would be an easy task, in any manner comparable with the slight effort, slight sacrifice and slight expenditure of the Spanish-American War, is uninformed and loose of thought.

Furthermore, no matter what she may do in her present disorganized and irresponsible state, it is inconceivable that we should attack Mexico with the idea of forcibly depriving her for all time of the rights of independent government. One of the first results of a war with that intent would be to turn all Latin America unalterably against us, politically and economically, and to make the Monroe Doctrine, which has been preserved (perhaps) by such a narrow margin at Versailles, a dead-letter through stimulated enmities upon this hemisphere.

The situation works itself out thus, then:

If let alone Mexico almost certainly will go from bad to worse, for no constructive impulse within herself at present tends importantly toward the foundation of a Mexican Government competent to establish a successful democracy.

To permit Mexico to go from bad to worse would be, upon the part of the United States, a crime against humanity and against self-interest.

To endeavor to correct existing and prospective evils through the medium of armed intervention would be costly of men and money and destructive of Latin-American friendship for us and from within would disintegrate that Monroe Doctrine which most of us have wished to see unalterably preserved.

So we are brought back to our original question:

What is to be done?

A Mexican Forecast

An interesting suggestion has been made to me by a Mexican of real distinction who knows, loves, and trusts this country, who is not a member of the political class in his own land, but has been a real constructionist even throughout the long era of disorder that began with the overthrow of Diaz. In the main he thinks:

If the United States should intervene in Mexico and "pacify" the country by sheer force of arms, Mexican hatred of America would endure as long as the present generation lives. Leaders of all factions would unite to foster anti-American feeling, both on principle and as a matter of expediency, and the Mexican masses instinctively would thrill with hate of us, even if their leaders did not urge it on them. None loves more ardently nor hates more bitterly than the Mexican. No parallel can be drawn between the case of Cuba and that which in event of intervention would be Mexico's, because American occupation of Cuba began in a war waged for the purpose of freeing subject peoples from oppressive Spanish domination. Any war on Mexico would be accepted as being for the purpose of subjecting a people believing themselves free to our outside domination and would be regarded as a selfish game of loot, no matter how brief a period of forcible control we might promise nor how genuinely fine a following period of generous action.

The Mexican is not a coward. He is a good fighter, although not trained at the task nor very clever. Of course in case of war with the United States he would be comparatively ill-equipped; but he would do his best. Thousands of Mexicans standing before firing-squads which were to end their lives have waited smiling, smoking cigarettes and cursing wonderfully those about to kill them. That is a fashion. Up to the point where it became impossible, the Mexicans would fight America, and they would not fight in accordance with those rules of warfare which the Allies endeavored to observe and the Germans endeavored to defy on all occasions during the late war. The Mexican does not know the rules of war. He does not know the rules of anything. No one has ever tried to teach them to him.

One of the means by which the Mexican would show his disapproval of armed intervention by this country would be through the start of a wild orgy of attack on all things and lives American remaining in his country at the time of the commencement of hostilities. He would not count the cost. He never does. Probably his frenzy would include among its victims British, French, and Italian subjects wherever they might be found in Mexico outside the larger cities. My Mexican friend says that there the lives and property of foreigners might be protected. He believes it; I do not. No bribery of bandits such as has kept the oil regions comparatively calm since the beginning of the war would stop the grim succession of outrages in advance of an invading force. Bandits might take the bribes, but probably would not—even a Mexican bandit has certain principles and pride: I know Villa has. The oil fields might be saved, but at great cost and through vast effort; machinery for this effort was created and held ready during the European war. It would be needed and much destruction might occur there, notwithstanding it. Outside of the measurably protected oil country ruthless slaughter and the destruction of all foreign property save that of Germans and of Japanese would instantaneously begin.

American intervention would establish law and order, as, fighting its way slowly (or perhaps rapidly), it gained territory, only if every foot of land it captured were left perfectly and forcefully policed, and not otherwise. And Mexico is not a country easy for outsiders to police, although for Mexicans to police it when they have been organized

therefor never has been difficult. No general European theatre of war was as difficult either for conquest or subsequent pacification as Mexico would be, except, perhaps, the mountain-studded area in which Italy met the Austrians. And the only law and order which American intervention could establish would be that maintained by fear. Whenever for a moment fear flared into courage, law and order would give place to the grim, desperate lawlessness of ruthless reprisal. The Mexicans would regard us with a cumulative hatred and would arouse in us deep hate of them. At present, while they do not love us, they do not definitely hate us and we do not hate them at all.

Having conquered Mexico, we would have upon our hands a nation bitter beyond words, of which we would need to make a second and laborious conquest through kindliness and helpfulness, but every Mexican grave which we had filled (and of these there would be many thousands) and every American grave which Mexicans had filled (they would be less numerous but multitudinous) would be, during the existing generation's life, a blot ineradicable upon that page of friendship which we would be endeavoring to cleanse.

And almost certainly we would have upon our hands important foreign complications. The application of the League of Nations (however it finally may be organized) would be difficult of adjustment in a way satisfactory to our own country or affected European nations; the enterprising traders, of nations which we do not love and those of our good friends alike, would take advantage of the situation and bid against us with success for that remunerative trade which Mexican hatred would refuse to us—Mexico will never whine for trade, regardless of her pride, as Germany is doing. The opportunity for Germany, especially, would be unprecedented. Mexico was widely sown with anti-American pro-German propaganda during the early years of the great war. Combat between America and Mexico fully would fructify it in all Mexican minds.

Which, perhaps, is enough of comment upon intervention. The topic is too vast to cover comfortably in a single article.

But it is obvious that Mexico cannot continue as she is.

Uncle Sam as Good Samaritan

Well, then, why not try the simple plan, if [illegible] that the complex plan may not succeed? Our fathers were a simple lot of men; we are more elaborate. They reasoned on straight lines; we, proud of our intellectual attainments and confused by devious leaderships, are beginning to adore complexities. But why not, in the case of Mexico, be simple? It would be a great relief to all of us and might save a situation now charged with potential tragedy.

The simple thing would be to help the badly led, the ignorant, the bleeding, starving neighbor, even though he be, at present, disorderly and offensive. It would cost less money; it would cost fewer lives or none; it would cost no friendship but make much; it would cost no dignity; it could not involve us in entanglements of any kind with European nations—and it would save Mexico.

How can Mexico be helped without a desperate assault? How might a man be helped who (perhaps through his own fault) was down and out, humiliated and, being very ignorant, fighting-mad in spite of wounds, poverty, hunger, and bleak prospects? If a neighbor looked at him with frowns, held over him clenched fists ready for assault at the first sign of returning vigor, the procedure would not render the prone man a signal service—unless it be a good policy to keep the fallen down and out, which is not the American philosophy. The Samaritan whose hands bore bandages for wounds and healing lotions, food for the man's hunger and drink for his thirst, whose kind mind offered encouragement to offset the prostrate creature's weakness and whose generosity found some money for his purse, would get on with him better, tend more rapidly to make a self-respecting, useful man of him, to his own benefit, his family's and the world's, and, further, far quicker would make of him a customer if he, the Samaritan, had goods for sale. Such, speaking generally, is the accepted individual practice, now, in dealing even with the criminal.

So that is the suggestion which now comes forward with regard to this immensely puzzling Mexican problem.

How could it be carried out? The United States has a Red Cross organization mobilized and ready for work, just as it has an Army mobilized and ready for fight; the United States has stores of supplies for the starving, just as it has ammunition for its guns; the United States has more cargo-ships than at any previous time in its whole history, just as it has more warships than it ever had before. The United States can

knock out [illegible] sure enough, [illegible] instead? [illegible] it upon [illegible]

One [illegible] Mexico [illegible] refused [illegible] Mexico [illegible] really [illegible] executive [illegible] ness [illegible] generally [illegible] Mexico's [illegible] thing [illegible] somewhat [illegible] ing [illegible] Mexican [illegible] for they [illegible] of things.

[illegible] Enough Fighting

Being hungry, the Mexicans want, like other hungry human beings, yearn for food; they must have roofs or [illegible]; being sick, like other sufferers, they want medical attendance; being ignorant, they should have education, whether or not they know that it will help them; being in a state of anarchy, they need law, though they might oppose its imposition on them. Having these things, will they want to keep on fighting futilely day after day, year after year? Probably not.

How can these things be given to them? Simply. Organize them for acceptance of the gifts. They do not love the foolish leaders who keep them in poverty, peril, and turmoil, although they may obey them because they know not what else may be done. The soldier in all the Mexican armies is ill-fed, his officers oftener get and keep his pay than give it to him, his uniform is nothing much or anything that chances, his arms are frequently imperfect and each individual fighting-man guards his personal cartridge-belt with care because his brother fighting-man will steal it if he has a chance, leaving him unprotected when the enemy (that is, the follower of another chief, but a Mexican like himself) stealthily approaches from some arroyo. He is most unhappy in his constant warfare. The Mexican loves home, wife, children, gayety, and song; he is a sentimentalist; the things of ease and comfort infinitely attract him—I have seen him go to battle with a guitar strapped on his back and have heard him singing sentimental songs after fighting all day on half-rations.

If he is tired of war why doesn't he turn from it? Because he has nothing else to turn to. If he fights on as General [illegible]'s soldier he may get a little of the pay which [illegible] is promised and will be sure of enough food to keep him half alive; if he deserts, trying to go home, he will be arrested probably, and, if not arrested, will find farming difficult, for he has no implements, will be allowed to keep no animals (the first bandit to see them will appropriate them), has no seed, is out of training after years of service in the [illegible] ranks, and, most powerful of deterrents, he feels among his fellows the urge of no general impulse to return to work or encouragement in that direction from those whom he accepts as leaders.

But the man who, fitting the old descriptive phrase, really "would rather fight than eat" is as rare in Mexico as elsewhere. To-day the Mexican is fighting now and then that now and then he may satisfy his hunger, and, being very tired of the uncertainty of his reward, he would be very glad to work that he might eat every day.

A Rural Police Force

If, to-morrow, the American Government should help to find and then recognize and assist a purely Mexican leader from among the many who realize all this but without lacking [illegible] not say so, great things might be done. Work would begin among the Mexicans along the border; they would be fed, armed, equipped, prepared efficiently for warfare under selected men chosen from among those Mexicans who wish to build their country, not to tear it down. No ruthless invading army would be organized, but, instead, a trained, satisfied and satisfactory all-Mexican rural police force. There would be a rush of volunteers to join the bright, new colors.

Passing from across the American border into Mexico, or organized on Mexican soil, this force, made attractive by good food, honest pay, fair treatment and the right basic idea, would grow with an astonishing speed. Later, when it began to slowly penetrate the country, using the propaganda of good cheer and the food and comforts distributed by the accompanying American Red Cross, it would make conquest of the people, including the soldiers of the opposing forces. Few would go against it. Most of its opponents would try to join its ranks. It might have some fighting to attend to, but would not have much. Its conquests would be [illegible] and cumulative.

Such a Mexican force, advancing into Mexico from whatever point or points, accompanied by complete machinery for relieving the immediate needs of the civilian population in all accessible territory as quickly as might be, achieving victory principally by the power of attraction, would be neither an American intervention force nor a Mexican revolutionary force, but something new and better than either. In the main no further means of conquest would be needed than the authority which would pluck men out of warfare to their homes and peaceful work, than doctors who would heal the sick, than nurses who would care for them, than great Red Cross supply stations which would feed the women and the children and the aged men, than the agricultural implements which would be given or sold on easy terms through an agency created for the purpose of assisting those who wished again to work and the instructors who would show the people how to make their labor count.

I chanced to be in Italy during the great war when the morale of the nation, wofully broken down and threatening defeat to the Allied cause, was restored largely through the agency of the American Red Cross. If that splendid body was available at that time, four thousand miles from home, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it might be made available again, when the suffering is quite as great and the international need almost as momentous, just across our own border.

A Mexican "Army of Comfort and Constructiveness"

Contentment, hope, and confidence would be created magically, the spirit of combat would vanish from the land of Mexico. That Mexican whom I have mentioned, and who ought to know his people, tells me this, and I believe him. The wholly Mexican Army of Comfort and Constructivism, of helpfulness and good-will, where helpfulness would be acceptable and good-will has been rare for years, accompanied by the generous, neighborly Red Cross, would steadily advance. The tidings of the progress would precede this peaceable invasion at a longer range than that of the shells of the great guns which sent their vast projectiles in advance of Wilhelm's men.

Mexico would not be a conquered country when this new-fashioned war came to an end; she would be revivified, psychologically transformed, made safe for the beginnings of democracy more fully, possibly, than some European countries have been by the vastest war and most vociferous peace-wrangling in all history. She would be beginning to get ready for real constructive work on modern lines, done by her own citizens and their friends, the people of the United States—ready for the organization of a school system, for the reception of primary information with regard to health and comfort; she would be ready to establish reasonable and efficient government, ready to get down to work and to find happiness. Banditry would cease, gradually, partly through the efforts of the great police force, more notably because participation in the work of the advancing army would be better paid and pleasanter than sparse looting ever has been, and still more notably because the average man, be he Mexican or Yankee, will not steal if he can prosper honestly more easily.

It is true that this native Army of Pacification and Reconstruction might need in its ranks persons more dramatic than doctors, nurses, Red Cross supply agents, and agricultural instructors. It might need some airplanes and some machine-guns; it would not use them as the weapons of an enemy from across the border, but as the implements of native builders, intent on the construction of a new and happy Mexico. It would not need to use them much.

Probably the United States has shown good judgment in paying no attention to many would-be Mexican leaders; it showed wofully bad judgment in recognizing Carranza without reservations. But Carranza is approaching his downfall. Coincidentally with the benevolent auto-invasion of our neighbor, America would have an opportunity firmly to declare that Mexico in future must find real leadership, herself, or let others find it for her, and that we will recognize no leadership which shall not signalize its entrance into power by the advancement of a feasible plan of reconstruction, with, behind it, the force required to put the program into operation. After that Native Police-Red Cross invasion the Mexican people would support America in this reasonable demand.

With a growing power promotive of the Mexican nation's real independence, and agreeing with such an American declaration, more than one good man for leadership in Mexico would be found where the circumstances of the past have made such discoveries impossible. Probably any Mexican of

eminence and worth, moving in harmony with such a program and really believing in it, if he were approved and somewhat aided by Americans really knowing Mexico, easily could gain pre-eminence. Mexico is sick, deathly sick, of her disorder, Carranza and his politicians and the bandits to the contrary notwithstanding. All worthwhile Mexicans, the nation s immense wealth, and its not inconsiderable business wisdom and general culture would hasten to support any individual who promised and could deliver an era of law, order, and coöperation with the United States.

It is certain that the United States soon must look the Mexican problem squarely in the face and thoroughly understand that it is not war with America nor revolution of her own which will preserve her, but the enforcement of law and order within Mexico by Mexicans themselves. The intervention which would pay would be promotion and assistance of a movement to this end.

That the Mexican, once freed of war, would prove fundamentally capable of ably taking up industrial and agricultural life is strikingly indicated by a telegram which I have just received from Henry Ford, the motor manufacturer, whom I queried on the subject because I knew that he recently had made experiments with Mexican boys brought north in the course of an ingenious test. This message says:

> We have in training approximately 150 Mexican boys recommended to us by the Mexican Government. These boys, under an American tutor and assisted by a highly educated Mexican, are being put through a carefully laid out course of assembly, repair and operation instruction at our tractor plant and are being generally informed with regard to agricultural machinery. The boys, after their point of view has been adjusted, prove apt and willing, making excellent mechanics and operators, showing, furthermore, in certain instances, ability as designers and executives.

So a Mexico pacified as has been suggested and given hope of a reward if it bent its energies to industry instead of revolution would find within itself ability for the winning of a splendid victory.

OUR USE OF ENGLISH

BY ANDREW F. WEST

Dean of the Graduate School, Princeton University

I

"I DON'T care what they study, but I want them to know English and to know it good." This declaration was made by a professor in a recent debate on college studies.

Should we know English "good" or know it well? A clear answer to this question will reveal what kind of English we want in our education. To know a thing "good" and to know it well are two different proposals, involving two different theories. The first, no matter how earnest in purpose, stands for careless English and the second for correct English. Careless English, failing to watch its step, slips into greater carelessness and finally stumbles into muddled English, the fit receptacle for muddled thinking.

Is it a small matter? Many seem to think so. For if a man thinks straight, they say, what difference does it make whether he says what he thinks in good English or in poor English? Talk is cheap. Style is not everything. Words, mere words are of less importance than the thought they express. Such is the argument.

Of course thought is the first thing. No sane person could question this. And of course there are men who love to talk and to hear themselves talk more than they love to think. Thoughtless speech is unworthy of anyone who can think. Yet thought itself, when it first arises, does not even go so far as to take form in the human mind without defining itself in images or words; and only in so far as this happens does it become practicable for us to express thought, whether quietly to ourselves or by telling it to others. The only other way would be to use looks, gestures, kicks, winks, nods, and other primitive signs, as the illiterate often do. The important point here is that the way we use English generally shows the way we think. Good English and good thinking naturally belong together, not apart, just as good fish live in clear streams. I am not pleading for dainty English, though

it has a place—among the bric-a-brac. Nor am I asking for affected English or learned English or even for elegant English or for artifices of any sort, but simply for pure, correct English, the mirror for the clear beauty of thought. For if what we think is to be made clear to others, it ought to be put in language which actually tells in the best way just what we think and ought not to be put in some loose or bungling way.

The question comes up almost every day in almost every walk of life. How many men are obliged again and again to explain, that is, to make plain in words, that something they said was misunderstood and to make clear what it was they really meant by what they said! Take the question of the meaning of any document, such as a treaty, a will, a contract or even a personal letter. Here the first question is not so much What did he mean to say? as What is the meaning of what he did say, If it then turns out that he really meant something different from what he said, it becomes clear either that he did not manage to say what he meant or, even worse, did not mean what he tried to say. It is an unwritten law that men shall say just what they mean and mean just what they say. And if they say it well, so much the better. Saying it well means saying it in accordance with the canons of English usage, because there is no other suitable standard. It ought to be the written law of American education that every child capable of schooling shall be taught well to use English well, both in order to say well what he thinks and to help him think better.

II

One language for all our people is a strong bond of national union. To loosen it is to weaken our national life. Those who think history is "bunk" should read it and discover that one of the surest means of weakening a race or nation is to deprive it of the free use of its language. The presence of large bodies of foreign-born people here who still speak their ancestral tongues from force of habit is entirely tolerable. But it is not tolerable that they should be unwilling to learn and use English. Nor is it tolerable that after their welcome here to full freedom they should fail to have their children promptly learn what is now their language as well as ours. Suppose this situation improves, as it will. Much will then be gained.

But far more is needed. It is not enough simply to do away with this menace to our unity. What we need is to make our language a much more powerful builder of our unity. To effect this, the English we use must be made more nearly one all over the land. Of course dialectal variations and oddities will remain in plenty after every effort has been made. Bad grammar will be to some extent ineradicable. Dialects, oddities and bad grammar, if fully recognized as such, do no great harm, and they add some picturesque touches to our life. Much illiteracy will remain, though not the frightful amount now prevalent. The irreducible residuum of crass ignorance will always be matched by a like amount of illiteracy. But if the vast majority of our people can be brought to a better common use of English, the main result is achieved.

What agencies are there for this gigantic task? Some newspapers and magazines, perhaps the majority. Those now published in coarse or flashy or bungled English cannot help even if they would, because what they print is what their readers want. The case is better with books, though the popular influence of books is less. A great influence for good has been coming from the churches. The Bible, the hymns, the prayers (barring a few extempore efforts)—these have been a living power for good English. Their loss would be irremediable.

Much could be done in the homes, far more than is being done. Think how few fathers and mothers are careful to teach their children English by using it well, no matter how simply, by reading to them, by talking with them about their school lessons, and especially by making the Bible a home book. Let anyone sniff at this, if he likes, and then let him read what Foch and Cardinal Mercier wrote about the Bible and be properly ashamed. The newspaper is the one sure daily reading for most American homes. All see the staring headlines, father reads the stock reports, mother studies the woman's page, and brother cons the sporting columns, with the crude comic supplement also, when it is not kept for the baby. If the Bible, with our poets, novelists, biographers and travelers, were in some degree known and read in every home, even for half an hour a day, a large amount of trashy English would disappear. But to wait for this happy event would be to defer the result too long.

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There is just one powerful agency which could be put to use soon in a general way.

That agency is our school and college teaching. Here, in spite of present confusion in counsels, there seems to be a fair chance that our newly quickened impulse of patriotism, coupled with the ever ready willingness of parents to let teachers do for them what they do not care to do themselves, may bring about a stronger insistence that English shall be taught well and amply all over our land. Here again the prime need is good teaching and plenty of it. Unless this is secured soon, the movement will not make much headway. Indeed it will be likely to lose ground, because teachers generally, whether good or bad, are so hard hit by the war that many are being forced out of teaching into business life. They are wanted there on much higher salaries than they can get as teachers. If this difficulty can be met soon by providing better salaries for teachers, the situation will improve. But one other big obstacle will remain.

III

I do not mean the American boy. That frank, careless, lovable object, if caught young, will ordinarily accept good teaching, even though he may not so far demean himself as to admit he likes it. As for the girls, they generally take to study anyhow.

The big remaining obstacle is the marked weakness of American schooling on the side of language and literature. It is our plainest defect. Language is the central core of all true early education and a necessary instrument in all education. The linguistic sense is of slow growth, as befits the formation of a fundamental life-habit of great importance. We are in too much of a hurry. Young students see "no use" in a study which holds out no immediate rewards. Impatience of continuous training in things fundamental is one of our national faults. We are versatile rather than thorough. If we were both, we could lead the world in education. So we shall have to realize, as with surprise, that there is no education without language and no excellent general education without more and better exercise in the use of language, especially of our own language, than we have been providing. Our training here has been small as compared with England, France and Germany.

The thing to do is to provide more extended school study of English guided by first-rate teachers. This means teachers who know well and use well the best English. And what teacher in any subject should not do so? It does not mean that they shall be literary prigs, but that they shall be masters of pure English, and lovers of our literature and history as well. The teachers above the primary schools ought also to know the full history of English, its sources and development, and the great figures which inhabit the broad and lovely realm of English literature. No doubt it is a shock to the ignorant to learn that he who knows only English does not know all about English. It is this "all about" that gives English its environment, its setting, its scenic position in the world's literature. No doubt it is a shock to the philistine to learn that fully half of our language is Greek and Latin, and a greater shock to learn that it is chiefly this which has enlarged English, turning it from a limited into a general modern tongue of marvellous range and power.

The true teacher of English, setting standards for human intercourse in speech, may range all the way from the Greek poets down to the last word of to-day and may affect the expression of thought in every field of knowledge. His work, like all valuable work, has in it much drudgery; for teaching students to write good English is a heroic task, because it is also the task of insistently training the student to think surely and clearly and, if possible, gracefully. His work is also directive in helping to form our national usage. It is patriotic in a high sense. May the day soon come when many such teachers shall have brought our land so nearly to one common speech, understood in all places and by all classes, that we shall speak as with one voice. Then, whatever differences of opinion shall persist, our national consciousness will be one in so far as our national language can help to make it one. In music many voices a little out of tune create a growing discord. But if the discords lessen, the underlying music sounds in clearer tone. So when our language is spoken in better tune all over the land, it will drown the petty discords in its overwhelming unison.



ONE OF HUNDREDS OF STANDARDIZED MERCHANT SHIPS RECENTLY BUILT IN AMERICAN YARDS AND OPERATED BY THE SHIPPING BOARD

(This particular vessel is the oil-burning *Scantic*, of 7800 tons, a product of the Hog Island yards of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation. Fifty vessels of similar design were turned out of the same yards in a year. In the whole country more than twelve hundred ships have been built within two years)

OUR RESTORED MERCHANT MARINE

BY THEODORE MACFARLANE KNAPPEN

IN April, 1917, the newly organized United States Shipping Board, confronted by the imperative necessity of immediately undertaking a colossal task, but neither knowing what to do nor how, was engaged in an internal wrangle over little wooden ships of 3500 tons dead-weight. In July, this year, it announced that it was about to build two ocean greyhounds of 50,000 tons gross, and a speed of thirty knots—four days to Europe—eclipsing the *Leviathan* and *Imperator*. The gap between the wooden-ship revival wrangle and the colossal palaces of the sea is typical of what has been done in two years. In those two years, short in the retrospect and long in the living, the Shipping Board has revived the American shipbuilding industry, restored the American merchant marine to the high seas and created for the nation to solve a problem of the first magnitude. For eighteen months of the period, the problem was to get ships. So stupendously has that problem been solved that it has created an even greater one—and that is, what to do with the ships.

On the average four new ships a day—yes, *four a day*—are now delivered to the Bureau of Operations. At the head of that bureau is J. H. Rosseter, one of the greatest managers of ships in the world, but he confesses that he is paralyzed by the immensity of his task. Four ships make a snug little private fleet but Mr. Rosseter gets four more every day. Every week thirty ships are added to his responsibilities. No man ever had such a job as his—and he declares that no man ever ought to have such a job—that it is beyond all possibility of human functioning. To say nothing of chartered and requisitioned ships, he has to direct the movements of a government fleet equal already to the combined size of the ten next largest fleets in the world. At times he has had, including chartered and requisitioned steamships, as high as 1280 vessels under his direct control and much to do with a thousand more.

At Last We Have a Fleet!

The long-hoped-for American merchant marine has arrived and is arriving as no fleet ever came before. Many a minor nation would be proud to boast of a total fleet as large as comes each month from the shipyards of the United States. Through mistakes and blunders, a storm of criticism and a whirlpool of dispute with labor, rows with



ONE OF FIFTY WAYS AT HOG ISLAND SHIPYARD

(The picture shows the simple lines of the standardized steel ship. It also shows the numerous derricks and cranes. On both sides of every vessel are railroad tracks, which permit freight cars to unload at the ship)

builders, quarrels with designers, transportation congestion, the ignorance of half a million green hands and hundreds of equally green plants turned to shipbuilding, the necessity of building yards before ships, of building ten thousand houses for workers, of providing local transit, of training sailors and officers, cumbered with endless investigations, flayed in Congress, clamored at by the Allies, hounded by the army, excoriated by a hundred million impatient patriots who thought that all they had to do was to push the appropriation button and the ships would roll out of the yards like oranges through a sorting table—through it all the task that was given to be done has been done. More than twelve hundred steamships of a gross tonnage of near 5,000,000 have come forth from it all; a thousand more are on the way.

The Trouble We Had Getting It!

We have the ships that we built for war. The war is over. What shall we do with the ships? The fault-finders who once said we would never succeed with the colossal shipbuilding program, now declare that the ships are mostly junk—that their rivets are loose, that their engines don't work, that their design is faulty, that they cost too much, that they are too small or too slow or that there are too many of some kinds and too few of others, and that anyway we cannot compete with foreign nations on the sea. Much of which is true. Much of the riveting was awful to look at and sometimes it wasn't tight. Ships went to sea with rudders that wouldn't work and turbine gears that broke down. The winches were wrong, the pumps wouldn't pump, the shafting wasn't true, the boilers leaked and the devil generally was to pay. Ships were launched with the riveting half done and with wooden plugs in rivet-holes. Four hundred turbine gears of a certain make were ordered and they all broke down on trial trips, if they ever got that far.

At one time, the Submarine Boat Corporation at Newark—one of the so-called fabricated shipyards—had twenty or thirty vessels waiting for the gears to be replaced or rebuilt. This company's first ship, after several attempts to get away, was finally towed into the Bermudas helpless. A wonderful performance in shipbuilding thus came to temporary grief through no fault of the builders. The gears were provided by the Shipping Board. The builders had only to install them; but nevertheless there lay a great fleet, useless for months. The wooden ships exuded grief. Built of green timber, thrown together in a hurry, it was necessary to recalk everyone of them before they took their maiden voyages. But what else could have been expected?

When the greatest of wars was let loose on an unprepared nation, and to it was assigned, among many others of terrifying magnitude, the task of building ships faster than submarines could sink them, it approached the job empty-handed. In the whole country there were only thirty-seven steel shipyards, good and bad—mostly bad—with 162 ways, capable of building steel ships of more than 3000 tons—and a considerable part of them were on the Great Lakes. All were jammed to capacity for from one to three years ahead with contracts for naval and private ships. Before more ships could be built, old yards must be extended and new yards must be created. Simultaneously, shipbuilders had to be made from green hands. There were 50,000 shipbuilders in the country—all busy—and there was work planned for 400,000.

While the yards were building and the workmen were training and learning, the ships were, of necessity, building. The piling for a way was hardly done before a keel



THE OUTFITTING BASIN OF THE SECOND LARGEST SHIPYARD IN THE WORLD

(On marshy land in Newark Bay, N. J., the Submarine Boat Corporation laid down ways for the simultaneous construction of twenty-eight standardized vessels for the Shipping Board. One of the ways can be seen at the right of the picture. After launching, the ships are tied to the pier and fitted with engines, boilers, and all the apparatus that transforms a mere hull into a finished vessel ready for ocean service)

was started. Men who had never seen a shipyard or salt water were driving rivets three weeks from the time they were milking cows, riding the range, tending bar, or shaving faces. Of course their work was crude. Their rivet tops were not pretty and sometimes they were loose.

If there were no skilled workers, there was an equal lack of skilled executives. Men fell over each other in excessive numbers on some ships; on others they stood around waiting for something to do. The managers were as ignorant as the men. All sorts of promoters rushed to exploit shipbuilding, just as all sorts of workers rushed to get the fabulous pay of riveters. For a time, anybody with a water front, a good personal "front," some borrowed blue prints, and a pretty picture of a ship in vision, could get a contract. Some of them made an awful mess of what they got and others with true American adaptability "got away with it." The workmanship was poor, the management was bad, the "know-how" was scarce. Everybody was enrolled in the school of experience and the public was paying for education as well as for ships. But in the end it got both—though the price was high—and a lot more. Chaos reigned for about a year, but through that chaos form was working. The first ship contracted for by the Shipping Board was not completed until more than a year after war was declared. Of course, it came from the Pacific Coast. Not till September, 1918, did the Board get the first "contract" ship from an Atlantic yard—and that yard, the Federal at Kearny, N. J., had been a swamp twelve months before.

On top of everything else, the worst winter in a hundred years descended on the building shipyards of the Atlantic coast. Green men, tackling an unknown task of formidable proportions, were bedeviled by weather that froze the ground three feet deep, tied up the railways and benumbed the workers. Soft earth, turned to granite by frost, had to be thawed with steam to make way for the excavators and dynamite had to tear out starting holes for piles. Few of the yards were self-contained. Some of them, like the fabricated shipyards—Hog Island, Bristol, and Newark—were merely vast assembling plants for tributary factories



LIGHT, AIRY, AND CLEAN THE SLEEPING QUARTERS ON A MODERN AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSEL

are American. The American boy has not belied his sea-going ancestry. The boys are swarming to the training ships and to direct enlistment in the merchant marine, more to the former than can be accepted. The new fleet calls for 70,000 sailors, and it is estimated that 20,000 recruits must be found annually to maintain that number. With one man in every five an officer, with good pay, good quarters and a new merchant-marine prestige, American boys are finding the sea a lucrative, interesting and ambition-inspiring career.

With the new ships comes the new type of sailors—clear-eyed, clean-limbed, keen, self-respecting, energetic, ambitious American boys, all starting at the bottom, with officers' training and education open to all of them—a true democracy of the seas. They said we couldn't build the ships and that American boys would not take to sea again. But there are the ships and there are the boys in their natty uniforms. Getting and training these young fellows is a story in itself that cannot be told here. In that it is like the dry docks and the increased port facilities, the extension and improvement of the repair yards, the $70,000,000 housing job, the enlargements of bunkering and oiling facilities, the education of supercargoes and officers, the providing of ship insurance, the learning again of the intricate ways of foreign commerce in the face of stubborn and jealous resistance—and a hundred other things that have had to be done to make lifeless ships into a vital merchant marine.

Every known and proved refinement of machinery, loading and unloading gear, and cunning planning of cargo space, is being installed in every ship. America wins in manufacture by quantity production and a wealth of machinery. Turning to the seas it has realized quantity production of ships and now proposes to make every American ship a model labor saver. High-grade seamen and perfect ship equipment are part of America's bid for dominion of the seas.

How Shall the Ships Be Operated?

But back to the question—What shall we do with our national fleet? While studying the answer, it must not be overlooked that the fleet is now in business. The Division of Operations of the Emergency Fleet Corporation is actually operating it. The task is monumental, but it is being done; and in



DARK, FOUL-SMELLING AND DIRTY—THE SLEEPING QUARTERS ON AN OLDER TYPE OF VESSEL OF FOREIGN REGISTRY

the doing much is being learned that will help in the future, whatever the final disposition of the fleet. With few exceptions the 1200 steamers (by the time this is in print there will be 1400) are being operated by private shipping corporations and individuals as operators on Government account and as managers. The operator gets the business—the cargo and passengers—and attends to the ship as a commercial venture. Roughly he gets a commission of 2½ per cent. on all the ship's earnings. The manager looks after the ship as the representative of the Shipping Board. He pays the crew, purchases the supplies, looks after loading and unloading, cares for the ship, sees to repairs, and generally acts as the owner's representative. His



AN OFFICER'S QUARTERS ON A SHIPPING BOARD VESSEL

compensation is $400 a month for each ship. Often the operator and the agent are one and the same—but the two different functions are left separate. Between the manager and the operator the ship is managed internally and externally as a business proposition under the general direction of the Division of Operations. The Division gets all the revenues and pays all the bills. In this way are attained a minimum of bureaucratic management and a maximum of private management—that are possible under government ownership and control.

The other way in which the ships, though still in government ownership, might be handled is through charter or lease—either "bare-boat" or fully equipped. This would be comparable to renting a house, furnished or unfurnished. The Government would



A GROUP OF YOUNG AMERICANS LEARNING HOW TO SAIL THE SEAS

(The Shipping Board maintains ten training bases, and can "graduate" 3000 men each month)

get a flat sum as rent and the lessee or charterer would run the ship for his personal profit. There are many variations of these two principal methods, but they need not be discussed here. Roughly speaking if the Government continues to own the ships, it must keep them in service through one or the other of these plans, their variations or combinations. Direct bureaucratic operation of the ships is unthinkable.

Shipping Profits

Just now the Shipping Board is making money fast—just how fast nobody knows,



A MESSROOM DESIGNED FOR COMFORT AND CLEANLINESS



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not even the comptroller. But in its first two years of operations, the board took in $400,000,000 in cash from the running of the ships—and after figuring 10 per cent. depreciation on the steel ships and 12½ per cent. on the wooden and allowing 5 per cent. for interest, has a good margin—this besides doing the business of the army and navy without profit since July 1, 1918, and not as yet being paid back its cost. And there are big insurance profits, besides. If present profits should continue—which they will not—the fleet would pay for itself in less than ten years, in the depreciation margin alone, or in a little more than six years if the interest item is added to depreciation as an offset against original cost. Besides, the Government would have the ships and the net profits. Fabulous profits have been made on some voyages. While the "knockers" were still telling scandalous tales about the *Quistconck*, the first Hog Island ship, she was making a gross profit of about $500,000 on her first voyage. Another ship made $800,000 on a 110-day trip. Transatlantic rates that were once as low as from $2 to $4 a ton on certain commodities are now $20 and during the war were $66 on American ships and $88 on British ships. Even at present rates some shipping men declare that a well-managed ship ought to make a gross profit of $60 a ton a year. With such profits possible, it is argued that the Government ought not to sell the ships now, but operate them four or five years, get its $2,800,000,000 investment back, and then sell them at whatever they would bring.

Objections to Government Ownership

The current, however, is setting against government ownership. The Shipping Board has recommended a policy of selling the ships, as fast as opportunity offers, on easy terms with interest at 5 per cent. on the deferred payments, setting aside 1 per cent. and government insurance profits to create a merchant marine fund with which to finance unprofitable routes and otherwise assist American shipping. In the meantime, under its war powers, the board is selling its ships rapidly, especially the smaller steel and wooden ships, and is using the proceeds to continue the revised building program of larger ships. A hundred of the smaller steel ships built on the Great Lakes were disposed of in a single sale for $80,000,000. These ships went to foreign buyers, being especially suitable for the Mediterranean and like trades, but the rule is not to sell any vessel of over 6000 tons dead-weight to any but American buyers. At this writing 122 steel ships of 465,745 dead-weight tons have been sold for $99,642,060; and 63 wooden ships of 246,982 tons for $27,545,680.

Mr. Rosseter insists that the Shipping Board fleet is far too large for any single human agency; much less a government, especially a government organization, to run efficiently. He considers that a fleet of about 200 vessels is the limit even for the best private management. Himself one of the ablest shipping managers in the world, he declares that the task is far beyond him. He and men like him have served and are still serving the Shipping Board from a sense of patriotic duty—giving up salaries of as high as $100,000 a year for the Government's $7500 or $10,000. These men are now going back to private life. The Government will never again have such a galaxy of brains at its disposal as it has had in the days of trial. If it keeps the ships it will have to manage them with inferior men, and the red tape, inertia, stupidity, and angularity of bureaucracy—not to mention the possibilities of political interference—will, it is argued, gradually, if not rapidly, assert themselves; resulting in the end in loss from operations and an obsolete fleet. On the other hand, selling the ships as rapidly as possible, and operating the rest, it is held that the Government will gradually be able to unload the burden on many competent shoulders, get much of its original investment back, create a great widely owned, well-managed merchant marine which will hereafter grow and thrive on its own merits—for there is general agreement that we can henceforth build ships in competition with all the world and operate them, with good management, at a profit in the same competition.

These are some aspects of the problem that is before Congress and the people. However it is dealt with, we have the ships, we have the men, we have the trade, and our mighty grip on the sea trade will never be released. The flag is on the high seas again—and there to stay. On that we are all agreed.



VITRIMONT, AS REBUILT AFTER WAR'S DESTRUCTION BY TWO AMERICAN WOMEN, MRS. CROCKER AND MISS POLK
(Before the war Vitrimont was a small French village, dirty and run down at the heels. To-day it is "Spotless Town")

EFFORTS TO REBUILD FRENCH VILLAGES

BY MAJ. GEORGE B. FORD, OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

(Director of *La Renaissance des Cités*)

TWO years ago, in motoring along the old battle front of the Marne, I passed through three little farming villages near Vitry-le-François. Nothing was left but a heap of ruins all grown over with weeds and not a living soul in sight—utter desolation—the waste of war.

A few days ago I went back there again. In the three little villages of Glannes, Huiron and Courdemanges, it was as if a magic wand had been waved over the ruins; fine, sturdy farm barns and comfortable homes had sprung into being; the fields were all being plowed and the villages looked like any of the thousands for which France is so famous, excepting that here everything was new and clean. Better yet, while the villagers were rebuilding they had taken advantage of the opportunities and had really tried to modernize the construction. The buildings were all in the architectural style so familiar in the departments of the Marne and the Meuse in France—long, rambling buildings, red-tiled roofs, and walls of local field stone and brick, sometimes covered with plaster. The farm buildings were all arranged around a large interior court or farm yard with the house on the street. Few of the farmers have, as yet, been able to rebuild all of their buildings, but, like our New England farmers, they all start with the big barn, even though the family have to live for the time being in a rough wooden shack.

Coöperative Building

I stopped to speak to an alert-looking farmer and he proved to be the mayor of the village of Glannes and the treasurer of the Reconstruction Coöperative Society which had rebuilt all three of these villages. About two years ago a government official in the French Ministry of Agriculture, Commandant Doiree, took it upon himself to see if he could not find some way of getting the farmers to combine forces for rebuilding. Commandant Doiree remembered that in the big floods around Paris in 1910, some of the towns up the river had formed small coöperative organizations for rebuilding, and the idea had succeeded. So he decided to try it on the French farmer in the towns that had been destroyed in the Battle of the Marne in 1914. He had a hard time at first, because the French peasant is by nature conservative and slow to change his ideas.



HUT AT ST. NICHOLAS, FRANCE, BUILT OF CORRUGATED IRON, PAPER, AND WOOD
(The words *"Maison habitée"* are used to indicate to newcomers that this hut is occupied)

However, he persisted and finally got several of these societies organized and at work. I asked the mayor if the members of his organization would recommend the plan to the other farmers in the devastated regions.

"Without any exception," was the reply. "We all believe most heartily in the idea; there is not one man in the lot that is not a thorough convert. We have found that it pays. I will show you our books." The account books show that already 400,000 francs have been spent on buildings for the members of the Coöperative Society; they have already built thirty large farm barns, with dependencies, and six houses. And all of this with virtually no expense in cash to the property-owners.

Cash Advances by the Government

The scheme is very simple, so simple that you wonder why it is not being done everywhere from Belgium to Alsace. The property-owners get together and constitute a coöperative society; they employ one architect for all the members and then they go to the government and ask to have their damages appraised. The government sends expert appraisers who report, on the basis of values as they were in 1914, the property damage sustained by each owner. Despite the fact that the war indemnity bill is not yet voted in France, the Ministry of the Liberated Regions is making advances to the damaged proprietors up to 75 per cent. of their estimated losses when they are acting individually, and up to 90 per cent. of the estimated losses when they are members of a reconstruction coöperative society. This fifteen per cent. extra encouragement shows how the government feels about the value of these coöperative societies.

Other Government Aid

As soon as the members of the coöperative society know how much credit they can get from the government right away, they ask the Coöperative's architect to make plans for their farm buildings, starting with the big farm barn. Then they get several contractors to estimate on all of the buildings in one job, with the understanding that no more shall be built for any one proprietor than he has credit to pay for. One contractor is chosen for all of the work of the Coöperative and he sets to work. The French Government furnishes skilled German prisoners who cost the contractor only four francs a day, including their board and lodging, and then he takes on such other French workers as he may need to round out his force. He gets most of the building material from the Engineering Corps of the French Army at cost and he gets transportation in the same way. If there is anything the French Government cannot furnish him, he goes out and buys it.

As the building work proceeds the contractor presents his bills to the architect, who verifies them and then presents them to the Coöperative Society. The Cöperative in turn verifies them and then sends them to the local service of the Ministry of Liberated Regions, who pays the bills against the allowed advance on the indemnity. If the Coöperative Society has incurred any expenses outside of the bills, these, too, are presented to and paid by the government, always against the indemnity advances.

The result is that the Coöperative Societies, with the help they get from the gov-



A TYPE OF SUBSTANTIAL PORTABLE HUTS THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS ERECTING AT LA BASSÉE AND OTHER DESTROYED TOWNS TO HOUSE THE REFUGEES



HOUSES IN A FRENCH VILLAGE REBUILT BY THE COÖPERATIVE PLAN

ernment, in view of the fact that the reconstruction work costs two and one-half times as much as it did in 1914, are actually able to rebuild over half of their original plant without having to put any of their own cash into it, whereas the isolated individual who rebuilds in the ordinary way of business can rarely rebuild more than a quarter of the original plant without going into his own pocket. The job of rebuilding the devastated regions is so stupendous that if each individual is going to rebuild by himself the work will never be done. It is only by some sort of united effort and pooling of interests that any change in the situation can be made.

Two California Women Rebuild a Village

There is another way in which united effort can and in fact in one case has actually accomplished the reconstruction of a whole village.

The little farming village of Vitrimont, down in the rolling hills of the Department of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, had some 265 inhabitants before the war. It was a typical farming village of the region, having two wide main streets with a line of manure piles and farm-wagons the length of either side. It was as dirty as any other town of the region. In 1914 it was completely destroyed by the Germans. A group of California women, headed by Mrs. Crocker and Miss Daisy Polk, asked Prefet Mirman of the Department of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, to give them a village to reconstruct; he offered Vitrimont.

In the fall of 1916, I passed through the village and in the one remaining house I found Miss Daisy Polk installed, buried in blue prints and estimates; the first workmen were arriving that day—fifty of them that she had gathered together from anywhere in France. It looked like a hopeless job, but it did not daunt her.

A New "Spotless Town"

I went back there again last spring, and I found myself walking down the "Rue de Californie" in as charming a model village as you could hope to find outside of a child's picture-book. Everything was spotlessly clean; the manure piles had disappeared behind the houses; even the decrepit farm wagons that used to line the streets had disappeared somewhere; trees were planted along the streets and the houses and farm-buildings themselves, which recalled all that was best in the local style of architecture, were gay and attractive with their red-tiled roofs and their harmoniously painted doors and windows; even the windows looked different because they had been increased in size and number and the rooms which they opened into were now full of sunlight. Inviting benches were in front of the houses and boxes full of bright flowers were in the windows.

I went inside and found clean, tiled floors and attractive painted walls—no more of the seven-layer-deep wall-paper which the department stores used to foist on the undiscriminating farmers. There was good substantial furniture and a general air of well-being and homelikeness which was a joy to



A GROUP OF TEMPORARY DWELLINGS ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS FOR THE FRENCH AT SERMAIZE

see. Even the foul privies had given place to more sanitary arrangements and the wells had been protected against the infiltration of harmful matter. The farm yards were orderly, with everything in its place. A feeling of self-respect and a desire to live up to the surroundings seemed to have come over the whole village.

This fortunate village seemed to be very happy in its good luck; for, after all, the villagers have now everything that they had before, with lots of new and better things added, and it did not cost them a cent. They simply made an arrangement with their benefactors whereby all of the eventual indemnity which they will receive some day from the French Government will be ceded directly to the American group, who, in turn, expect to use it for whatever public buildings or services the village may need for their common use.

The work is most inspiring—a really wonderful object-lesson of what might be done in most of the 2500 destroyed villages and towns. For if the greater part of them are to be reconstructed with the devotion that has been shown in Vitrimont, the liberated regions of France will become the Utopia of the world.

The Big Towns

However, when it comes to the question of reconstructing cities like Lens, Cambrai, Arras, etc., the proposition is a more difficult one. Take Lens, for example — a prosperous coal-mining town of some 32,000 inhabitants before the war. It is now so completely wiped out that you can almost traverse the length of the city without realizing that you are passing through what was once one of the most active industrial centers of France. One can stand in the main street in the center of the town and in every direction as far as one can see there are nothing but formless heaps of broken bricks and sticks of wood, with occasionally a fantastic mass of twisted iron, the only thing which rises a little above the level of the eye. You wonder how any one knows where to begin to tackle such a problem. The rich coal beds are still there under the ground and within a couple of years the engineers will have part of the mines again in operation. The miners and their families and all the attendant business of the town will have to come back. It must come back, for the future of France depends on the utilization to the fullest extent of its natural resources.

Difficult Problems of Reconstruction

The big problems which every town has to face are, first: What to do with the materials taken out of the ruins. Of course, if there are some swamps around the town they could be filled up so that the land could be used for industry. But in most towns it is much more difficult.

Then, second, there is the problem of the unexploded shells which lie buried everywhere in the ruins. They make it impossible to use our modern steel shovels, as the



HOUSE AND BARN ERECTED BY THE COOPERATIVE SCHEME



CH-DAMAGED BUILDING AT ST. CATHERINE, FRANCE, NOW DOING DUTY AS A GROCERY STORE, AS IT DID BEFORE THE WAR

rds show that one in ten of the shells odes when hit. Already hundreds of ıle have been killed or seriously wound- n the clearing-up process. To-day there over 280,000 German prisoners, colo- ;, and others, at work, clearing up the s and the ruins. But after signing of e it is a great question where the labor oming from to do this dangerous but t necessary work.

There is yet another problem—the question of property rights. There are so many little property-owners who have nothing in the world except the land on which their home and shop used to stand! They cannot afford to buy new land, and unless the government can find some way of carrying the further burden of giving them new land to replace that on which their home used to stand, their position is going to be almost hopeless.

When you realize that there are some 2500 of these destroyed towns and villages, with over half a million buildings damaged, of which well over 200,000 are completely destroyed; when you realize that there are over 2,000,000 people dispossessed—over one-twentieth of the best earning power of France—and that probably 95 per cent. of these people want to get back as



USE AND SHED REBUILT BY INDIVIDUAL EFFORT IN VASSINCOURT

soon as they can to their business or industry, you begin to get some idea of the stupendousness of the task before the French Government and the French builders and bankers.

However, they are all tackling their problems with a will. Of course, the work goes slowly at first, as it must be organized on a big scale if anything effective is going to be done. In other words, the government is concentrating now on the most urgent things that must be done first if the big reconstruction program of the future is going to be carried out in its logical sequence, and the American and French relief units working in the devastated regions are doing a wonderful work in keeping up the morale of the pioneers who have come back.

Restoring the Land to Cultivation

The first thing is to get the farming land back into cultivation and the 280,000 men that are working on this job are making rapid progress. By next fall, except for the 275,000 acres of land that are so badly churned up that it is quite worthless trying to do anything to them, the best part of the 2,000,000 acres that need attention will be back under cultivation.

As far as there is a means of earning a livelihood, either in agriculture, commerce, or industry, the refugees are coming back and the government is having thousands of demountable houses and barns made and sent up to the devastated regions, and in addition is taking over hundreds of barracks from the army which it is setting up as receiving stations until the refugees can be housed on their own properties. The Committee for Relief of Belgium is helping greatly on this and is now providing and setting up, with the help of 600 men from the United States Navy, some 360 large barracks. The American Red Cross is also furnishing some 200 demountable houses, and the Anglo-American Society of Friends is providing and setting up some 700 more, in addition to having repaired about 800 houses.

Hundreds of government tractors are already at work in the devastated regions. Farming implements and machines, seeds, fertilizer, cattle, poultry, etc., are being supplied to the returning refugees against their eventual indemnity.

One of the first impressions on traveling through the devastated regions is that the task is too enormous for any human beings to undertake. It looks hopeless. However, as you see here and there on every hand all of the thousand little attempts that are being made to bring order out of chaos, you begin to realize that after all the resurrection is already well started and that, thanks to the indomitable spirit of the French, the silver lining is not far off.



CHATEAU-THIERRY TO-DAY

IS BRITAIN GOING BANKRUPT?

AN ENGLISHMAN'S SURVEY OF THE SITUATION

BY P. W. WILSON

(Special Correspondent of the London *Daily News*)

IN August, 1914, London was still the leading money market of the world. Even at that time, however, most forward-looking people had realized that with Europe acutely divided by political feuds and burdened by military despotism, the center of financial gravity must pass before long westwards across the Atlantic. In the United States, the war has made twenty thousand new millionaires, and there is high financial authority for the statement that the country is richer than she was even when she entered into active hostilities. But the Old World is terribly impoverished. The cost of the war has been at least 200 billion dollars. War wastage amounts to a further 250 billion dollars. Nearly all of this loss falls on Europe, and the question to-day is no longer where financial preëminence lies—that is decided inevitably in favor of the American Republic—but to what extent the actual solvency of European nations is impaired. The United States has lent about nine and one-half billion dollars to her friends in the war, and of this immense sum half has gone to England. It is the situation in England that I propose to examine.

England's Napoleonic War Debt Quadrupled

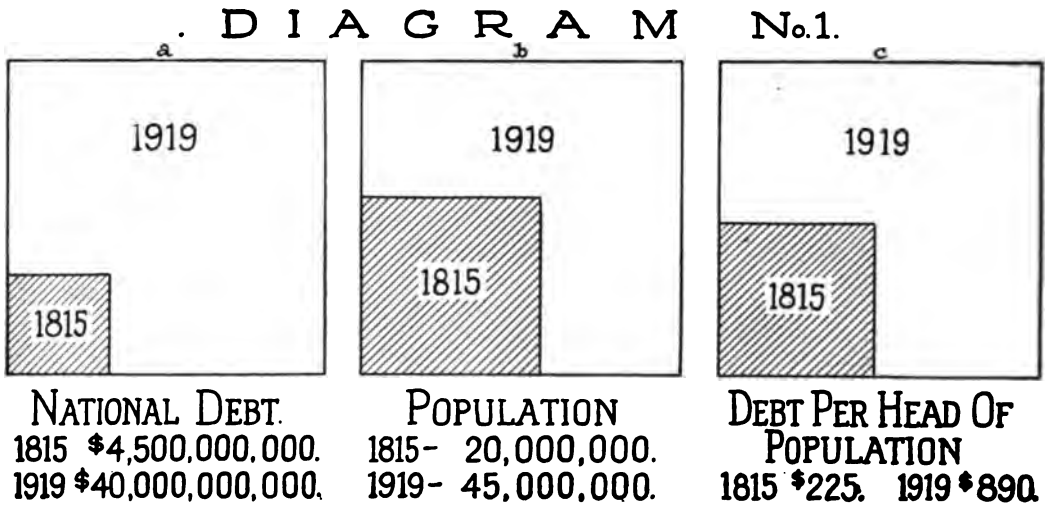
About one hundred years ago, the battle of Waterloo ended the career of Napoleon. After twenty years of war, the United Kingdom was left with a total debt of four and one-half billions of dollars. Including Ireland, she had then a population of twenty millions, and the amount of debt per head was therefore $225. Now consider the position to-day. In the five years ending in August, Britain has spent fifty billion dollars. By taxes she has raised fifteen billion dollars and she has borrowed thirty-five billion dollars. Her total national debt is thus at least forty billion dollars. Her population has risen to forty-five millions, and the average debt per head is about $890, or four times the burden after Napoleon's defeat.

It is quite true that against this later debt certain assets should be reckoned. To her Dominions and her Allies Britain has lent eight and one-half billion dollars, but of this sum nearly three billion dollars has gone to Russia and must be written off. Italy has had two billions while Belgium and Serbia between them have received half a billion. The rest has gone to France. Between friends who have suffered together you cannot drive a hard bargain, and Britain will be fortunate if ultimately she realizes 50 per cent. of these obligations.

Since the Napoleonic era her wealth has enormously increased, but it must be clearly understood that the extent of her empire is wholly irrelevant to the problem of her solvency. With a great empire, Spain was bankrupt and her finances actually improved when she lost Cuba. It is quite true that imperially Great Britain means 450 million persons. But financially her population is one-tenth of this. Mindful of their own history, there are still Americans who think that Britain taxes her colonies and this impression is confirmed by certain Irish propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Indian, Dominion and Colonial budgets are quite separate from the British budget, nor is their money voted by Parliament, save in so far as these possessions receive subsidies. The British balance sheet therefore rests entirely on British shoulders.

Four Times as Heavily Mortgaged as America

Before the war Britain was undoubtedly saving money. Every year she invested nearly two billions of dollars. As a result her property of every kind, including foreign securities, rose to at least eighty-five billions of dollars. It is against this figure that she has had to raise her national mortgage of forty billions. Some authorities would put the wealth of Britain higher than eighty-five billions, but on the most favorable assumption she has borrowed up to 40 per cent. of her accumulated heritage.



GREAT BRITAIN'S NATIONAL DEBT OF 1919 COMPARED WITH THAT OF 1815

Let us see how in this respect she compares with the United States. The wealth of this country is 225 billion dollars. Her debt amounts to twenty-six and one-half billion dollars, or under 11 per cent. of total wealth.

In other words, the British mortgage is four times as severe as the American mortgage. Since the population of the United States is more than double that of the United Kingdom, the comparison holds good broadly for debt per head. The British figure is $890 and the American is $200 per head.

Britain's Revenues Equal to Those of United States

Naturally there arises the question, what sacrifice Britain will have to make if she is to pay interest and sinking fund on her debt. Before the war it is calculated that the total income of residents in the United Kingdom, received as wages, salaries, profits, dividends, and so on, was eleven or twelve billions annually. Roughly, it was $5 a week per person. Of this income, the state received in taxes one billion, or one-tenth. After Waterloo, it is calculated that about one-third of the total national income went to the state.

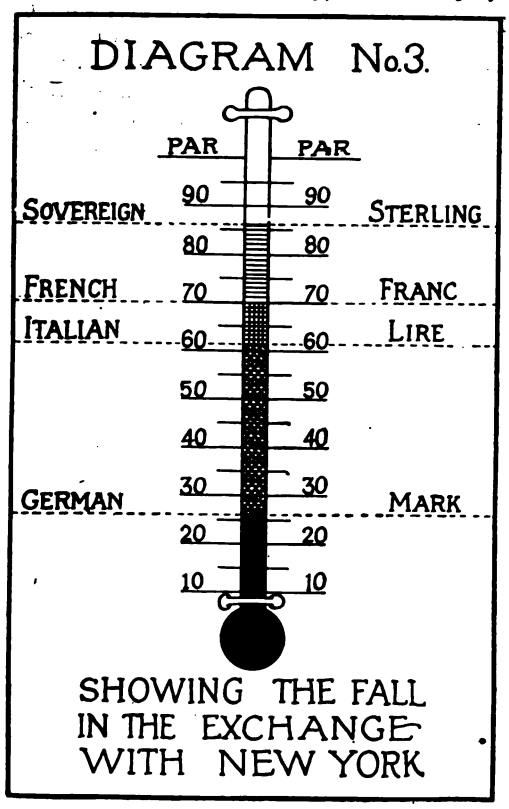
In the current year Britain will raise about six billion dollars, or almost exactly the same sum as the revenue which Mr. Secretary Glass estimates for the United States, yet Britain has less than half the wealth and less than half the population of this country. In a normal year of peace she must raise two billion dollars, or more than double her former revenue for the service of her debt alone—that is, for interest and a sinking fund of ½ per cent. For many years to come she must face taxes of four and one-half to five billion dollars annually. This means that she is easily back again at the Napoleonic standard of taxation.

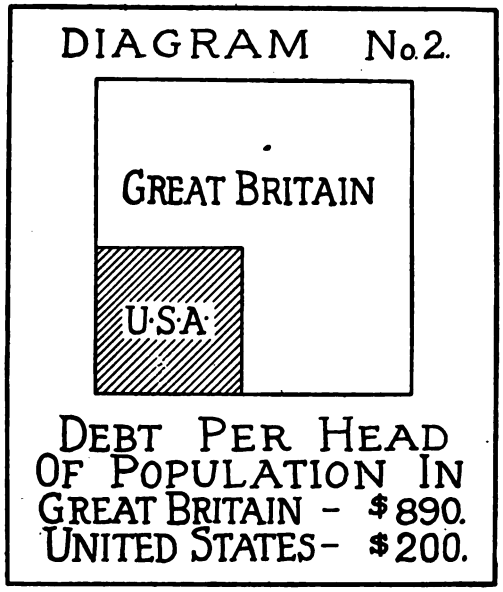
Indeed, Britain's situation would be worse if it were not for the fact that her total national income has greatly increased owing to higher wages, pensions and allowances. It is this increase which will probably enable Britain to retain some part of her pre-war saving fund. Despite much social extravagance of a temporary character, the war has taught the people how to invest their money with the state.

We are now in a position to understand the recent warnings uttered by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, his Finance Minister. The current fiscal year ends in March, 1920. It was estimated that Britain would spend seven billion dollars. As revenue we should raise six billion dollars, and our deficit, due to reconstruction and demobilization, would be one billion dollars. It has been abundantly clear, however, that our spending departments would not keep within even these colossal figures. On aircraft no less a sum than 300 million dollars was to be lavished. Before the war the entire British Navy did not cost that amount. Actually, 25,000 aeroplanes are being constructed! As for the Navy, 700 million dollars was assigned, which was more than double what that navy cost when it was faced by the German fleet. In these estimates there was neither rhyme nor reason, and a startling series of by-elections con-

vinced Mr. Lloyd George that he must either economize or quit. Among other things, giant Zeppelins are being cancelled, while even Lord Fisher denounces mammoth battleships.

Knowing the British Treasury fairly intimately, I am satisfied that if they estimate a revenue of six billion dollars, they will get it. This, however, does not mean that the said revenue will be of necessity permanent. It includes at least one billion derived from sale of surplus war goods. It also includes one and one-half billion of excess profits, which levy is admittedly temporary. In two years, therefore, the revenue will automatically fall to four and one-half billion dollars, even if the country remains industrially prosperous. Hence the anxiety that production should be in every way stimulated. This result depends first upon avoidance of strikes and secondly upon taking back into industry all who have been demobilized whether from the army or from munition works. On the whole, there is less unemployment in Britain than might have been feared. When the armistice was signed, 199 out of 200 wage-earners were at work. Idleness was negligible. Although millions have been turned back into peaceful industry, the unemployment returns still continue under 3 per cent., and I imagine that the worst is over, provided always that an economic crisis can be avoided.





Last year, without her latest taxes, Britain raised the astonishing sum of four and one-half billion dollars. It was, of course, the direct tax that did it, and it is now evident that for such revenue purposes, the yield of customs duties, though important, is quite a subordinate item. France has to face the same situation, and one reason why there has been such a demand for reparation by Germany is the fear of French statesmen lest they may be overwhelmed by the old standing hostility of the French people to declaring their property and income. During the general election of last autumn, Mr. Lloyd George declared that Germany would be made to pay for the war. From whatever Germany pays, Great Britain must now expect to receive little or nothing by comparison with her liabilities.

Hence the desire by many people that there should be a capital levy which would cut the war loss once for all. The plan would be to reckon everybody dead and levy on them estate duties. Some enthusiasts proposed to kill the nation a second time in ten years. Others, however, maintain that whatever is gained by a capital levy would be lost in income-tax returns. For Americans the important point to notice is that no capital levy would injure the foreign holders of British securities. No national debt as such would be seized and the levy would

only fall on persons who, owing to residence in Britain are already liable to her taxation.

In the International Market

Everything thus depends upon Britain maintaining her commerce. Here her main difficulty at the moment is the fall in the value of the sovereign sterling from a par value of $4.86 to $4.21 or even to a less figure. This means that Britain pays to the United States 13 cents to the dollar extra in exporting her goods while receiving from the United States 13 cents to the dollar too little in exchanging the sale. It is perfectly true that in all the great European nations Britain is the cheapest in the most favorable sense. The French franc has fallen 75 per cent. The Italian lire has fallen 80 per cent and the German mark 99 per cent.

The result is obvious. In the year ending June 30 the exports of the United States were seven and one-quarter billion dollars while the imports were only three billion dollars leaving a balance in her favor of four billion dollars or reckoning silver more than this. Until recently the exchanges were supported because among other things Congress had authorized credits in this country not to exceed ten billion dollars. This limit has now been almost reached and Mr. Hoover has asked that a further three or four billion dollars be advanced. London is to some extent embarrassed because she is the creditor of every country except the United States and other countries anxious to deal with the United States use London as the medium.

Various schemes have been proposed whereby the exports from the United States may be financed through combinations of banks allowing some form of long credit. At the time of writing these measures are still delayed with the result that in the month of July there was a sharp fall of 35% million dollars in American exports while American imports increased fifteen million. It is obvious that in the long run European countries cannot go on buying from the United States unless they give something more tangible than paper in exchange. That value must come directly from Britain since she alone can pay the United States by exporting coal to Italy or machinery to the Argentine. Hence the seriousness of the recent addition of six shillings a ton to the price of her coal which is one of the commodities that she has to offer.

Even before the war, the United States exported 500 millions of dollars worth more than she imported, but Britain paid for these goods by freights and with the interest due to her on her American investments. I suppose that about a billion dollars' worth of these investments have been sold back to the United States, which fact shows how important it is for Britain to retain her share of the carrying trade of the world. Some people think that the balance can be made even by means of shipments of gold. It is quite true that Germany has recently disposed of an immense sum from her gold reserve, but the total production of gold throughout the world is only 300 million dollars a year, and although the South African output, amounting to 170 million dollars a year, may help matters by transferring British indebtedness from New York to the Cape, the fact remains that gold is no solution. Already in the United States it is passing from currency into manufacture, showing that it is more valuable as a commodity than as a coin.

Thus there is nothing for Britain except the simple plan of working out her salvation, and I use the term "working out" advisedly. She has to take raw materials and turn them into manufactures, beginning first with her own coal and iron. Happily her exports of manufactured articles are increasing. Despite the terrible disadvantage of having to buy at a premium from the United States, the world's shortage is such that there are markets for whatever Britain has to sell. The American exchange may be against her, but the continental exchanges are in her favor.

American Money in Europe

It may be that certain other factors will assist the situation. In the United States there are many families of European descent who remember with their friends in the [illegible]. The distresses of Germany and Eastern Europe will tend to increase the amount of these remittance gifts. Also, immense numbers of Americans are likely to visit Europe during the next year or two and to spend there considerable sums of money. Obstacles that will be made against both of these will be changed or subjected to revenue duties. During the war what I may call moral emigration, especially to Italy, was almost suspended, but there are now a million or two Americans, or at least residents in America, who wish to go back to their former homes and there

the savings which they have made in ountry.

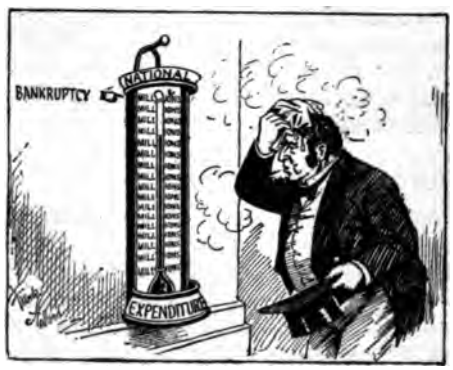
ally, as a rectifying circumstance, I mention the inescapable laws of politi- onomy. Americans know that if they their money over to England they can ase British securities at 13 per cent. e cost price. That is a tremendous in- ent, especially as it is morally certain par value will be restored in a short of time.

Argument for a Preferential Tariff

sibly I ought to say a word upon the ntertained by British protectionists that over there might be helped if there a prohibitive tariff and preferential ar- ments within the British Empire. It be plain that the state of the exchange s a tariff, at any rate against the United , and the embargo on American goods largely lifted) has been fiercely re- l by British Liberalism and Labor on round that it inspires profiteering. To rritories under the British sovereignty, have been immense additions, and to- his sovereignty includes nearly a third e human race. It has been clear to British thinkers that the rest of the would have serious reasons for jeal- if there were not equal trade facilities ll nations within the British Empire, specially within those portions of the re which have not yet received self- nment.

e basis of British commerce must be ational rather than imperial. It has s been so. While Britain traded large- h Canada, so did they also trade with Argentine. Of Britain's three chief markets—India, China and the Near —only India was within the British re. While we are often told that a butory cause of the war was the com- l rivalry between Great Britain and any, the actual records show that each ese two countries imported into the a higher value of goods than Germany imported into or received from Austria-Hungary, although the population of Austria-Hungary is 50 per cent. higher than the population of the United Kingdom. The British export trade with Germany was considerably more valuable than her export trade with the United States and each country was undoubtedly adding to the wealth of the other.

If, then, Britain only maintains her output, she may rest assured that she will always have a market, nor need she mind very much where she sells her goods. With the return of peace, there comes a reversal of war conditions. A year ago, it was essential that Britain with her Allies should maintain a blockade of Germany. To-day it is reported from Cologne that British agents are anxious to sell to German buyers who wish to purchase, but that there is no currency in which payment can be made owing to the depreciation of the mark. So is it that little by little, after the great catastrophe, do we find human solidarity restored. About the commercial activity of Britain there can be no doubt. Credit banks are being established to develop special lines of foreign trade. We may take it that inflated currency will be quietly reduced as opportunity offers. A hard struggle lies ahead, but we have escaped the worst disasters.



THE FINANCIAL THERMOMETER

JOHN BULL: "Phew! If it keeps on getting hotter like this I shall simply collapse."

From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)

UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

BY JOHN ERSKINE

[Professor Erskine's ten years of experience as a member of the faculty of Columbia University would alone entitle him to a hearing on matters relating to the educational training of American youth. His recent service in France renders him the more qualified to discuss the subject and to make constructive suggestions. Professor Erskine was chairman of the Educational Corps Commission of the American Expeditionary Forces and educational director at the University established by our army at Beaune, France.—THE EDITOR]

NO problem now before the United States is more important than the question of national education. Even while we were preparing for war we had occasion to feel some alarm at certain weaknesses in our educational system revealed by those preparations. At the same time so amazed were we at the resourcefulness of our national character in times of stress, that we asked why our great national resources of character and of skill should not be mobilized more completely in times of peace for the constant good of the country. Now that the war is past we find ourselves facing the special problem of training for national defense. Some kind of army we must have, large or small, and some kind of training. Shall we give this training only to a group of professional soldiers? Shall this training look only to the contingencies of war?

Suggestions Based on Recent Experience

Some of us who have been working with our fellow citizens on foreign soil, and from that distance have been looking back toward our country, studying it with increased affection and perhaps also with increased concern, earnestly hope that our people at home will compel training for national defense, and that they will interpret national defense in a larger way than any nation has yet thought of. We have in mind of course the total needs of American education—the need of more and better schools, the need of large revisions in college and university curricula, the need of a strong national department of education. For the moment, however, we have in mind particularly the defects of education observed in the United States Army in France, and also what the educational program in the American E. F. has done to remedy those defects; and since we are convinced that the time has come for all progressive nations to organize for peace as well as for war, conceiving of national defense as preparation for peace and war, we would address ourselves for the moment to the specific problem of national training.

Compulsory Training—Half Military, Half Civil

The principles according to which we would envisage such national training, are five. In the first place, the idea of universal service should be expanded to include training for all other duties of citizenship beside military, and to include training of all prospective citizens, even of those physically unfit for military service. In the second place, the present temporary cantonments in the United States, or equivalent cantonments, should be converted at once into permanent training schools for citizenship. In the third place, a permanent educational corps should be added to the army; this corps should be formed of the most competent experts in school, in vocational, and in the more elementary college subjects; from time to time competent officers in other branches of army service should be assigned to this corps. In the fourth place, there should be a compulsory training period of twelve months with the colors, from September first to September first or from June first to June first, or between any other dates which should be found practical—care being taken simply to fit this period into other educational or vocational obligations. This training should be begun between the ages approximately of eighteen or twenty, perhaps a little earlier or a little later, as experience might prove advisable. Approximately one-half of this

g should be for military science and ysical development, the other half for g under military discipline in school, itional, or in college subjects. In the lace, the citizen in training should be elect the kind of civil education he s, with the exception that training in itary subjects should be compulsory terates and for the foreign-born.

al Deficiencies Exposed by the Draft

mobilization of the American Army strated that an astounding number of born citizens are illiterate, and that foreign-born citizens a still larger r cannot read or write the English ge, and in some cases cannot under- t. The mobilization demonstrated also appalling number of our young men t in proper physical condition. It is y that any economic or social pressure nd to remedy these evils. The illiter- izen can make a living of a sort more satisfactory to himself, and the for- rn can associate with others of his and both classes can avoid that social m which would urge them toward te citizenship. In fact, economic and pressure tends actually to segregate in untry the illiterate elements and the groups of foreign-born, and unless strenuous effort is made to weld all groups into one, there is no likelihood nge in these unfortunate conditions. program of education in the A. E. F. monstrated, on the other hand, that rief courses of study followed inten- under military discipline are adequate rect illiteracy and to teach our lan-

The whole experience of our Army strates further that if brought together mmon purpose the various elements of pulation can be speedily made into one

We should now find a means to these benefits for our country in time e.

those soldiers who are neither il- nor unable to command the Engli. ge show to a distressing degree the ncy of our popular education. The aiting to return to the United States thetically eager to master some trade e profession in order to be sure of a place in the society to which they urning. Far more than one-half of E. F. are without definite training r trade or profession and perhaps be-

cause of the intellectual stimulus of their experiences in the war the men themselves are uncomfortably aware of their lack. It is disturbing to think that they may miss their proper place in their generation. It is more disturbing to reflect, however, that even had they not come to Europe in the army, they would still have been without training for professions or trades; in fact, through the army educational program they are now accidentally receiving such training and preparation for citizenship as is provided nowhere in the United States for any large group of men. It seems folly not to make permanent in our national life for all citizens the advantages which many soldiers now temporarily enjoy.

A Satisfactory Average, Greatly Improved

The mobilization of our army has shown on the other hand how rich potentially the manhood of our nation is, and how quickly it responds to the regular life and the scientific care which even a hurried preparation for war supplied. The soldiers in general enjoy such health as is the rule in no other community. The total discipline of their life — regular hours, rational diet and decorum of conduct—has brought out their best physical and moral traits, so that to look at the average group of American soldiers is a satisfaction; and this condition of health and good living has quickened to the full their intellectual capacities, so that those who have taught them in all subjects from the most elementary to the most advanced have wondered at their eagerness and ability to learn.

Furthermore, the life in the army has developed in our youth a sense of social cooperation which some of us had feared was lacking in the American character. No body of men in our country seems now more eager to study and to deal intelligently with the social problems which confront us than the men of the army who have been learning in a kind of laboratory course what responsibility man owes to his fellow. The fact that in the army they have met other Americans from all parts of the country has developed a new sense of nationality; and the meeting in the same ranks of rich and poor has developed a new sense of democracy. These advantages of health and morale of intellectual awakening, of patriotism and of democratic sympathy we desire to provide for each generation in our country, so much for those who are using what little we

those who in time of the nation's need answer the call.

The Army a University of Citizenship

It is the logic of our course in this war that our army, organized to defend the ideals of civilization, is now proving itself to be a vast university of citizenship. It would be the most profitable result of the war for our country and for the world, should this university in citizenship become permanent for all our people.

This training should be provided for all men not mentally defective. Even those who are physically unfit for military service can derive great benefit from such bodily training as is suited to their needs, and quite as much as other men they can derive benefits from training in the non-military duties of citizenship. Much of the disruptive thinking in society is done by men physically handicapped, whose point of view toward their fellows is warped or embittered by their own misfortunes. In many cases their philosophy of life would be made more generous by an improvement in their health, and in all cases society owes it to them to provide even more adequate advantages than for those who start life without handicap. Association with their fellow citizens in a national system of training would probably develop in these men at least a greater sense of unity with the nation and an increase of pride in what they themselves could contribute to society as a whole. In a very large number of cases the physical defects which now handicap the youth of our country can easily be corrected, but like illiteracy they can be corrected only if society insists on bringing the individuals under the proper course of training.

Camps and Forts as Training Schools

The advantage of converting the present training cantonments or equivalent cantonments into permanent training schools is obvious. In our country much sentiment attaches to places of education, and if we are to instill in our national life a wise system of training in citizenship, it is in our temper to make of those places where this citizenship is taught shrines as it were of affection. If men look back with reverence to their college campus or to the school in which they first had some glimpse of the possibilities of life, there is reason why these larger schools should be far more deeply revered in which men from whole sections of the country will be brought together for training in the new defense of their homes—in the defense of their country against possible enemies on sea or land, and in its defense against disease, ignorance and incompetency.

In these permanent schools much of the equipment now used for purposes of war could be used constantly for purposes of peace. The materials which in times of war must be gathered hurriedly, instruments for engineering, for chemical research, for hospital and sanitary service, would be maintained at the highest point of excellence in the laboratories of these schools. At the American E. F. University at Beaune the laboratories in chemistry, physics, bacteriology, medicine, biology, engineering, fine arts, and music, have been supplied largely out of the resources of the army. On the return of the army to the United States it would be in the highest degree desirable if these laboratories could continue to serve educational purposes, and other laboratories also on a much larger scale, which would then be available at short notice for any emergency of national defense.

An Educational Corps

If it is desirable to maintain for permanent uses the material instruments which our army temporarily collects for war, it is still more desirable to retain for the advantage of our country in times of peace the educational resources which the army must also improvise for war. A part of the duty of the modern army involves scholarship of a high order, knowledge of languages, of history, of international politics and of course of the sciences. A nation which trains for all duties of citizenship, civil as well as military, will find it advantageous to develop in peace times the same scholarship in the same things.

To conduct such schools as are described above, experts would be needed for the teaching of all elementary and secondary school subjects, for the teaching of trades and vocations, and for the teaching of such subjects of college or university grade as the youth in training would be studying at the time. In addition to the experts who would form the nucleus of this educational corps, teachers should be recruited from officers in other branches of army service, who from time to time would thus have an opportunity to expand their own scholarship, and to make a direct contribution to the intellectual and social life of the country. Hitherto it has been only by accident that armies have been converted to do constructive social work;

after a war with Cuba, for example, the army surgeon is permitted to clean up a fever district. There is no reason why the training of engineers, of surgeons, of officers in every branch of the service, should not at all times be at the disposal of the country.

Equivalent to a School or College Year

It will be noted that in the period of training the proportion of non-military education is approximately equivalent to the amount of time devoted to study yearly in the average high school or college. The time therefore spent in national training would not be in addition to the years required for higher education. The period of training is so situated between high school and college that those young men, the comparatively few of our country, who enjoy a college education, can during the year of service cover the ground of their Freshman work, and can also learn habits of application and of study at the moment when they most need to learn them. In fact, it is not improbable that the months spent in the unusually favorable conditions of regular hours and good health will save time for the average student.

No one familiar with college life is blind to the fact that college students ordinarily waste the greater part of their time; this is true even if one admit that an important benefit of college life is the social contact established with other men of one's age. It is not so generally realized that the average college student is extremely careless in his diet, and on the whole is far below the physical state in which at his age he should be. It has been the hope of college athletics to correct this deplorable condition, but in this hope college athletics have been disappointing. Army life, however, as this war has demonstrated, provides for every soldier a finer system of training than athletes usually submit themselves to in times of peace. A student in perfect health will waste less time in idleness and will make greater progress when he does study than the average college boy as we have known him.

Let Each Boy Select His Studies

Obviously we must teach the illiterate to read and write, and we must teach the foreign-born to use our language. Aside from this obligation, however, an essential feature of national training should be the complete liberty of the man trained to select his studies. The nation should undertake during this year of training to advance him as far as possible in any course of study which he desires and is equipped to follow. If he looks forward to business, to agriculture, to industry, then his training should help him toward that career. If he expects to attend college, the training should take the place of his Freshman year. If he desires to study art, his training should be in art.

Experience with the educational program in the A. E. F. demonstrates the almost unthought-of potentialities in the American character. Our soldiers apparently have as great native endowments in the arts as the most favored of the Latin races, and a system of national training which should try to develop all the latent powers of the individual would shortly transform our national life. Perhaps the temptation of any such system as we are here suggesting would be to prescribe for the youth of the nation what it should study. This temptation must be absolutely avoided. To yield to it would be to overwhelm the whole country in that form of intellectual Prussianism which now fortunately is found only in the conservative catalogs of some of our universities—those which persist in prescribing subjects which have become dead, or in teaching vital subjects as though they were dead. Beyond this suggested system of national training, the universities should still pursue their work of teaching and research, functioning according to their special facilities. But the nation should undertake to make an inventory of its citizenship in each generation, and to advance every man as far as possible toward the work to which he feels called.

The Cost of National Training

Such a system of training as is here suggested would be very expensive. The items of expense would be the buildings and their upkeep, their equipment, the teachers who would form the framework of the educational corps, and the cost of providing subsistence for the men in training. All these expenses, however, should be charged frankly to national education, and the nation should realize that in one form or another this outlay is unavoidable. We may refuse to combat illiteracy and disease, we may refuse to assume responsibility for the making of the foreign elements in the United States into a unified nation; but in that case we shall pay for the support of poorhouses, of hospitals, of jails, and of police, and we shall pay even more heavily in loss of national health and efficiency. If we are to check the

ignorance, the disease and the discontent which in various ways menace our society, we must be ready to pay as much for education as we are now prepared to invest in international canals or in war bills.

It is a tendency of our country to disguise the cost of education. We remit taxes on educational buildings and on land devoted to educational purposes, and in our bookkeeping we distribute the cost of tuition. Yet even when the whole account is shown, it does not appear that we give generously to education, though as a nation we have enjoyed the reputation of great generosity in this field. Until we are ready to pay for popular education, we are not likely to achieve even approximately those minimum results which we sometimes try to make ourselves believe we are reaching. In order to give even one year of sound training to every young man in our country, it will be necessary to assume the cost as a national expense. There should of course be some financial return to the country in the greater efficiency of our citizens and in the decrease of disease and of irresponsibility. But whether or not such a result does follow, the nation should be asked now to face the internal peril of illiteracy and of ignorance as frankly and as generously as it faced the menace of an enemy from abroad.

Results of a Year of Training

A system of training so organized would have obvious advantages. In a general way each training camp would tend to become an educational center. More specifically, the annual inventory of our educational shortcomings would point out for our school system the task to which it should address itself. Undoubtedly the result would be that year by year the schools would send to the training camps generations better prepared; by keeping the election of the courses in the training camps entirely free, we should be able to assist each student to make progress from the point at which his education had left off, and the gradual rise of standard in the courses in this year of training would be the barometer of the intellectual progress of the nation. The year of training would also show which parts of the country were providing inadequate facilities for education, and means could be taken by the national Government to improve the elementary schools in those districts. It is not unlikely that as a result of this national training and of the statistics which it would make available, the nation would soon be persuaded, as it should have been persuaded long ago, to establish in the federal Government a strong department of education, and that department would collaborate with the army in training for citizenship.

But the most direct advantage would be for the large majority of our young men who at present receive no high school training at all, nor even much elementary education. To insure for them a reasonable start in life would be worth any cost and any effort. In no other way than by national training undertaken as a national expense can this vast body of each generation be sought out in the small town, on the farm, in the overcrowded city, and can be taught the things essential to each individual case. To care for this neglected majority would be really to train our nation.

Perhaps the by-product of such a system of training as is here outlined would be the bringing of the army into a sane relation with society. Through the fear of militarism which possesses the modern world, it has become our custom to support the army and to admire military science only in moments of extreme need. As a result, the soldier in war time receives an adulation perhaps exaggerated and in peace times he is neglected, feared, certainly put to no good use. At this moment, when our army thinks of returning, it is interesting to consider that every man in it hopes to go back to some constructive work for his country, except the professional soldier. He can look forward only to inactivity until the spasmodic need of him arises again. Perhaps society is wise in fearing the army which has nothing to do; it has been stupid, however, in finding no use for the army in time of peace. If we could add to the military functions of our army this constructive kind of national defense, we should be providing a noble and honored career for the man on whom in extreme moments the life of the nation depends. We should be bringing the soldier into constant relation with the social needs of the country he serves, and we should be teaching every youth within our borders that broad conception of citizenship expressed for the Anglo-Saxon race by John Milton, "I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public, of peace and war."

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A BRITISH DEFENSE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

EVEN those of us who have short memories can easily recall the time when President Wilson was bitterly assailed in the British press because of his refusal to abandon the attitude of neutrality that he had taken at the beginning of the war in 1914. It is interesting, therefore, to-day to find English writers coming to the support of the President when he is charged by his own countrymen with failure to secure at Paris a peace based upon the Fourteen Points. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* (London), Mr. H. Wilson Harris, makes an able defense of the President's course in the treaty negotiations of Paris.

This writer begins with the frank admission that the Fourteen Points are in direct antagonism to the decisions that Germany shall be excluded from a League of Nations open to all Allies and neutrals; that the Sarre Valley shall be severed from Germany against the will of its inhabitants; that Germany shall be disarmed while the Allies give no effective guarantees of disarmament at all; that Germans shall be pronounced incapable of administering colonies even under the League of Nations, while the colonial administration of such countries as Belgium and Portugal is left undisturbed; that the indemnity formula should be so drawn as to rob Germany of any industrial hope or incentive for a generation; and that large areas of German territory shall be held under military occupation for an indefinite period.

Mr. Harris further points to the contrast between the terms of the military conventions between Great Britain and America, respectively, and France and the President's Metropolitan Opera House declaration of September 27th, 1918, that "there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants or understandings within the general or common family of the League of Nations." But having granted these inconsistencies, Mr. Harris proceeds:

> It is superfluous, indeed, to labor the irreconcilability of the treaty with the Fourteen Points. The thing is palpable and needs no argument. But in tracing out the explanation of the course Mr. Wilson has chosen, or has been compelled, to follow, it is necessary to appreciate the magnitude of the moral victory the President had won before the peace negotiations began at all. The pledges that ended the actual fighting were based on his public declarations. The international standards he had erected were accepted practically without reserve by the whole of the Allied Powers, and it was recognition of the justice of those standards that reconciled Germany to acknowledging defeat and accepting all its consequences. The peace of which in November the world saw the promise was a Wilson peace. Its single basis was the President's *ipse dixit.* Never has such a tribute been paid to an individual statesman as was embodied in the Allied Governments' declaration of their willingness "to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's Address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses."
>
> But the Allies having made Mr. Wilson's principles their own, having pledged themselves to translate those principles into concrete enactments in the Treaty of Peace, the responsibility for an honorable fulfilment of that pledge rested as heavily on each of them as on President Wilson himself. It may be natural, but it is neither logical nor just, to concentrate on the President alone reproaches for failure to make the November undertaking good. To single him out, indeed, as the man whose personal default was responsible for the non-fulfilment of a common engagement is to suggest by implication that his fellow-signatories to the engagement were never seriously expected to fulfil it at all.

At the time of the armistice President Wilson's speeches had been published and read in all the Allied countries and especially in Great Britain. They had been accepted by the Allies as the basis of peace. In that acceptance was implied a complete re-

nunciation of all the old machinery and accompaniments of peace conferences—strategic frontiers, balances of power, transfer of populations against their will, territorial aggrandizement. When, however, the Conference opened at Paris it was quickly found that France was determined to stand for "a strategic frontier on the Rhine, the annexation of peoples for the sake of minerals, and the satisfaction of every Polish claim, reasonable or unreasonable, that would make Poland a more effective counterpoise to Germany in the East," while Mr. Lloyd George's election speeches had committed him to "fantastic indemnities and German colonies and the Kaiser's head on a charger." Also it was soon discovered that both Italy and Japan meant to stand out for the full execution of secret agreements antagonistic to the November pledge.

In these circumstances what could the President do? Mr. Harris reminds us that at Paris he was no chief executive with unlimited powers. He was one man out of a council sometimes of three, sometimes of four, sometimes of five. The other conferees had the advantage of him in their intimate knowledge of European controversies, while as the result of the November elections in the United States, he was not even able to speak for a majority of the American people. In spite of such disabilities, his critics demanded of the President that he should impose the full acceptance of his principles on the Conference. As Mr. Harris points out, to have done that he would have to succeed where every one of his colleagues on the Council of Five has failed.

> Every individual member of the Council had at some time to give ground on an issue he considered vital. Of the President alone it is demanded that he should neither have stood for compromise at the outset nor allowed himself to be forced into it by discussion.
>
> That is a perfectly just demand, for when principles are in question every compromise means a moral sacrifice. But what were the alternatives in the situations that arose? Take the provision in the treaty that has excited more hostility to Mr. Wilson in America than any other, the Shantung settlement. The decision there was hopelessly prejudiced from the first. Japan had claimed the succession to all German rights in China. In 1917 Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy had agreed by a secret engagement to support that claim at the peace conference. China, moreover, had accepted the situation in a treaty signed under duress in 1915, and reaffirmed her acceptance in 1918. All this meant a settlement in flat contradiction of the principles on which the armistice was signed. But at the conference the hands of Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau and Signor Orlando were tied. Mr. Wilson had to stand for the Fourteen Points alone. Japan made it known that if her claim was rejected she would leave the conference. That might have been bluff. The probability was that it was a perfectly serious menace. What it would have meant was the emancipation of Japan from all the obligations of the treaty and all the restraints attaching to membership in the League of Nations. It would have established an aggressive and embittered enemy within a day's steaming of the seaboard of a defenseless China. It would have dispelled finally all hope of settling by agreement the variety of delicate questions in which Japan is an interested party. Was it better to face that prospect or to accept Japan's surrender of sovereignty over Chinese territory and leave her with extensive economic rights over one of the most important of Chinese provinces, trusting to the League of Nations in the future to set wrong right? President Wilson acquiesced in the compromise. He may have been wrong, but his severest critics must at least congratulate themselves that it did not fall to them to decide such an issue as confronted him.

What other course was open to him? He might, it is true, "have shaken the dust of the Conference off his feet and gone home to advocate the return of America to her traditional isolation." To do so would have been to take the line of least resistance, and President Wilson has placed the whole world under a debt to him by refusing that temptation. On the question of Fiume he did appeal boldly to popular opinion; but his action did not make the smallest impression upon the existing deadlock. Had he appealed to British or French opinion against Mr. Lloyd George or M. Clemenceau, there is no likelihood that he would have met with any greater success.

It is idle to pretend that the present peace squares with his essential principles. The disposal of Shantung is only one flagrant violation of them. But it is, at least a far better peace than it would have been without Mr. Wilson's participation. "That he fought for his ideals even his critics have not questioned. His success was qualified because he was up against too much." But the saving feature of the peace is the League of Nations, and its actual creation is more due to him than to any living man. Mr. Harris criticizes him only on one point—that he must share the responsibility of all the American statesmen for not having given a definite promise that the United States would finance the reconstruction of Europe only on the basis of a Fourteen Points peace.

BOLSHEVISM IN PRACTICE

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD cannot be counted among the very few critics in these countries who are seriously endeavoring to discover the truth about Bolshevism, but he publishes in the July number of the *Socialist Review* a report "from a specially well-informed Russian, who, though hostile to Bolshevism, can discuss the positive with an objective mind." Mr. MacDonald regards it as noteworthy "not so much for its views on Bolshevism as for the way in which it reveals some of the problems which the Bolshevists have had to face." And his further note is a warning that has a direct bearing upon the present industrial crisis, which is most important because of its source. "Particularly important for Socialists," says Mr. MacDonald, "is that part of the article which seems to show that the nationalization of industry can come only after a certain sociological and historical preparation"—important, we may add, not only for Socialists but for the world at large at the present moment.

That is the chief lesson which the writer impresses upon his readers. In December, 1917, the Bolsheviks closed private banks in Petrograd and Moscow, and the effect of the edict was quite unexpected by its authors. The wealthiest clients of the banks were able to bribe the Bolshevist Commissaries to get their money out of the banks in spite of all prohibition, paying a percentage that rose from 5 to over 20 per cent. for the privilege of cashing their cheques. Within a year, although the joint stock companies which were subsequently nationalized had paid all their assets to the banks, yet even so the total amount of money in the banks had fallen from 1500 to 600 million rubles. The inference is that the bourgeoise managed to withdraw at least the greater part of their wealth in spite of the nationalization of the banks.

The second consequence of the nationalization was that the people began to hoard currency notes, and the government had to increase its paper currency to make good the shortage. The estimated deficit on the budget for 1919 amounts to 18,000 out of 30,000 million rubles.

In the spring of 1918 the Bolsheviks began to nationalize commerce and industry in earnest. The first experiment was in the Ural mining industry, but the miners had already begun to reduce their output very seriously before the experiment was defeated by the advent of the Siberian troops. This in spite of the fact that food conditions in the Urals were comparatively very good, since bread cost only 12 rubles a pood in February, 1918, as against 160 rubles in Petrograd.

After the summer of 1918, all the railways and transport companies, the entire oil industry, and the paper and textile industries had been nationalized. On June 28, 1918, the assets of all joint stock companies with a capital exceeding 200,000 rubles were declared to be national property and placed under state control. "Good information available" to the writer shows that "the general conditions of Russian industry cannot be said to be otherwise than passing into a state of complete ruin." Mr. Larin, the chief initiator of nationalization in Russia, was obliged to confess to the conference of all the Household Soviets at Moscow in January last, that "we must acknowledge that private concerns work better than those taken over by the nation."

The socialization of means of production, the writer continues, presupposes such a highly-developed sense of responsibility and the consciousness of the solidarity of interests of all those who work, that the removal of the profit stimulant would not only decrease the productivity of the work of the workmen and the employees, but would, on the contrary, raise it. In Russia things went the other way round. Communism, in its creative aspects, is quite foreign to the majority of the population. The watchword of the Bolsheviks, "Grab the grabbed," was taken literally as a permit to use the accumulated wealth of the country for consumption. The idea of the necessity of hard collective work for the production of new values was not grasped by the people. The only things workmen and employees strove after was to increase their wages and reduce the hours, and they now, as before, opposed their own interests to the interests of production.

Besides, the habit and desire of getting full pay for spent energy, and the impossibility (owing to the standardization of pay for work), of achieving it in the legal way of individual economic prosperity, induced people to look to illegal profits and developed corruption in an unheard-of degree. Owing to the fact that production, as well as distribution, was being carried on by very complicated organs of state machinery, and that every action in connection with industry and commerce must be submitted to the control of an army of bigger and smaller bureaucrats, the latter converted their public powers into a source of income.

In Russia everything must be bought—from the right of standing in a queue for something, up to the right of buying iron or fuel for one's fac-

tory, independently of whether the factory is nationalized or not. No doubt a few idealists among the Bolsheviks are beyond suspicion, but the colossal army of those who stuck to them, without believing in them, do nothing but steal public property. It would, however, be short-sighted-ness to ascri[illegible] to [illegible] or to bad [illegible] leaders. The f[illegible] [illegible] suppression of priv[illegible] [illegible] was absolutely unprepar[illegible] [illegible] such an experiment.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SHANTUNG

A STATEMENT of Japanese expectations and intentions in Shantung is contributed to *Asia*, the journal of the American Asiatic Association, for September, by the well-known Japanese writer, K. K. Kawakami.

In the first part of his article Mr. Kawakami refers to the conditions under which Japan agreed with China in May, 1915, to return the territory of Kiaochou. These conditions were as follows:

1. Opening of the whole of Kiaochou as a commercial port;
2. Establishment of a Japanese settlement in the locality to be designated by the Japanese Government;
3. Establishment, if desired by the Powers, of an international settlement;
4. Arrangements to be made, before the return of the said territory is effected, between the Japanese and Chinese Governments, with respect to the disposal of German public establishments and properties and with regard to the other conditions and procedures.

The second of these conditions, it is admitted by Mr. Kawakami, is likely to invite criticism. He maintains, however, that by "Japanese settlement" Japan does not mean an exclusive settlement to be utilized by her nationals only. If such a settlement is established, Japan will invite and allow any foreigner to reside or conduct business therein, provided such foreigners are willing to observe Japanese laws. Considering what has been done by other foreign nations in other foreign ports such as Tientsin, Hankow and Shanghai, this writer can see no reason why Japan should not establish a Japanese settlement in Kiaochou. Still he thinks that Japan might well waive this privilege and content herself with the establishment of an international settlement. Such a settlement is now maintained in Shanghai by all the leading nations, excepting France. Great Britain, having the greatest interests in that part of China, preponderates in the council of administration and if Japan agrees to waive her right to open a Japanese settlement in Kiaochou Mr. Kawakami holds that in any common or international settlement to be established Japan should have a position analogous to that of England in the administrative council at Shanghai.

As to the mining rights that Japan has acquired as a result of the Peace Treaty Mr. Kawakami says:

In seeking mining concessions in Shantung or other parts of China, Japan is actuated by dictates of self-preservation. The teeming millions of Nippon, confined within her own narrow precincts, and forbidden, by the mandates of western powers, to emigrate to any of the territories occupied or controlled by them, must perforce find a field of activity within their own sphere. With this in view Japan is eager to convert herself into a great industrial and commercial country. If she fails in this endeavor, she knows that her progress must cease from congestion, stagnation, and inanition. To understand this point of view it is necessary to know something of the population question with which Japan has been grappling.

During the past half century Japan's population has been increasing at the rate of 400,000 a year. Where there were 33,000,000 Japanese fifty years ago, there are to-day about 55,000,000. As the total area of Japan proper is about 148,756 square miles, the density of population is about 356 per square mile. If we leave out of consideration Hokkaido, the northern island, the density increases to 451 per square mile.

We have seen that during the past five decades Japan's population has increased by 20,000,000. As against this increase, Japan has sent out but 2,900,000 emigrants to various countries as follows: Hokkaido (northern island of Japan proper), 2,300,000; Formosa (southern island of Japan), 1[illegible]0,000; Korea, 300,000; Manchuria, 309,951; Hawaii, 96,749; continental United States, 111,000; China, South America and other countries combined, 40,000.

It may be safely said that all European countries at one stage or another of their national development have alleviated the congestion of population at home by encouraging emigration. But Japan, one of the most crowded countries in the world, is compelled to solve the same question without sending emigrants to any of those countries which offer the [illegible] opportunities to men with modest means. True, some European countries are even more densely populated than



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GERMAN GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT TSING-TAO, ON WHICH IS FLYING THE JAPANESE FLAG

Japan, but these countries, in addition to the advantage of unrestricted emigration, have each acquired extensive colonies, which either afford room for a large population, or store abundant natural resources to be utilized for the advancement of industries at home. On the other hand, Japan has no colonial land to speak of. Such territories as Korea or Formosa cannot be regarded as colonies, for they are already thickly populated—having 187 inhabitants to the square mile.

Under these circumstances Japan must seek relief from the distressing congestion of population in methods other than emigration or colonial expansion. Her only way out lies in her industrial and commercial expansion. That is why she is anxious to build up industry at home and extend commerce abroad. But in order to become a foremost industrial nation Japan must have iron and coal, two essentials of modern industry. Unfortunately, Japan's home territory has little of either in store. The volume of iron ores produced at home is but a fraction of what Japan actually consumes. Of coal she has a considerable output, but none that is available for coking purposes. Without coke the steel industry is impossible. China is the country to which Japan must logically and naturally look for the supply of iron ores and coking coal. That is why Japan is anxious to secure mining concessions in China, before China's mines and collieries, unutilized by herself, will be all but mortgaged to other nations —nations which have already secured vast colonies in different parts of the world, and which have plenty of raw materials and mineral supplies in their own territories.

Japan's output of ores, including that of Korea, amounts only to some 324,000 tons, equivalent to 160,000 tons in pig iron. As against this small output, Japan consumed in 1917, 1,300,000 tons of steel and pig iron.

Before the war this deficiency was partly supplied by steel imported from England and Belgium. When the war cut off this source of supply Japan turned to the United States for relief. For three years—from the fall of 1914 and to the summer of 1917—Japan's shipyards and iron works were enabled to work almost entirely with material furnished by steel mills in America. But in July, 1917, the United States, too, declared an embargo upon steel, and the activities of Japanese shipyards and iron works came suddenly to a halt. At that moment Japan had 300,000 tons of ships in course of construction at various yards. The American embargo virtually stopped work on all such ships. Never before did Japan realize so keenly as on that occasion the precarious nature of her industrial structure, depending upon foreign countries for the supply of steel.

The American embargo intensified Japan's national desire, long uppermost in the minds of her industrial leaders, for the independence of her steel industry from foreign mills. That desire soon became a national slogan. And yet how is Japan to translate that slogan into reality? She has but scanty supply of ores at home. What she is at present getting from China and Manchuria is far from commensurate with her demand. Unless Japan succeeds in entering into a satisfactory agreement with China for the further development of China's iron resources, her industrial structure will never be placed upon a secure foundation.

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THE FUTURE OF BRITISH WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

ONE of the most important official reports that has been published since the war is that of the committee appointed by the British War Cabinet to inquire into the position of women in industry; and no member of the committee was so well qualified to speak from practical experience as Sir Lynden Macassey, K. C., who had gained unique experience as Chairman of the National Tribunal of Women's Wages, and also of the Clyde Dilution Committee. To the *Quarterly Review* (July) he contributes a comprehensive summary of his general conclusions from a long acquaintance with the problems of trade-union organization. Speaking with special knowledge from a long record of work in touch with both men and women's trade unions, he deprecates the "prejudice and fanaticism" which the men's unions habitually display in their determination to keep women from their own special fields of labor.

The truth is that the men and their trade unions have been signally successful in staking out their claim to all the best and most highly remunerated classes of work. Around these they have erected impenetrable barriers against the entry of women.

Until the war came and produced a new demand for women's labor that sent up the number of women employed in industry alone from 2,180,000 in July, 1914, to 2,970,000 four years later, the proportion of the female population employed in industry had remained stationary, and in fact showed a decline in comparison with the number of men employed. The chief causes were that women were untrained, learning what they did know from one another and not through a proper apprenticeship, and that they were almost invariably employed in sweated industries and amid the worst possible surroundings. But the war has turned tens of thousands of women into highly skilled workers, and has introduced a vast improvement in the conditions under which they are required to work. How does their work compare with that of men, as shown during the war? Sir Lynden summarizes the general experience as follows:

On work involving severe physical effort or prolonged strain, or exposure to exhausting conditions, women in a given time did less work than men. On all-round skilled and jobbing work ordinarily done by a fully qualified tradesman, women were much less efficient than men. . . . As quick as, and in many cases quicker than youths put on at the same time, women learned to do skilled jobs (on the Clyde) efficiently. The feature of war-time industry was "mass production"—a sustained output of many kinds of similar articles, effected by specially contrived machines where the skill was in the machine and not required of the worker, or by a succession of separate operations, each performed by an adept at that one operation. On such repetition work the women proved equal, often superior, to men. They seemed temperamentally immune to the deadening effect of monotonous work, to which men are peculiarly susceptible. Paradoxically enough, when the work required constant alertness, a sure deft touch, delicacy of manipulation, in short a combination of quick intelligence and manual dexterity within a limited ambit, women were invariably superior to men.

On the other hand, women lost rather more time than men. In most cases, it was undoubtedly due to long hours. A reduction from a twelve-hour working day to an eight-hour shift almost always improved time keeping in the case of the women workers.

"Three master-principles" emerge from Sir Lynden's study of women's work:

First, women should always be entitled to such employment as is fully commensurate with their economic attributes and industrial qualifications. This concedes what is commonly called "equality of opportunity," repudiates the sex-prejudice by which women workers have been so unjustly handicapped, and at the same time discountenances the extravagant claims of certain sections of women that all kinds of artificial grades should be introduced into industry merely to assist the entrance of women.

Secondly, the work at which, and the conditions under which, they are employed must be compatible physiologically and psychologically with their sex peculiarities.

Thirdly, women must not be allowed to undercut and displace men. As things are to-day, a woman of efficiency equal to a man, if obtainable —as she is in many cases—can always be secured, especially in unorganized trades, for substantially less remuneration than the man. It is imperative that this should not take place.

The future prosperity of the nation depends absolutely on increased production; and it is common sense that every family will be infinitely better off by finding useful employment for its women as well as its men; and women will in most cases be far more profitably employed, for everyone concerned, in doing productive work than in spending their days at household duties

which can be greatly reduced by labor-saving devices.

Women's future sphere in industry should comprise, primarily, the trades and work which are to-day women's trades, and women's work in composite trades. There must be absorption of numerous new women operatives, and that will entail modernization and up-to-date equipment of "women's shops," some of which are even yet utterly incapable of efficiency.

It ought to include also many new trades and processes such as are bound to spring into being out of mechanical invention and improved methods of research. Many industries in an embryonic condition to-day have not been "demarcated," and women ought to be free to enter them.

Lastly, it ought to embrace a very substantial admission into men's trades or men's work in composite trades and on a definite economic basis. The chief barrier is the prejudice of men. It only awaits a full blast of production.

IN DEFENSE OF THE BRITISH COAL COMMISSION

MR. R. H. TAWNEY, a young professor of the School of Economics, who served as one of the miners' representatives on the British Coal Commission, writes in defense of coal nationalization with a spirit of defiant conviction and a sureness of touch that compel admiration in the August *Contemporary Review*.

He quotes the evidence of Sir Richard Redmayne, the principal expert witness for the government, with great force, and shows that even Sir Arthur Duckham was impelled to write after hearing all the evidence given before the commission, that "the working of over 3000 collieries by more than 1500 separate interests has resulted in heavy losses of coal and inefficient working, and unnecessary difficulties in the mining of coal."

Mr. Tawney insists that the policy of those who urge unification of the mining industry cannot reasonably be dismissed as doctrinaire (in spite of Lord Gainford's unmitigated scorn) since almost every industry has had recourse, in its own interests, to a greater or less degree of amalgamation. Nor does unified control necessarily imply centralized control. Mr. Tawney makes a strong case for it on the ground that by unified control (under national direction) not only could important economies be effected, but coal could be sold considerably cheaper as a result of pooling the total profits of the various collieries, and so enable the poorer mines to pay their way while keeping the profits of those which are more fortunate within reasonable limits. Citing the statistics of profits earned during the summer quarter of 1918, he argues:

While eight per cent. of the output was produced at a loss, and another eight per cent. at a profit of less than 1s. per ton, more than half of it was yielding a profit per ton of 3s. and over, and more than a quarter of it a profit of 5s. and upwards. In these circumstances it is obvious that any rise in price which levels up the profits of the poorer collieries must at the same time still further increase the profits of those which are already highly prosperous. That result, absurd and extravagant as it is from the point of view of the public, is what occurs whenever (for example) any increase in demand sends up the price of coal. . . . Sir A. Lowes Dickinson told the commission it would not have been necessary to put up prices (when the increase of 2s. 6d. per ton was added by the Coal Controller) in June, 1918. In the absence of any system of financial unification, every colliery above the level of those who are only just paying their way receives a surplus which is due to the possession of some special advantage, so that every rise in price increases that surplus still further.



SIR JOHN SANKEY, HEAD OF THE BRITISH COAL COMMISSION

Nor is this purely technical and demonstrable argument in favor of unification of

control the only reason why the mines should be nationalized.

The greatest economic loss incidental to British industry as a whole is the dissatisfaction which at present pervades almost all classes of workers. Credit is the foundation of production. But credit in the last resort is a matter of psychology, and the workman has his psychology as well as the capitalist. If confidence is necessary to the investment of capital, it is no less necessary to the effective performance of personal services.

THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

UNDER the title of "Mountains and Their Riches," Mr. F. C. Wade, Agent-General for British Columbia, contributes an interesting article on that country to the *Empire Review* for July. The opening of the Panama Canal brought British Columbia to within 8892 nautical miles of Liverpool, instead of 14,558 miles by the former Cape Horn route. "What this means to British Columbia," writes Mr. Wade, "can scarcely be conjectured."

The territory is a "sea of mountains," and the resources of these are here summarized in a brief review. "These mountains, according to the Geological Survey, contain seventy-five billion metric tons of coal, and so far this great reservoir of energy has only been tapped to the extent of fourteen million tons. This great mass, incalculable almost in its solid content, lies dormant awaiting the utilization of the Panama Canal and the coming trade of the Pacific Ocean. These same mountains have produced lode gold to the value of nearly ninety-seven millions of dollars; silver over fifty-three millions; lead over thirty-nine millions; copper over one hundred and thirty millions (more than twenty-five per cent. in the last two years); zinc over ten millions; besides molybdenum, tungsten, chrome, etc., not to mention building stone, cement, and pottery, about twenty-eight millions more. Moreover mountains, whose snow caps cool and precipitate the moist sea-breeze of the Pacific Ocean, mean water-power; and within a radius of a hundred miles of Vancouver, the chief industrial city, water representing 750,000 horsepower, of which 150,000 is developed, is available. These mountain chains are covered with timber to the value of 350,000,000,000 to 400,000,000,000 broad feet, of which supply the Imperial Government has just purchased over 100,000,000 feet. Grain and fruit show a proportionately prolific yield. Dairying is fast becoming an important industry, and it is hoped that shipbuilding will rapidly increase. Some months ago $20,000,000 worth of steel and wooden vessels were being built in the Province, and recently forty ships were ordered by France alone."



ONE OF THE MANY IMPORTANT WATER POWER SITES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(A scene near Nelson)

CARDINAL MERCIER, ONE OF THE HEROIC FIGURES OF THE WAR

THE great Belgian prelate, Cardinal Mercier, is now in the United States, and before his return to Europe he will have been seen and greeted by thousands of Americans of every faith who for years have admired his burning patriotism and reverenced his personal dignity and strength.

For those who are not so fortunate as to see the Cardinal during his visit to our shores there are several passages in Minister Brand Whitlock's "Belgium, a Personal Narrative" (Appleton), which together give an admirable portrait of the man.

Only a few weeks after the attempt of the German authorities to suppress the Cardinal's famous New Year's Pastoral of 1915 the Cardinal himself called upon Mr. Whitlock to offer his thanks for what America had done for Belgium. This is our Minister's description of the Cardinal:

> He entered, advanced, tall and strong and spare, in the long black soutane with the red piping and the sash, not with the stately, measured pace that one associates with the red hat, but with long, quick strides, kicking out with impatience the skirt of his soutane before him as he walked, as though it impeded his movements. He was impressive in his great height and he bent slightly forward with an effect of swooping on, like an avenging justice. But his hand was outheld, and in his mobile countenance and kindly eyes there was a smile, as of sweetness and light, that illumined the long, lean visage.
>
> When he had laid off the low black beaver hat, with its cord and tassels of red and gold, and seated himself in one of the Government's ugly leather chairs, he adjusted the little red calotte that covered the poll whereon the grey hair had long been thinning, drew off his red gloves and as he sat his long fingers played for an instant with a gold pectoral cross and chain that hung before him, then found a pair of common steel-rimmed eye-glasses and played with them instead. The detail seemed to be expressive of the utter simplicity of the man in all that concerned him personally; for if, in all that pertained to his high office as a prince of the Church, he was correct, punctilious even, in all purely personal ways he was as simple, as unpretentious, as modest as one of those rugged primeval natures to which one instantly compared him.
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> His hands were large and powerful and of the weathered aspect of his face. It was a countenance full of serene light, with little of the typically ecclesiastical about it; a high brow, a long nose, lean cheeks, strong jaw and a large mobile mouth, humorous and sensitive—the mouth of the orator, but with thin lips that could close in impenetrable silence. The eyes were blue, and they twinkled with a lively intelligence and kindly humor. Perhaps I could do no better, in the effort to give some impression of him, than to say that, had it not been for those touches of red in his black garb, he would have recalled some tall, gaunt, simple, affectionate Irish priest, whose life was passed in obscure toil among the poor, in humble homes, amid lowly lives whose every care and preoccupation he knew and sympathized with, going about at night alone in all weathers, unsparing of himself, visiting the sick and the imprisoned, forgetting to eat, accustomed to long weary vigils, and of an independence that needed none of the reliances or approvals of this earth.
>
> There was something primal, original about him, a man out of the people, yet above them—one of those rare and lofty personalities who give the common man hope because they are like him, and yet better, greater than he, and so create in him new aspirations and higher hopes because they demonstrate in their sufficient selves what a common man may become if only he have the will by devotion, by abnegation, by sacrifice, and by love. In his mere presence one felt all little things shrivel up, and wondered why small annoyances should fret and irritate; and when he had gone the impalpable influences of his lofty spirit hung for hours about one in the air.

All of which is confirmed by Dr. Powell elsewhere in this REVIEW, as well as by the Cardinal's photographs (see pages 376 and 377).

A few days before the American Minister left Brussels because of the impending outbreak of war between Germany and the United States Cardinal Mercier made a farewell call at the embassy. He spoke appreciatively of what America and her Minister had done for Belgium and said that Belgium had lost "her stay and support." Mr. Whitlock sought to lead his thoughts in another direction:

> I told him that after the war he would have to make a voyage to America, where he was so much loved and admired, and when I related how Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis had united with the priests of his own faith to praise his courage and to extol his patriotism, he looked at me in the astonishment that was the product of his modesty . . . I wish more than all that I might give some sense of the charm and puissance of his personality. The effect of his visit was most uplifting. He is one of those great beings that, in a world crowded with little men, lift themselves far above the mass and by the sheer force of moral grandeur radiate sweetness and light. In his presence all cares, all petty feelings, and all haunting fears fade away; one is before eternal verities, and we felt that night as though we had had a prophet in the house. Did not our hearts burn within us as he talked with us by the way?



A SUBMARINE ATTACK AS DEPICTED BY THE FRENCH ARTIST, MATHURIN MÉHEUT

A FRENCH NATURALIST-PAINTER OF SUBMARINE LIFE

THE art of the French painter Mathurin Méheut is in a double sense a novelty. Most bizarre deviations from the beaten pictorial track have in common the characteristic of taking liberties with the gross material facts of nature. Individually novel, collectively they are a sort of perpetual side-show of the art gallery which we accept as a matter of course. It is a rarer order of novelty that sticks to untransmogrified facts, but so chooses and assorts them that they produce a powerful impression of unreality. Méheut has achieved this *tour de force* by seeking his subjects in the depths of the sea.

Here is an almost virgin field for the painter, the boundless possibilities of which must have impressed many a visitor to the natural history museums in which specimens of marine life are exhibited. Nowhere else has nature produced such extravaganzas of form and color as in the sea.

Some facts about the French artist's work and several of his pictures are presented in an article by René Merle in *La Nature* (Paris). An exhibit of Méheut's pictures at the Louvre, in 1914, produced a great sensation. The pictures were reproduced in book form the same year, with text by M. P. Verneuil and a preface by Yves Delage.

Decorative art, says M. Merle, has often utilized the forms and colors of marine life, but has usually confined itself to a few familiar plants and animals. Méheut, by dint of long personal observation, has opened up a new world. This conscientious artist spent two whole years at the marine biological station of Roscoff, where, in association with scientific investigators, he pursued minute and serious studies in his chosen field. Here he made no fewer than four thousand sketches and paintings. Thus his work is a unique combination of art and science. He has conventionalized his subjects to only a slight degree or not at all. It is astonishing how many creatures of the sea present forms exactly adapted for reproducing as decorative *motifs*. "Here," as M. Merle remarks, "are ornaments ready-made —already conventionalized—mingling with regularity in the repetition of the same *motif* a certain variety which is the characteristic of living beings." One species furnishes an admirable model for an *appliqué* design in metalwork; another for an electrolier or chandelier; a third for the head of a baluster.

From the scientific point of view some of this artist's sketches are said to be almost unrivaled in the accuracy with which they present episodes in the life of the sea—veritable marine dramas, such as a cuttlefish lying in wait for crabs and fishes, or an octopus attacked by conger-eels.

But the pictures speak best for themselves. Only it is a pity we cannot reproduce the colors, "vivid, violent, clashing and harmonious at the same time." We read of lobsters of deep Prussian blue, blue-violet mussels, lumpfish red and violet "like an assembly of bishops," grass green and red, blue and yellow, making a wonderful play of color over the neutral-tinted sea-bottom, and skates "bearing on their back a mosaic richer and more delicate in tone than the most beautiful oriental rugs."

Truly a remarkable appeal to the eye and the intellect at one and the same time!

THE COMING SUPERSTATE

IN *La Revue de Paris,* with a clear but condensed style and close reasoning, M. Bernard Lavergne devotes thirty pages to "The Society of Nations and the Peace Conference." He classifies all unions of nations under four types: (1) The mere political alliance, primarily for mutual defense or the general safety, such as has been familiar since the dawn of history; in fact, such an alliance has just won the world-war. (2) A purely judicial alliance, or agreement to arbitrate some or all disputed questions, between sovereign states. After arousing high hopes of pacifists, the world over, in the Hague conferences, this form of union made grievous shipwreck, or rather disappeared altogether, in the summer of 1914, when no one even looked to The Hague for peace. (3) A federal league, or society, uniting the two activities just described, but leaving intact the sovereignty and independence of each member. Such is the organism just planned in Paris. It can act as a unit only on unanimous vote of the several prime ministers or their representatives. It interests the writer vitally only as a step forward, of transition toward a living reality. The rejected French plan is alluded to as a far more advanced measure.

Finally must appear (4) "An international union with a legislative body and an executive power, both elective and autonomous, deciding on action by majority vote." This is "the solid, efficient superstate, which the Society of Nations is to become, when the united peoples delegate to it their own executive power—a part of their sovereignty."

All these may exist simultaneously. Even Germany and Hungary might be admitted to a reconstituted judicial alliance for arbitration centered again at The Hague. The federal league plan will doubtless be accepted at least by the chief Allies and also by many neutral states. It should not be at present too extended. Indeed the author frankly regrets that feudal Japan and China, and unstable Brazil, all so remote in location and character, have been admitted already. Lastly, the author believes, the time is ripe for a very small group of true and great democracies to form the nucleus of the superstate, that may later become the world-state, and could even now insure world-peace for a half century to come.

Here is quoted, with disapproval, the argument that on the judge and the policeman rests all law and order within the present state, and that the superstate must have these two forces in far greater measure. The true power behind both is identified as the popular will, expressed through legislative assembly and elected executives.

The courts are but interpreters of the written law, or of the body of precedents and traditions. Law never, even for a moment, attains to perfect equity between individuals and classes; and if it ever did, the ceaseless change in all economic and social relations would quickly make it unbearably unjust. All internal history of modern states is a tale of progressive reform, in the interest of the masses, as against traditional privilege. That reform, or revolution, cannot be checked, but only given orderly and peaceful forms of expression. That is done, in the most advanced and intelligent democratic states, by legislatures.

As between nations it has not been accomplished at all. Hence constant wars, long after the duel and the vendetta have ceased. The one supreme problem is to escape war by securing peaceful justice. Until some such means is provided, wars will be constant, being often, indeed, both justified and beneficent. How else could the national unity of Poles and Northern Slavs, the restoration of conquered Rumanians, Jugo-slavs, etc., to longed-for union with their free brothers, ever have been brought about? Even a shameless debtor-nation can be restrained only by force from such repudiation as Turkey has attempted numberless times. Backward races must permit, under just conditions, the exploiting of coal-veins and other natural wealth. But who shall decide what conditions *are* "equitable"?

There are, also, two mighty forces already active in international life, which demand intelligent guidance in the interests of all, or at least a due consideration of the most imperative necessities. They are Supply and Demand; the total surplus output from human effort, and the world-wide needs for whatever commodities are not locally produced. There must be some limit to international hoarding and profiteering. (At such points the writer frankly reveals that the absolute power of democratic majorities is far from ideal government, but

nothing else is available nor in prospect.) The one hope of anything like cosmic order out of chaos, indeed for the rescue of civilization, is the growth of the democratic superstate, with effective legislative debate and decisions, carried out by elected executives. Behind these the effective force will be the entire nations thus interlinked.

Such as it nows appears, the League is a sincere but as yet very timid effort at progress in international order. It s[illegible]o be precious less for what it is than for [illegible]ed it has sown in the consciousness of the n[illegible] . . . Why could not a superstate be form[illegible] by France, England, the United States and our European allies, which would be the heart, the life-center, of the League? Already our three parliaments are about to vote on a Franco-Anglo-American treaty of alliance. This action of elective bodies, this agreement among peoples that have reached the same stage of democracy, marks a decisive step forward toward that larger grouping of States to which the future belongs.

GABRIEL HANOTAUX ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AT the close of an elaborate study—appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—of the Treaty of Peace, now occupying the attention of the world, Gabriel Hanotaux, the distinguished French statesman and historian, discusses the League of Nations, giving the point of view of various countries regarding it, and predicting what may be expected from it.

As far back as 1907, says the writer, he had prayed for a League of Nations. In 1916 he had insistently urged its creation as a practical outcome of the war.

Such an aspiration seemed premature at the time. But the advocates of a League were backed up by public opinion to an unexpected extent. The word once launched, the dikes were opened. After the failure of autocracy the democracies meant to take affairs in their own hands.



GABRIEL HANOTAUX
(Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs)

To sum up the reasons for the movement:

First and foremost: the old complaint of humanity against war; the feeling that this war was too cruel not to be the last. Thanks to modern publicity, its origin was soon determined; the hour had struck to throw light in obscure corners, so that like horrors could not recur. The fact, too, was clearly realized that a just cause alone could not defend a nation; with modern methods a determined bandit could surprise his victim before the latter could arise and arm. Furthermore, great progress had already been made in international agreements, concerning money, postal service, transportation, etc. Lastly, the conviction had been reached that disagreements could be discussed; that through publicity the most complex problems can be better solved than by augurs and qualified pontiffs. In a word, public opinion, "Queen of the world," wished to take the government of the world in its hands. This decision once reached, the cabinets had but to follow suit. However, they did not all react in a like manner.

American Opinion.—President Wilson was from the first (that is, from 1916) one of the most ardent advocates of a League of Nations. His idea of such a League became with time more clearly defined. In his address to the Senate, [illegible]22, 1917, he declared that it [illegible]lown as a principle that peace [illegible]accompanied by a well defined [illegible]ective [illegible]rce which will render the recur[illegible] of a catastrophe like

the great war virtually impossible. This vision of a better future is the more remarkable in a statesman whose country by tradition, by faith in its strength and isolation has perhaps the gravest reasons for not seeking a union outside of that within its own borders. Despite this general American feeling of a sort of "continental insularity," President Wilson acted with an increasing energy, and submitted the project at once on his arrival in Europe, speaking of it as his own.

English Opinion.—The English more than any other government recognizes the force of public opinion and best knows both to obey and guide it. No statesman of eminence had launched the idea of a League before the close of 1916. Coolly received at first, public opinion soon pronounced in its favor. It was echoed in a proposition of Lord Bryce aimed at preventing future wars. Since then the leading idea of English public men is to establish a *moratorium* of conflicts, to retard the outbreak of hostilities.

Two conceptions of a League, in their extreme, have come to view: Senator Lodge with his demand that the United States should not bind itself to permanent international action, and that of General Smuts for a superstate whose mission it would be to govern, at least temporarily, the greater part of Europe.

The Opinion of France.—As things were, the opinion of France was most important; she could turn the scales. A League, ardently advocated by some, was as energetically opposed by others who considered it chimerical. Thus the opportunity of stamping the covenant with the French spirit—tact, equity, sound sense—was lost: France, the most exposed among the great powers to aggression, was the most interested in a lasting system of protection against war: the people felt that profoundly, but the government hesitated—in a word, it relegated the League to the domain of the ideal. Léon Bourgeois, who distinguished himself so brilliantly at the Hague Convention, was the French delegate to the League Conference; he faced a project whose main lines had been fixed—a compound of English and American views. His chief aim was to empower the League to control the armaments of the powers, but it was rejected.

Germany and the League.—President Wilson and the English publicists have rightly reiterated that the League has no chance of success unless all the peoples are some day to be united into a *single force.*



NOT ROOM FOR BOTH
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

Germany since her defeat has been ardently desirous to form part of the League; but as long as she shall not have given positive proofs of her sincere adhesion not alone to democratic principles but to the fraternal aims of the League, she should be excluded from it.

What may be expected of the League.—The League will, of course, not function until the treaties have been ratified. It will be the chief instrument of that "collective work of the Nations" whence real peace will spring.

As to the two opposing systems, the superstate or a simple council of deliberation and surveillance, the writer declares himself in favor of the latter. The present disordered state of Europe, the weakness of the newly-created nations, may readily account for General Smuts's ideas. "But despite all," the writer says, "it is better, in my opinion, to let them work out their own salvation—while aiding them in their efforts. The worst inertia is that which counts upon others; all burdens are heavy, even those imposed by kindness. Nations must act in order to exist. . . . The founders of the League of Nations have thus, to my mind, shown great wisdom in avoiding the appearance of a superstate. . . ."

The Treaty of June 28 has left a united Germany; that is its weakness. It has established a League of Nations: that is its strength. The alliance of the great nations maintains the executive power of the victory gained; it is the bridge enabling us to attain to a new order.

FACTS AND FALLACIES CONCERNING LIVING CONDITIONS IN AMERICA

DURING the past two years the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has been conducting a country-wide investigation of the cost of living in America. More than 300 agents of the Bureau have secured from householders statements of their expenditures for an entire year, and in many cases detailed daily expense accounts have been obtained for periods of five weeks and upward. In this manner nearly 13,000 family schedules were collected in 71 large and 26 small towns for incomes ranging from less than $500 to more than $2500 per family. The data are now being tabulated.

On the basis of this information, Mr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, undertakes in the *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, to answer the question "What is the American standard of living?" Reference is constantly made in the press and in public utterances to this assumed "standard," but apparently no serious attempt has heretofore been made to analyze it.

Before setting down some of the more detailed facts ascertained by the writer, it will be instructive to quote the general conclusions at which he arrives. "From the data thus far worked up," he says, "it is apparent that there is no such thing as the American standard of living in the sense of a very superior standard giving all the necessaries, many of the comforts, and a goodly supply of the luxuries of life.

On the contrary, we find that there are as many different standards as there are different incomes and families of different sizes. In the lower income groups the living conditions are hard indeed. The incomes of the lower paid workers must be increased and the cost of food, clothing and housing must be lowered to enable these families to meet the higher costs of existence. Social legislation is needed to give them better and cheaper food, clothing, houses, medical treatment, and insurance. Even in the higher income groups conditions are not so easy as they are frequently pictured to us. Let us not be fooled by the cry that the American standard of living is the highest in the world. Let us make the minimum living standard in America one that will support life in decency and health.

One of the first fallacies that Commissioner Meeker dispels is the prevalent idea that the average American family suffers from overfeeding. Food is discussed in terms of calories and with due regard to a well-balanced diet. He says:

The family food budgets are now being analyzed. We can say with confidence that it requires to-day an expenditure of from 50 to 60 cents per man per day for food to secure a well-balanced diet sufficient in the number of calories and in variety. This means that American families consisting of husband, wife, and three children below the age of 15 years, living in large and medium-sized cities must spend about $610 per annum for food to keep themselves properly nourished for health and efficiency. This expenditure for food goes with incomes of from $1450 to $1850, so we may say that American families on the average are not fully nourished until their yearly income reaches $1800. These figures do not indicate that our people are to-day suffering from eating too much meat, or even too much of other foods not so expensive. The average income falls well below $1600.

Conclusions must not be too hastily drawn from these figures. They do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation; nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum. I am of the opinion that the most efficacious remedy is not higher wages, but rather improved systems for distributing and marketing foodstuffs and the education of housekeepers in the art of keeping house, with emphasis on diets. Housekeeping is not exactly a lost art. It is one of the arts that has not yet been completely found.

The data concerning expenditures for clothing do not bear out the charge so frequently made that the American workingman and his family are extravagantly dressed. In the "modal" (most frequent) income group, $1350, the average clothing expenditure per adult male is not more than $90. At existing prices, this does not leave much room for extravagance. Mr. Meeker gives due weight to the fact that clothes are intended for adornment as well as protection, and that, in the present state of human society, the demands of fashion cannot be ignored in discussing the clothing requirements of the working classes.

It is interesting to note that the wives spend less for clothes than husbands until we reach the higher incomes, about $1800 per year. It is also of interest that when economies are necessary they are made largely at the expense of the wife's wardrobe. The first baby makes a cut in the mother's clothes money and every addition to the family cuts deeper into this item. It is scarcely

fair to say that American wives prefer clothes and upholstered parlor furniture to children. It costs money, pain, and sacrifice to bear and rear children, however, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics' study shows with startling vividness the extent to which the mother is obliged to sacrifice her house and her personal adornment to her children.

In the matter of housing, it appears that there is little overcrowding in American workingmen's families. Whether in other respects housing conditions are satisfactory is hardly brought out in this study. The amount spent for rent varied from $105 per annum for the lowest income group, in Fall River, Mass., to $355 per annum for the highest income group, reported from New York City.

Light and fuel seem to be generally sufficient. The writer discusses at some length the provisions for medical attention and the question of insurance. Both are in a highly unsatisfactory state, owing to the economic arrangements of the country at large, concerning remedies for which Mr. Meeker makes some pertinent suggestions. He declares that

The sickness and physical deficiencies revealed by the selective draft have happily demolished forever the carefully fostered fallacy that the American workman is so well paid, so well nourished, housed, and clothed, and so intelligent that he needs nothing in addition to the existing agencies to look after his exuberant good health. The quantitative consumption of health-giving and health-maintaining services in the average American family is certainly very much below what is necessary to attain and maintain reasonably good health. It is very clear that the medical profession and the hospitals must be more completely and effectively organized and directed for the purpose of improving the health of the community. Until this is done it is scarcely possible for the average American family to buy the required amount of health service to keep health and efficiency up to a reasonable standard.

Under the head of amusements we are told that "expenditures for movies increase consistently with increasing income," and that the sums spent for amusements in the income groups above $1300 are "probably sufficient for recreational and health needs.".

THE STRUGGLE OF FRANCE WITH HIGH PRICES

IN the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 1st, the eminent French economist Raphael-Georges Lévy discusses "The High Cost of Living." Though addressed to the French people alone, his words have much instruction for "the two worlds." It is, indeed, remarked, that the condition complained of is universal, and that the decreasing value of the monetary unit is in some degree inevitable, from the constant mining and minting of the precious metals. The special rise of prices, or dearness of living, at the present time, is charged to two essential causes: the terrible losses of the war, and the inflation, and extravagant use, of the paper money by the government.

In coal, food-stuffs, textiles, means of transportation, crippled France is compelled to import heavily, at high profit to the foreign seller—paid, too, at a very high rate of exchange (7 francs per dollar, 33 per pound sterling in July, '19). Her loss in men, also, greatly exceeds even that of England. The increased cost of necessities, 1914-18, is stated at 75 per cent. in England, 200 per cent. in France.

The government has actually increased its indebtedness, by the issue of notes, faster, in this last year, than during the war. In 1871, not one note was issued after peace was declared, and by 1878 the whole debt to the Bank of France was repaid. Governmental extravagance is put high above all other causes of needless suffering.

That alternate increase of food prices and of labor's wages can bring no real relief, is just coming to be understood, there, as here.

Wage-earners, whether employed by the state, a corporation, or an individual, are not a country's entire population. All who have a fixed income, whether from capital, salary, or pension, are facing the same distressing problem.

The most hopeful feature of the day is the revival of French agriculture, with improved methods: "the phosphates of Algeria and Tunis added to the potash of Alsace."

There is bitter complaint against government management of post-offices, telegraphs, and telephones. The great captains of industry should be left to rebuild their own workshops, and restore their mines, while the government limits itself to bringing order out of chaos in its proper political

functions. Instead of guaranteeing an extravagant price for wheat at home, or buying no less wastefully abroad, it should leave all this to the natural laws of international trade. Food prices would not then be twice as high in France as in London.

The intrinsic causes, due to lessened production and lack of transportation, are destined gradually to lose their intensity. Slow as seems the restoration of devasted provinces, the renewal of our crippled railways, yet every day marks some progress. Let us look, too, at the other countries, since we must for a long time be heavily dependent on imports from them. There, normal life is swiftly reviving, and we can foresee a time when they may approach ante-bellum conditions. Approach—not attain; for one factor in particular, hand-labor, is at once more costly and less efficient. In other lands some relief, in lower prices, is already seen (60 per cent. in Belgium, in five months). Why, in France, have they risen rapidly since the armistice? The cause is the depreciation of our money; and for that the blame rests on the government. . . . It was the government that led in the first evil step, by fixing extravagant wages for the workers in war factories, by placing contracts at such heavy profits that it was forced to put a special tax on them, by casting billions right and left with no thought how they issue of billions and by compelling the of paper money. It has interfered import, export, and transport. It has arbitrarily what should or should not c , putting unwise or prohibitive duties on goods often imperatively needed. . . .

Let it put off the numberless functions it assumed in war-time; cut down the enormous list of officeholders; let private business undertake freely and fruitfully what government agents execute slowly, hesitatingly, intent above all on dodging individual responsibility. . . .

Time must do much; but even a beginning will give universal encouragement. Let ministers at once stop proposing and the Chambers voting extravagant outlays. Let a consolidated loan be issued quickly. Let the circulation be decreased, if it be only by a billion a year, and let there be no more borrowing at all. Let the barriers against foreign trade fall.

And let the French people, laborious by temperament, refuse to turn from their natural ways at the treacherous call of suspected leaders. Let the ancient virtues, the chief heritage of our admirable peasantry, industry, system, economy, continue among them—and among our workingmen as well. Soon shall we see renewed, in our dear and great land, the prosperity which is more than ever deserved by the heroism displayed throughout the fifty-two months' duration of the most atrocious war the world has known.

THE ADVENT OF "SEA LEATHER"

GENERAL attention has recently been called to a world-wide shortage of leather mainly through the abnormal rise in the price of footwear. Leather has heretofore been produced on a commercial scale from only a few species of the animal kingdom. The question naturally arises: Are there not many other possible sources? This question is answered, in part, by Mr. R. G. Skerrett in the *Scientific American* (New York). His article deals with the campaign that has been waged by the Bureau of Fisheries, U. S. Department of Commerce, to exploit hitherto unutilized marine sources of leather, and the tangible results already attained. With respect to the existing shortage he says:

We are accustomed to boast of our self-efficiency when it comes to raw materials, especially. It will, therefore, probably shock many good Americans to learn that the United States commonly relies upon the outside world for nearly half of its cattle hides, for well-nigh all of its goat skins, and likewise for a very large part of the pelts of sheep and calves consumed here. From an industrial point of view, the present leather shortage and outlook become even more serious when we recognize the fact that we have grown to be the leading nation among those manufacturing boots and shoes. What are we going to do to make up the existing scarcity and to insure our factories against shut-down or woefully diminished output?

The use of the skins of marine mammals and fishes is, of course, nothing new; but the amount of leather obtained from such sources has been insignificant in comparison with that obtained from land animals.

In England, for a good long time, the tanners have been producing a fine grade of so-called porpoise leather from the skin of the beluga or white whale, which attains a length of 18 feet or more and will average in girth from 10 to 12 feet. This leather has great tensile strength and is remarkably well adapted to the making of machinery belts; and because it keeps its shape under varying stresses it is admirable for working into shoes. The beluga abounds in the waters contiguous to the northern coasts of this continent.

The most significant development in the art of converting the skins of aquatic creatures into leathers of excellent grades is that now being pursued upon a commercial scale in dealing with the hides of sharks, rays, dogfish, blackfish, etc. Despite the fact that many firms, encouraged by the Unite t of Commerce, failed to secure s one New York concern has solve ty that has hitherto baffled the the early operations in preparing the skin of aquatic animal for

tanning is that of soaking the hide in a lime solution. If this is not done with extreme care and with due regard to the natural differences peculiar to the fish skin the resultant product is so spongy and lacking in strength that it has practically no market value. This stage of the process has pretty generally ruined the skin and made further work upon it quite useless. Today, the secret of a correct lime bath has been discovered, and, similarly, some other phases incidental to the manipulation of the skins have been mastered. Among these is a degreasing treatment which effectually removes the fishy odor.

The adaptation of the shark skin to the general purposes of the leather worker has presented distinctive difficulties—so, too, has the skin of the ray and the dogfish—because of the horny, tuberculous exterior which is frequently so hard that it can be ground down only by means of abrasive belts or wheels. In fact, this shagreen has been extensively employed by cabinet-makers, ivory workers, metal workers, etc., in lieu of emery cloth and sand paper. The question of making shark skins available for leather has, therefore, rested in part upon devising ways to get rid of the shagreen.

Thanks to recourse to chemistry, the shagreen can be completely separated from the underlying skin and yet leave the hide beautifully marked with its characteristic "grain." So dressed, the leather lends itself to the manufacture of bags, belts, card cases and other articles where an ornamental surface is desired. With this exterior removed, either the upper layer of the skin or the underlying "splits" can be dressed for shoe stock—including the heavy material for soles. The leather will take a beautiful finish and is notably durable. From a 500-pound shark it is possible to obtain ten square feet of leather from the hide, and the stomach furnishes a raw material that will yield a leather which is soft and strong and looks not unlike glazed kid when ready for the market.

Mr. Skerrett describes in some detail the kinds and amounts of leather obtained from various other creatures of the sea. Fortunately for the development of the "sea leather" industry, the same creatures yield a number of other marketable commodities. for example:

From the livers of the shark an oil is obtainable, also from the livers of the dogfish, which is said to have much of the medicinal properties which characterize cod liver oil, and, besides, the oil is in demand for the manufacture of soaps, for mixing paints, and for the treatment of some leathers. A 500-pound shark will give an average of from 10 to 15 gallons of liver oil, which is easily marketable at fifty cents a gallon. The dorsal fins, when dried, bring $2.50 apiece among Oriental epicures. The teeth sell readily for five cents each to manufacturing jewelers who work them into ornaments of one kind or another. The flesh of the shark is said to be decidedly palatable, and the Bureau of Fisheries has published some thirty different recipes for fresh shark, smoked shark, salt shark, and canned shark. In common with the meat of other sea creatures, the flesh of the shark can be converted into fertilizer or dried and ground for chicken and cattle food. As a fertilizer the stuff is rich in ammonia and phosphoric acid.

It appears that a "sea leather" company has already established stations for taking sharks, porpoises, rays, dogfish, etc., at Morehead City and Broad Creek, N. C., and at Fort Myers and Sanibel Island, Fla.

A REMARKABLE RAINFALL RECORD IN HAWAII

THE meteorologist measures rainfall in inches or millimeters. The layman is perhaps more inclined to think of it in the same terms as the gardener who, according to *Punch,* having examined his rain-gauge after a storm, reported that the rainfall was "between a pint and a pint and a half." The amount as scientifically observed is the depth that would remain on the ground if none ran off, soaked in or evaporated. In the eastern United States the rainfall ranges from 30 to 60 inches per annum, and only in a very limited area, in the extreme northwest corner of Washington state, does the rainfall of the continental United States exceed 100 inches. An inch of rainfall is equivalent to 101 tons of water per acre, or 64,640 tons per square mile. It seems advisable to set down these facts for the benefit of the non-meteorological public before presenting a digest of an article by Mr. G. K. Larrison, of the U. S. Geological Survey, entitled "Uncle Sam's Dampest Corner," published in the *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington, D. C.).

The "dampest corner" in question is in the Hawaiian Islands, and it is a fact of novel interest to the scientific as well as the larger public that the rainfall at a certain place in these islands is possibly larger than anywhere else in the world. For at least half a century the world's record for raininess has been attributed to the town of Cherrapunji, in India. This place is situated in the foothills of the Himalaya, about 4100 feet above sea-level. It is exposed to the

full force of the moist southwest monsoon, and rapid condensation of moisture is due to the forced ascent of the winds on the face of precipitous hills at the summit of which Cherrapunji is located. The rainfall of this spot, according to the latest official figures, averages 426 inches a year. Higher values have sometimes been published, but they were based on shorter records.

All other places in the world having exceptionally heavy rainfall are likewise situated in mountainous regions and are exposed to moist ocean winds. Two stations in the former German colony of Kamerun—Bibundi and Debundja—are close rivals of Cherrapunji, judging from the relatively short records available.

The extraordinarily heavy rainfall in portions of the Hawaiian Islands was not suspected until recently, because it occurs in places that were never scientifically explored until the U. S. Geological Survey undertook a thorough hydrometric survey of the islands. The rainiest spot thus far found is the summit of Mount Waialeale, elevation 5080 feet, on the island of Kauai. Mr. Larrison says:

During the periods August 2, 1911, to March 26, 1914, and May 31, 1915, to August 13, 1917, a total of 1782 days, there was recorded on Mount Waialeale a total precipitation of 2325 inches, or an average of 1.3047 inches per day. In a 365-day year this would amount to an annual precipitation of about 476 inches. The years of 1918 and 1914, for which, unfortunately, no records were obtained, were the wettest since the local Weather Bureau office was established in the Hawaiian Islands. Though comparative estimates are always unsatisfactory, reliable records obtained at near-by stations indicate that in both 1914 and 1918 the rainfall at this station exceeded 600 inches. From May 21, 1915, to May 30, 1916, the recorded rainfall at Mount Waialeale was 561 inches.

Mount Waialeale is the peak of the island of Kauai, and is inaccessible except to the most expert mountaineers. For this reason it has been very difficult to maintain the station and it was finally discontinued on account of inability to get mountaineers to make the necessary regular visits.

There are several other damp spots in Hawaii. Puu Kukui, 5000 feet above sea level, on the island of Maui, has for the last seven years had an average precipitation of 369 inches, the maximum being 562 inches in 1918. On the island of Hawaii, at the intake of the Upper Hamakua irrigation ditch, 4000 feet above sea level, rainfall amounting to 504 inches was recorded in 1914. At at least a dozen other spots—all more than 1000 feet in elevation—in the Territory the rainfall in 1914 and 1918 exceeded 350 inches. The heaviest daily downpour ever recorded in the Territory was 31.95 inches at Honomu, Hawaii (elevation 1200 feet), February 20, 1918. According to the Weather Bureau record the total rainfall at this station for the year was 379 inches.

Except those collected at Honomu, practically all the high-level records have been obtained by engineers of the Water-Resources Branch of the United States Geological Survey, or by parties cooperating therewith, for the local office of the Weather Bureau has been unable to collect daily records except those furnished free of cost by cooperative observers who could obtain the records at a minimum expenditure of effort. As a result nearly all the records published by the Weather Bureau are for low elevations, and as the higher levels of the Hawaiian mountains are practically uninhabited it has devolved on the Geological Survey to establish the high-level stations needed to obtain data to be used in connection with its hydrometric work. The records most needed are those for places on the upper ridges and peaks and in the upper reaches of valleys where only wild cattle and pig trails—or no trails at all—existed, and where no human being could possibly have set foot previous to the construction of trails by the Geological Survey. In these upper valleys, also, where the rainfall is excessive and the forest cover almost of the jungle type, the soil is usually saturated and the going is very heavy. Accordingly reconnaissance work is rather strenuous, and where regular visits must be made foot trails from 3 to 8 miles long usually have to be constructed.

Of course, under these conditions, it is practically impossible to obtain daily rainfall records, and accordingly three types of raingages and an evaporation gage to measure the evaporation from the raingages (if any), to be read at monthly or longer regular periods, have been designed.

Hawaii is remarkable not only for the excessive rainfall above mentioned, but also for a wide diversity of rainfall between places comparatively near one another, horizontally as well as vertically.

Starting with Mount Waialeale, elevation 5080 feet, on Kauai, with a mean annual precipitation of 476 inches, we have the following records, covering practically the same period.

	Elevation. Feet	Miles.	Inches.
Mount Waialeale	5080	....	476
Olokele	2100	2.0 sw	149
Kokee	3550	10.5 nw	56
Pali Trail	850	11.0 sw	16
North Wailua	650	4.0 e	126

On the island of Maui the variations are still more remarkable. Stations near Puu Kukui, elevation 5000 feet, with a mean of 369 inches (562 inches for 1918), give the following records:

	Elevation. Feet	Miles.	Inches.
Puu Kuki	5000	....	369
Kahoma Reservoir	2000	4.0 w	55
Kaanapali	12	7.5 nw	18
Wailuku village	390	5.5 se	30

Disregarding chronology, topography, and geography, Puu Kukui, elevation 5000 feet, during 1918 had 562 inches; at Camp No. 7 of Pioneer Mill Co., elevation 90 feet, less than 8 miles southwest, 2.47 inches was recorded in 1912.

INDUSTRIALIZING THE FRENCH THEATER

THE paper in the *Mercure de France* of August 1st, signed Claude, on the "Industrial Evolution of the Theater" is a mercilessly frank critique, based on the most intimate knowledge. One rubs one's eyes, above all in this field, to find a Frenchman telling his people that they have fallen altogether behind their Anglo-Saxon friends, over the Channel and overseas.

The war has only hastened what had already begun. It was notorious that everywhere there was evasion, or franker ignoring, of the Society of Authors' three cardinal edicts:

(1) Each theater shall pay all its authors, famous or unknown, the same established percentage of receipts according to its fixed usage.
(2) No author may present a play where he is an official, or a stockholder, of the theater.
(3) No man shall be director of more than one theater.

The "little boxes" and music halls have led in the violation of all such rules, and hastened the downfall of the profession. Stock companies have disappeared. The slightest of plots, with one climax of sensational action in each, are alone successful. One or two real actors are supported by mere supernumeraries and poseurs, unable to act. The actor-managers have, from personal pride and jealousy, aggravated this condition. A handful of old actors and actresses, who have dominated the stage for twenty years, have no dangerous rivals or possible successors. The dramatic criticism of the daily papers is written by actors, personally known to the all-powerful directors, whose favor is the chief objective point in every opinion or judgment they utter. The theater is very largely commercialized already. To give it a frank industrial character will really be a reform, and also a recognition of what has always been true: Of all artworks, the play is most immediately dependent on a paying clientele.

Not to mention the cinematographs, the "music halls" (word and thing, music and dance, frankly borrowed from our British cousins and ourselves) are emptying the great theaters. During the Peace Conference, Mr. Wilson, Lloyd George, and Lord Derby assisted at the inauguration of the Parisian branch of the London "Palace"! There is plenty of wit and fancy still in French letters; but it is lost to the stage.

In fifty years no large theater has been added. All are old-fashioned, uncomfortable for spectators and actors, with heavy decorations, no modern machinery, no proper exploiting of the miracles of electric lighting. It has been largely forgotten that drama is above all a spectacle—an appeal to the eye. Cyrano had many imitators and successors, Chanticleer not one, for no other theater would face such outlay.

In the final stroke of fate, which dramatic writers and actors are disposed to regard as disastrous, the writer is inclined to see the best hope of improvement. To use another accepted French word of purely American origin, the theaters of Paris are in the hands of "the Trust," of three capitalists and two author-directors.

The day of petty plotting and petty economies is over. The selection of plays and the staging of them will each pass into the hands of a group of impartial experts—the latter a task heretofore often bungled by the authors themselves. The director of a syndicate of theaters will be too busy to meddle with details of either. A budding dramatist will no longer have to advertise himself laboriously in social life. It will all be a practical business question: Has he an effective play? Young actors who show real promise will be better paid, and also encouraged to enjoy a larger leisure in "seeing life"—because that is the right road to better and more impressive work on the "mimic stage." A check will be put on the excessive feminine dominance, which the happily-mated pairs of Russian dancers have shown to be, even artistically, a grievous mistake. They "have shown us what can be wrought by the alliance of the two temperaments, masculine *and* feminine, for complete spectacular beauty."

The actor-director and the permanent "stock-companies" will probably vanish altogether. Instead of the thin three-act melodrama for one or two live actors, we may hope for more sustained dramas with a larger variety of real character-parts—because the public will enjoy them. Relative security of tenure, and fair recompense for all, is better than the past of general hardship and

occasional brilliant success. The theater will be frankly industrialized; it must be saved from mere commercialism.

Above all there must be solidarity, and acceptance of natural comradeship for common success. Brilliant gifts are often curiously incomplete.

A young poet full of promise has just staged a satiric and symbolic comedy, which failed. It might have succeeded, if an imaginative collaborator could have stamped it with the joyous spirit, the vigor, which it lacked. But there was that terrible question of sharing the author's rights and the applause.

The theater mu[illegible]e largest possible picture of life. The art of being spectacular must be learned—ev[illegible] from the music hall and "movie." The theaters must be made safe in case of fire, as none now are. Everywhere the prime cost will be large, "but *it will pay.*"

The *trusteur* can bring about great and happy reforms in the theater. He has an open field. . . . We French have been, we are still, the masters of drama. . . . We must set grand scenes and noble actions before the world-public, which shall be dazzled by our exploits in the mimic art, as it has been by our exploits in the field of reality.

A RETROSPECT OF THE STUDENTS' ARMY TRAINING CORPS

THE Students' Army Training Corps, in its final form, which included, as the roof and crown of the scheme, the Collegiate Section, began its brief existence on October 1, 1918, just in time to save the universities and colleges of the country from being put out of business by losing the bulk of their students in the draft. It was abolished by an order of the War Department issued November 26 of the same year. Demobilization began on December 2 and was practically completed by December 26. Hence the entire life of the Corps was barely three months. Only six weeks of this period preceded the signing of the armistice, after which there was a notable "slump" in the activities and morale of the Corps, robbed of the prospects of active service and with probable demobilization near at hand. Last but not least, the work of the Corps while hostilities were still in progress was seriously interrupted, in nearly all the units, by the influenza epidemic.

The Army Students' Training Corps was an experiment, concerning the success of which diverse judgments have been passed. It should not be forgotten that the training of college students for commissions was only a part of this scheme. In a long review of the undertaking, published by Maj. R. B. Perry, U. S. A., in *National Service* (New York), we find a summary of the work of the Vocational Section, originally known as the National Army Training Detachments, which did for the rank and file of the Army what the Collegiate Section was designed to do for the commissioned personnel. We read that

By July 1 the number of National Army training detachments had risen to 147, with 50,000 men under training. When the armistice was signed, on November 11, 130,000 men had received this training, of whom 90,000 had been assigned and approximately 70,000 sent overseas.

The scope of this training is indicated by the trade distribution of the men sent from the schools to organizations up to and including November 13, 1919: Auto drivers, chauffeurs, 4580; auto and motor mechanics, 25,331; blacksmiths and horseshoers, 4111; carpenters, cabinetmakers, woodworkers, 11,911; concrete foremen, concrete workers, 1369; electricians, 5160; engineers and firemen (steam power plant), 125; gas engine locomotive men, 1343; gunsmiths, 1530; instrument repairers, 729; locomotive engineers and firemen, 300; machinists, experts, 1499; mechanics, battery, 138; mechanics and machinists, general, 3374; miners (for motor convoy), 571; munition workers, 195; pipe fitters and plumbers, 376; radio electricians, 354; radio operators, 3524; railroad operating men, 181; rubber workers, 371; sheet metal workers, 1527; telegraphers, 1537; telephone linemen, 227; telephone troublemen, 180; tractor operators, 471; truck chauffeurs, 10,180; truckmasters, 362; welders, gas and electric, 244; unclassified and scattering (41 additional trades), 7163; total, 88,972. Of this total 3712 were colored men.

The operations of the Vocational Section, apart from minor defects, appear to have been a brilliant success. On the other hand, the Collegiate Section has been the subject of a certain amount of unfavorable criticism, especially on the part of educators the country over.

The organization and methods of the Collegiate Section are still fresh in the public mind, so that we need not draw upon Major Perry's article for information under this head. Some statistical [illegible]ts, however, deserve quoting:

Applications were received from virtually every collegiate institution in the country, and after the collection of the necessary information and in many cases after considerable negotiation, 524 collegiate units were eventually established.

The number of men inducted into the Collegiate Section of the S. A. T. C. was approximately 135,000. By special arrangement with the Navy Department there were also established 93 naval units with an enrollment of 12,598 and 12 marine units with an enrollment of 413.

The procurement of the 4000 officers who were eventually required to command this new army was one of those impossibilities that were perpetually being accomplished during the summer of 1918. There were practically *no* officers available when the work was undertaken, but a full complement was eventually obtained from the following sources: retired officers already on duty with educational institutions, 109; from National Army training detachments, depot brigades and hospitals, 788; instructors from the special S. A. T. C. training camps conducted July 15 to September 15, many of them being held over from the R. O. T. C. camps held in June, 184; air service officers, released by the closing of ground schools and examining boards, 84; quartermaster corps, 104; miscellaneous, 26; newly commissioned from S. A. T. C camps, 2618; total, 3918.

Major Perry's final summary of the work of the whole Corps, including both Vocational and Collegiate Sections, is valuable as setting forth just what it accomplished, despite the very hasty and tentative nature of the undertaking:

(1) It trained 120,000 technicians for the army and delivered 90,000 to the organizations that needed and requested them.

(2) It built and operated a plant that would have produced 200,000 more technicians, better selected and better trained, before June 1.

(3) It enabled the colleges and technical and professional schools to open in the fall of 1918 with something approaching the normal attendance of teachers and students, thus keeping intact the body of secondary school graduates and the great system of higher education.

(4) It delivered 8642 men to officers' training camps.

(5) It mobilized, clothed and armed 130,000 men of the new age groups in advance of their call in the draft, and as a net addition to the capacity of the cantonments.

(6) It built and operated a plant that would before June 1 have delivered at least 50,000 men to schools for commissioned and noncommissioned officers, men specially trained in the various branches of the service for which they were intended including infantry, field artillery, coast artillery, air service, engineers, ordnance corps, signal corps, chemical warfare service, machine gun service, motor transport corps, medical corps, veterinary corps and dental corps. In addition to these selected men the Collegiate Section of the S. A. T. C. would have provided basic education and military training for at least 140,000 additional men many or most of whom would have eventually found their way into commissioned or noncommissioned grades. In short, combining the programs of the vocational and collegiate sections, the S. A. T. C. was a mobilization and training plant with a capacity up to July 1, 1919, of not less than 520,000 or nearly twenty divisions.

(7) It established relations of service and cooperation between the War Department and the educational institutions of the country, relations that cannot fail to have a durable and beneficial effect upon the preparedness of the nation for similar emergencies in the future.

A TRADE-UNION COLLEGE

THE Boston Central Labor Union voted on March 16 last to establish in Boston a trade-union college which would give workingmen and workingwomen the advantages of university training and make accessible to them the range of subjects that would promote the solid welfare and progress of organized labor.

In the reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor, one finds under the head of education the following sentences:

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many States, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several States and communities. The welfare of the Republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The Government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the Government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several States. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end, State colleges and universities should be developed.

Mr. William Leavitt Stoddard quotes this statement in an illuminating article on the Boston Trade Union College, published in the *Nation* of August 30.

He says: "For many years the Boston labor movement has been advocating the establishment of a State University open to

every class of citizen on such terms that every class could obtain the advantages of the privately-owned universities so numerous in Massachusetts."

Among the educators who assisted in establishing the college are Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard, and Mr. Francis Sayre of Harvard.

Among other names on the faculty we find those of H. W. L. Dana, Alford D. Sheffield, Arthur Fisher, Charles C. Ramsay, H. J. Kallen, James MacKaye and Mr. W. L. Stoddard, the author of the article in the *Nation*.

From the very first it was the aim of all those promoting the college to create an institution which should be democratic both in principle and in practice. For this reason the governing board or "committee in charge" is not fashioned after existing governing councils of American universities but is composed of a joint committee, some members of which represented the proprietors of the college, the Central Labor Union, and the remainder the instructing force. This committee, as now constituted, consists of eleven trade unionists and five instructors. Each section of the joint committee naturally is responsible to the body electing or appointing it, and the whole is responsible to the Central Labor Union before which, at open meetings, appeals may be taken.

The new college opened its doors on April 7 for a term of ten weeks. The use of a high-school building in Roxbury was obtained by the committee from the Boston School Board. Twelve courses were given, each arranged for week-day evenings from eight to ten. The course fee to members of trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was $2.50. One hundred and fifty were enrolled—a sufficient number to test the idea.

The general subjects covered are six: English, Labor Organization, Law, Government, Economics, and Science. The English courses are three: one in the theory and practice of English composition, one in the practice of discussion, and one a survey of the great literatures of the world. The Labor courses are likewise three: the history of trade unions, shop committees and collective bargaining, and the history of the freedom of labor. The one course in Law, given by Professor Pound, is an introduction to American law. The one course in Government is a study of political processes in England and America. The one course in Economics is "a study of the economic principles which are of special importance to labor." Under Science fall two courses: the fundamental principles of physical science, and the elements of mental science including the principles of reasoning. So much for the bare bones of the present curriculum.

English has by far the largest registration of all the courses. The courses in Law, Government, and Science are probably next in popularity, with Economics and Labor Organization coming at the end. What is the significance of any of these statistics it would be difficult to say except to point out that so-called "practical" courses, such as the first two mentioned under English, more nearly meet the needs of the trade unionists than the others. This is not, however, to argue or to admit that the rest of the courses are unpopular or not wanted, for this is far from the fact. But the average workingman who after a full day's work comes out for an evening in a schoolroom, tends to want to learn how to do something which will be of immediate use to him.

The establishing of a trade-union college and the prospect of its duplication in other cities throughout the United States is one of the most hopeful signs of national equilibrium and of the amicable settlement, within the near future, of the differences now existing between Labor and Capital.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AUTOMOBILES

THE automobile having become such an indispensable factor of our modern life, it is difficult for us to realize that, like all great inventions, it had to pass through a long stage of indifference and neglect. Of the first hesitating steps in its evolution Signor Mario Bellati Nerli gives some interesting details in the Italian *Rassegna Nazionale*.

He awards the credit of the first invention to a French engineer, Joseph Cugnot, born at Void in Lorraine, September 25, 1725. Encouraged by his success in devising a new model of musket which was favorably received by the famous general Maurice de Saxe, he conceived, while in Brussels, the idea of constructing, for the transport of war material, a type of vehicle in which steam should be the motive power. In 1760 he came to Paris for the furtherance of his undertaking and succeeded in making a model of such a car, and submitted it to the examination of Gribeuval, inspector of artillery.

As often happens, a somewhat similar idea

had suggested itself to a Swiss officer named Planta, and had been reported by him to the minister Choiseul. Gribeuval was called upon to give his opinion and he immediately recognized the characteristics of Cugnot's model; this Planta frankly admitted. Choiseul then charged Cugnot to prepare, at government expense, a full-sized vehicle built on the lines of his model.

This having been done, the car was tested in the presence of the minister, of a general, and of some experts. Four passengers having been put aboard, it was set in motion and traveled a short distance at the rate of from six to nine miles an hour, but as the boiler did not generate sufficient steam, the vehicle had to be stopped from time to time so that a new accumulation of motive force could be gathered.

Some other defects developed, and it appeared that the boiler lacked strength to withstand the strain to which it was subjected by the expanding vapor. However, the results were judged to be favorable enough to warrant the building of a new car of an improved type, calculated to carry a weight of from 8000 to 10,000 pounds and to travel continuously at a speed of six miles an hour. Meanwhile the inventor was rewarded with 20,000 francs. Choiseul's enforced retirement from the ministry in 1770 seems to have interfered with further experiments, although a contemporary diarist relates that toward the end of that year a steam-driven vehicle transported a gun-carriage weighing 5000 pounds over a distance of a league in fifteen minutes.

At any rate an annual pension of 600 francs was granted to Cugnot, but the Revolution robbed him of this, and had it not been for the aid of a charitable Belgian lady he would have died of want. In 1793 the Committee of Public Safety proposed to demolish the car so that the materials might be used for war munitions, but this was frustrated by some artillery officers. On Bonaparte's return from his Italian campaign in 1797; his attention was drawn to the invention and a committee of which he was to be a member was appointed to pass upon it, but the Egyptian expedition of 1798 prevented this. Finally, in 1801, the neglected car found a resting place in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris. Cugnot's pension, augmented to 1000 francs, had been restored to him, but when he died in 1804, at the age of seventy-nine, his closing hours were not gladdened by any vision of the wonderful automobile of the future.

His machine had two bronze cylinders, set vertically, and connected by a tube alternately with the boiler to receive the steam, and with the outer air to expel it when it had performed its work. The boiler was of spheroidal form and was placed toward the front of the vehicle, the fire-grate being beneath. There were three wheels, one in front, and two behind connected by an axle. The motive power was applied to the forward wheel. The steam at high pressure drove a piston in each of the cylinders, communicating their alternative movement by means of ratchets and latches to the wheel. To give this wheel greater stability it was encircled by an iron tire, solidly rivetted.

Another, and an independent inventor was the American Oliver Evans, who in 1786 asked the legislature of Pennsylvania to grant him a patent for a vehicle driven by steam; but no one was willing to give the matter serious consideration. Later, he was more successful in Maryland; however, the terms of his patent were too vague to attract capitalists and no encouragement was extended to this "dreamer of horseless carriages," as he was called.

Rejected by his own countrymen, Evans decided to send his plans to London, in the hope that some English capitalist might be induced to utilize the patent and divide the profits; but this effort also was vain. He then waited until he had saved up a little money and began, at his own expense, the construction of a machine, and despite all adverse comment, it is stated that he was at last able to see his vehicle in motion on one of the streets of Philadelphia. Still, even this proof of the truth of his claims failed to excite interest, and at the time of his death, in 1819, his project was not yet realized.

In England two Cornish machinists built a couple of cars in 1807 according to the plans Evans had sent, but it was found that because of the weight of the boiler, the fire-grate and the fuel, almost all the power generated was needed to move the vehicle itself, little or none being available for transporting passengers or freight.

Thus all these early attempts came to grief, and it was only after the new and perfected types of motors had been invented that the dream of the horseless carriage was at last made a reality.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The Last Million. By Ian Hay. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 203 pp.

Major Beith, who won great popularity through his earlier book, "The First Hundred Thousand," as an interpreter of the British "Tommy," now does a like good turn for the American Doughboy. His comments are good-humored and appreciative throughout.

Fighting the Flying Circus. By Captain Edward V. Rickenbacker. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 371 pp.

At the beginning of the war "Eddie" Rickenbacker was an automobile racing man well known in the United States and England. At the end of it he was the American "Ace of Aces," the commander of the first American squadron to fly over the enemy's lines and the only American fighting squadron selected to move into Germany with the Army of Occupation.

Air Men o' War. By Boyd Cable. E. P. Dutton & Company. 246 pp.

Early in the war Boyd Cable took high rank among the authors of books giving accounts of the fighting. In "Grapes of Wrath" and other volumes he told the story of the man in the trenches. In "Air Men o' War" he performs a like service for the flying man.

The Web. By Emerson Hough. Chicago: The Reilly & Lee Company. 511 pp.

It is now permitted to disclose the operations of "A. P. L.," the American Protective League, the organization through which 250,000 business and professional men helped win the war by suppressing disloyal utterances and actions tending to undermine the national morale. Mr. Hough makes an interesting story of it.

Germany in the War and After. By Vernon Kellogg. Macmillan. 101 pp.

American writers having actual, personal knowledge of German opinion during the war are few. Of this small group, none has better credentials than Mr. Kellogg, whose articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines have had a wide reading for the past two years.

Reading in the Economics of War. Edited by J. Maurice Clark, Walton H. Hamilton and Harold G. Moulton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 676 pp.

An interpretation of the war in its economic aspects, having a direct bearing on the future organization of industrial society. The readings represent no single school of thought, but are catholic in range of opinion in respect to the problems arising from American participation in the war.

The Story of the First Gas Regiment. By James Thayer Addison. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 326 pp. Ill.

A regiment using gas as a sole offensive munition, was something unheard of in military history prior to the Great War. Yet in the summer of 1917, our own Government organized such a regiment and, although practically nothing could be printed about its doings during the actual progress of the war, it actually took part in the three great battles of Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Argonne. The record of its action—a real contribution to history—has been written by the regimental chaplain, James Thayer Addison, and is published in an attractive volume with many illustrations and maps.

Prisoners of the Great War. By Carl P. Dennett. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 235 pp. Ill.

The author of this book was the American Red Cross deputy commissioner to Switzerland in charge of finding, feeding, clothing and otherwise caring for American prisoners in German prison camps. He had, of course, unexcelled opportunities for learning the actual conditions in those camps. His book is the first authoritative statement to get general circulation in this country.

Physical Examination of the First Million Draft Recruits: Methods and Results. Compiled under direction of the Surgeon-General, M. W. Ireland, by Albert G. Love, M.D., and Charles B. Davenport, Washington: Government Printing Office. 521 pp. Ill.

In "Bulletin Number 11" the Surgeon-General's Office at Washington tabulates the results of the physical examination of the first million draft recruits in 1917-18. The information contained in this bulletin is unique. Prior to the selective draft there had not been for more than half a century an opportunity to make a census of the physical constitution of the American people. The facts thus obtained should prove of the greatest value for the scientific study of our national health conditions.

The League of Nations. By Mathias Erzberger. Translated by Bernard Miall. Holt. 331 pp.

In this volume the German Centrist leader professes to set forth the sincere demand of his section of public opinion in Germany for *a* League of Nations. Needless to say, it is not *the* League of Nations that he advocates. He does, however, call for compulsory arbitration and disarmament.

Russia in 1919. By Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch. 232 pp.

Those who wish to view the present Russian situation from all standpoints and to do full justice to the Bolshevist leaders, will find in this little book by a well-known British writer much fresh and stimulating material. Besides personal interviews with Lenine and the heads of important government departments, Mr. Ransome gives detailed accounts of meetings of the Moscow Executive Committees and statistics concerning schools, libraries, prices of food and commodities, and facts concerning the great Russian experiment in government that is now in progress.

Bolshevik Aims and Ideals and Russia's Revolt Against Bolshevism. Reprinted from *The Round Table.* Macmillan. 89 pp.

A terse, clear-cut statement of the Bolshevist program together with an account of the movements against Bolshevism in Russia itself.

Reconstruction and National Life. By Cecil Fairfield Lavell. Macmillan. 193 pp.

This work lays emphasis on national responsibilities in relation to reconstruction, rather than on the more formal, diplomatic aspects of the subject, which have already received much attention from other writers. The historical approach is adopted and four countries are studied—Great Britain, France, Russia, and Germany.

Collapse and Reconstruction. By Sir Thomas Barclay. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 315 pp.

A discussion of European conditions and American principles by an eminent British authority on international law. The most impressive passages in the book are those treating of America's relation to world problems.

LABOR PROBLEMS

An American Labor Policy. By Julius Henry Cohen. Macmillan. 110 pp.

Mr. Cohen is an American lawyer who has given much time to the study of industrial problems. He has acted as counsel for the employers in the garment trades, and during the New York City street-car strike in 1916 he was special counsel for the Public Service Commission. Mr. Cohen is neither a Syndicalist nor a Socialist, but he believes that there must and will be a change in the present state of industrial organization. In his view the same principle of social coöperation that enters into the League of Nations must be put into industry.

The I. W. W.: A Study of American Syndicalism. By Paul Frederick Brissenden. The Columbia University Press. 432 pp.

In this rather bulky account of American syndicalism to date the reader will find little more than an historical record of the growth and conflicts of the I. W. W. The author has made little attempt to analyze or interpret the movement, leaving this task for other investigators. He does, however, give a useful presentation of his subject from the historian's standpoint, utilizing documentary material not easily accessible heretofore.

Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism. By J. W. Scott. London: A. & C. Black. 215 pp.

A Scottish philosopher's attempt to reconcile the extreme revolutionary aims of the modern Labor movement with the best thought of our time. Bergson and Bertrand Russell are the two philosophers of the day to whom special attention is devoted in this volume.

The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner. By Edith Elmer Wood. Macmillan. 321 pp.

Even at this late day the conception of the housing problem as a community matter is not everywhere familiar. We have only recently begun to regard it as a duty of society to insure the cleanliness and wholesomeness of the dwellings in which the poorest citizens live. In the present volume Mrs. Wood builds up a strong case for constructive housing legislation. She contributes to this by citing the experience of foreign countries as well as of our own.

AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

New Schools for Old. By Evelyn Dewey. E. P. Dutton Co. 336 pp.

This story of the regeneration of a country school is unique among the records of experiments in education. Not only has the author, Miss Evelyn Dewey, daughter of Professor John Dewey of Columbia, invested the book with the charm of her piquant style, but the subject-matter is drawn from the very heart of the impulse toward growth that renews the world and keeps it alive. The book permits one to visualize the process by which a neglected country school becomes efficient as an educational factor and the social center of the community. Mrs. Harvey, the teacher of the Porter school, realized that the life of the rural school must be renewed from within, not regenerated by an infusion from without. She secured the coöperation of every individual in the district and presently her school became a living thing, and approached the ideal held by valiant educators for the American rural school. Reproductions from photographs illustrate the various steps in the work done by Mrs. Harvey.

VOLUMES OF POETRY

ARTHUR SYMONS has never surpassed in verbal beauty the prose of his memoir of Ernest Christopher Dowson, which prefaces Dowson's collected "Poems and Prose,"[1] now published in the "Modern Library" at a nominal price. This tragic poet of the early nineties was born in Lee, Kent, in 1867. He died in 1900, at the early age of thirty-three, leaving to posterity some excellent translations from the French, a small quantity of carefully written prose, and two slim volumes of verse. The second of these, "Decorations," shows that the poet's powers were dimming. Whether this was because of his reckless existence or because the flame of genius—never in his frail frame more than a flickering tongue of intermittent fire—had died down, we cannot know. But there is enough in the first volume, "Verses," to place his name among the immortals. Symons states that Dowson said he had given in the first book all he had to say. It is the judgment both of his contemporaries and of those who have come after that he gave his "all" in one perfect lyric, "Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae." This lyric is the epitome of his life, the echo of the despairing music to which he moved, loved and died, a poem whose perfection is the despair of greater poets than Dowson.

Although Walter Adolphe Roberts is by racial inheritance a Celt, there is the evidence of a strong Latinic feeling for art and poetry in his verse published under the title, "Pierrot Wounded and Other Poems."[2] Like Dowson, he has cared to do a few things extremely well. Among these are the "Villanelle of the Living Pan," which approximates fautlessness, and closely approaching this is the "Villanelle of Montparnasse." His sonnets are graceful, particularly the one written in memory of his friend, Alan Seeger, and previously published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in connection with an article on Seeger. Notable among the translations included in the volume are those from the French of Henri de Regnier, and from the Italian of Gabrielle d'Annunzio. There is a touch of Arcadian primitiveness in the original poems, and a shadow of subtle, half-sad sophistication, as of a mournful Pan evoking music in a twilight mood of the emotions, music that is regretful of the frailty of our moral hold on the shimmering, elusive substance of art. Mr. Roberts is editor of *Ainslee's Magazine*.



WALTER ADOLPHE ROBERTS

[1]Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson. With memoir by Arthur Symons. Boni & Liveright. 219 pp.

[2]Pierrot Wounded and Other Poems. By Walter Adolphe Roberts. Britton Pub. Co. 87 pp.

In "The New Morning,"[3] by Alfred Noyes, one finds the poet's reactions to the war and his outlook for the future. It is an impressive collection of poems, one that reveals the full stature of mature manhood facing the broken world in the light of the glory of the inner vision. It contains many well-known poems of the war—among others: "Dead Man's Morrice," "The Avenue of the Allies," "Victory" (written after the British service at Trinity Church), "Wireless," "Kilmeny," and "The Vindictive."

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's new volume, "The Years Between,"[4] contains all his war poems and other poems never published before. Here is a graver, a deeper Kipling, one less facile with the froth of poesy and more concerned with its substance. Every one, Kipling-lover or not, will appreciate the stirring, memorable poems of the war, such as "Lord Roberts," "The Irish Guards," "The Song of the Lathes," "The Sons of Martha," "My Boy Jack," and the tribute to France with its inspiring refrain: "France, beloved of every soul that loves or serves its kind."

"War and Love,"[5] by Richard Aldington, lieutenant in the British Army, contains the finest poetry of its kind published since the war. As a whole, the poems enclose one principal truth, namely, that in the final issue flesh and spirit are one and indivisible. Lieutenant Aldington has written of the thoughts and the emotions of the infantrymen of the line, of the "inarticulate feelings of the ordinary civilized man thrust into extraordinary and hellish circumstance;" written of his disregard of conduct and of the terrifying beauty of the passion of love, as he has seen it, in the shadow of death. He offers this book as a memoir of two years of the war. In every poem of the collection one feels the maturity of his genius, the widening and deepening of his poetic power.

Among the lists of translations there is hardly one that offers more than the attractively bound edition of "The Poems and Prose Poems of Charles Baudelaire,"[6] with a biographical preface by James Huneker. One feels that the translator has succeeded in larger measure with the "Prose" than with the "Poems," but whatever is lacking in Baudelarian subtlety, is made up for by the preface. Huneker writes that Baudelaire's soul was a strayed spirit from a medieval day, one patiently built up as a fabulous bird might build its nest from all things good and evil, beautiful and obscene, with the "abomination of desolation for its undertones."

The second volume of George Herbert Clarke's "Treasury of War Poetry,"[7] contains British and American poems of the war that keep to the high

[3]The New Morning. By Alfred Noyes. Frederick Stokes Co. 172 pp.

[4]The Years Between. By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page Co. 153 pp.

[5]War and Love. By Richard Aldington. The Four Seas Co. 94 pp.

[6]The Poems and Prose Poems of Charles Baudelaire. Brentano. 135 pp.

[7]A Treasury of War Poetry. Vol. II. Edited by George Herbert Clarke. Houghton, Mifflin. 361 pp.

level of excellence set in the first volume. The two books bring together much of the best poetry written on the war, that which is most likely to register permanently in the spiritual gamut of the race. The introduction gives a graceful and searching analysis of the emotions of the poet and their expression in a war-torn world.

A new edition of "War Verse,"[1] a collection of poems of the war edited by Frank Foxcroft, is issued in a seventh and newly revised edition to which forty new poems have been added. These poems were published in English periodicals after the first edition went to press in August, 1918. Interest is added to this anthology by the fact that the poems are not in the main the work of poets and literary folk, but the sporadic and occasional expression of the men who actually did the work of the war.

For those who want an all-around taste of Russian literature, there is an "Anthology of Modern Slavonic Literature,"[2] edited and translated by P. Selver, with introduction and notes. The selections are typically racial and have been admirably selected from Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Serbian and Slovene sources. This book will be of great value to students and give pleasure and information to the average reader.

In an essay on poetry, "Nowadays,"[3] Lord Dunsany asks: "What is it to hate poetry? It is to have no little dreams and fancies, no holy memories of golden days, to be unmoved by serene midsummer evenings, or dawn over wild lands . . . it is to be cut off from the fellowship of great men that are gone; to see men and women without their halos and the world without its glory . . . it is to beat one's hands all day against the gates of Fairyland, and to find that they are shut and the country empty and its kings gone hence."

Marguerite Wilkinson's volume of friendly criticism of modern poetry, "New Voices,"[6] is written not so much for poets as for the general public desirous of knowing about the beautiful poetry written by modern poets and about the poets themselves. The book brings to the reader not only the theories of verse-making, its technique and an analysis of various forms together with skilful criticism of the work of our well-known poets, but it brings the feel of the personalities of the poets, their friendliness, and the meaning of their ideals. The beginning of the understanding of poetry is friendliness to life, and Mrs. Wilkinson defines poetry as "simply the sharing of life in patterns of rhythmical words." Certain chapters discuss democracy and the new themes of poetry and the great war, and another—one of the most helpful—shows us how we can best give poetry to children and thereby lift their minds into currents of creative imagination. Mrs. Wilkinson was co-winner with David Morton, this year, of the National Arts Club prize of $250 awarded the best poems read before the Poetry Society of America during the season of 1918-19.

NOVELS OF THE SEASON

THE popularity of the translations from the Spanish of Blasco Ibanez is at least partially explained if one looks beyond the plots, the structure, and the technique. In this author, as in Conrad, there is an onrush of elemental energy, the force of primitive nature sweeping through the words. Mark the very effusion of procreative earth in the first chapters of the "Four Horsemen;" feel the outflowing of the passion, the lure of the sea in "Mare Nostrum" (Our Sea).[4] In the latter book, the story of German submarine warfare in the Mediterranean, the artful limning of the character of Freya, the spy, who draws Captain Farragut of the *Mare Nostrum* to place his boat at the service of the Germans, are both subservient to the characterization of the sea at once man's mistress and his destroyer. Blasco Ibanez uses thirty-four pages to describe the life of the deep seas held captive in the Aquarium at Naples. In this chapter as in the opening one of the "Four Horsemen," we have the grandiloquent gesture, the superb sweep of the genius of the great Spaniard.

"Mary Olivier,"[5] a novel by May Sinclair, tells the story of a woman's life. The narrative begins in 1865, when Mary is two years old, and follows the events of her life to the year 1910, when she is forty-seven. Readers who enjoyed Miss Sinclair's earlier book, "The Tree of Heaven," will find in the first book a certain preparation for "Mary Olivier." For as one suddenly—as upon sunshine after dense mists—came upon the belief in the story of the war, that the truth of reality lies beyond matter in some unpreponderable realm of the spirit, so in the later book one emerges without warning into the white light of an achieved joy, a happiness born of that which is wholly within one's self, a vista of the Kingdom of God. Mary Olivier, maid and woman, lived intensely, eagerly, always seeking happiness in things, in people. When she reached the calm levels of middle age, she recovered the brilliant flashes of clear joy that had illumined her childhood. She says: "People talked a lot about compensation, but nobody told you that after forty-five life would have this exquisite clearness and intensity." This book has a very deep beauty; it is nearer the rhythm of life eternal than anything else Miss Sinclair has done.

It is a distinct pleasure to recommend to American readers a complete edition of the novels of Archibald Marshall. This unassuming chroni-

[1] War Verse. Edited by Frank Foxcroft. T. Y. Crowell. 363 pp.
[2] Anthology of Modern Slavonic Literature. Edited and translated by P. Selver. E. P. Dutton Co.
[3] Nowadays. By Lord Dunsany. The Four Seas Co. 29 pp.
[4] Mare Nostrum (Our Sea). By V. Blasco Ibanez. E. P. Dutton Co. 518 pp.
[5] Mary Olivier. By May Sinclair. Macmillan. 380 pp.
[6] New Voices. By Marguerite Wilkinson. Macmillan. 409 pp.



ARCHIBALD MARSHALL

cler of English country life has been quietly gaining a large audience of discriminating readers. In 1908, the first Marshall novel, "Exton Manor," was published in the United States. Now twelve novels and a volume of short stories are obtainable in uniform edition. Five of the novels are concerned with the fortunes of the famous Clinton family. Out of the twelve, "Richard Baldock" and "The Greatest of These" are perhaps one notch above the others in artistry, and in the pictorial quality peculiar to this novelist. The novels are all tranquil and leisurely; they are eloquent as life is eloquent, beyond the measure of its articulate speech. "The Clintons and Others,"[1] a recent collection of short stories, has been adjudged the best volume of short stories published this year. A short biography of the novelist, with a sketch of his work, has been prepared by Professor William Lyon Phelps ("Archibald Marshall: a Contemporary Realist." Dodd, Mead).

If you do not know Cuthbert Tunks, you will want to know him. He is the latest war hero, the winner of a V. C. For the incidents, how, when and where, consult Mr. A. Neil Lyons' inimitable story of the war, "A London Lot."[2] It is scintillatingly humorous; there is a laugh on every page and a deep humanity that frequently brings tears with the laughter. Cuthbert's own account of the adventure of the decoration, as he modestly recounted it to the Major, was that he had been "digging." After one learns what this underestimated "digging" was, one easily believes that the British part of the war was won by regiments of Cuthberts.

The English novelist, William de Morgan, died before he completed the last chapter of his mystery novel, "The Old Madhouse."[3] The manuscript broke off in the middle of a sentence leaving the disappearance of Dr. Carteret in The Cedars, a mansion that had formerly been a madhouse, as great a mystery as on the day the Doctor stepped along the tiled corridor and vanished into nowhere. Luckily the novelist had talked over the solution with his wife, and she was able to finish the novel as he had intended. If this had not been possible, "The Old Madhouse" might have taken rank with "Edwin Drood" and piqued the invention of readers for a half-century. The novel is a leisurely, finely-textured story of English life. William de Morgan died at his London [illegible], "The Vale," in Chelsea, two doors from the former home of Thomas Carlyle, on January 15, 1917.

An edition of Leonard Merrick's novels[4] will not escape the eye of those who wish to avoid the overly-serious novel. "Conrad in Quest of His Youth" is prefaced by Sir James Barrie; "Cynthia," by Maurice Hewlett; "The Actor Manager," by W. D. Howells, and "The Position of Peggy Harper," by Sir Arthur Pinero. No other contemporary story rivals "Conrad in Quest of His Youth." For Conrad achieves the impossible; he finds the Eternal Fountain sought vainly by Ponce de Leon, and by every son of Adam.

For those who like to remember Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and for all readers keenly interested in the evolution of humanity after the war, there is an enthralling story, "A Romance of Two Centuries,"[5] by Dr. Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Dr. Guthrie has brought all his scholarship to bear upon this postulate of the future, and woven his speculations into a fascinating narrative. A young American serving in the A. E. F. in 1918 is captured by the enemy and inoculated with the germs of the African sleeping sickness. Science preserves him alive, and in his youthful state (he was about twenty-five) until the year 2023. Then science discovers how to awaken him. His education in the world of that period then proceeds and his journeying over a new strange universe. There are different geographical divisions, new nations, customs, transportation, education and religion. Unique among all that is new to him, are the schools of matrimony. Bellamy yields to Dean Swift in the telling, for Dr. Guthrie cannot refrain from touching satirically our present-day follies, in particular our city-planning and financial system.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's first long novel to be published in English, "The Home and the World,"[6] aims at the bringing together of the interests of the two sexes and the enlargement of their common life in the world. The principal characters are an East Indian landed proprietor; his wife, the beautiful Bimala, and an agitator in the cause of Swadeshi (the Nationalist Movement in India). The wife emerges from the age-long seclusion of the East Indian household to take up the work of the political agitator. Beset by vanity, hampered by inexperience, she divides her life from that of her husband and brings sorrow and disillusionment upon her head. Tagore sees the destinies of man and woman as inseparable one from the other. The style has the charm of simplicity and the story holds the reader from beginning to end.

Mr. Arthur Symons' "Studies in the Elizabethan Drama"[7] cover a period of over two decades of his critical achievement. They are distinguished by a style unsurpassed in current English prose.

[1]The Clintons and Others. By Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead. 407 pp.
[2]A London Lot. By A. Neil Lyons. Lane. 279 pp.
[3]The Old Madhouse. By William de Morgan. Henry Holt Co. 567 pp.
[4]The Novels of Leonard Merrick. Uniform edition with prefaces. E. P. Dutton.
[5]A Romance of Two Centuries. By Dr. Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Platonist Press. [illegible] pp.
[6]The Home and the World. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 293 pp.
[7]Studies in Elizabethian Drama. By Arthur Symons. E. P. Dutton. 261 pp.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

Labor Crises: Coal, Steel, Railways — *By the Editor*

Roosevelt Week—A Nation-wide Tribute
By Hermann Hagedorn



A Roosevelt Memorial Tower in the Black Hills of South Dakota

Roosevelt, on Labor and the Judges

"Open Shop" and Steel Strike
By Judge Elbert H. Gary

America's Greatest Battle—the Story of the Argonne, re-told after one year
By Frank H. Simonds

Our Government and the Farmers — *By Secretary Houston*

China's Recent Progress
In Medicine, Schools, and Politics
By George E. Vincent

Uncle Sam's Insurance Business

Bank Stocks for the Investor
By Dean Mathey

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THE GRAVE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY, ON HIS BIRTHDAY, OCTOBER 27

(The scene is that of the arrival of the Roosevelt Flag, upon which stars had been sewn by school girls, as described in Mr. Hagedorn's article in this number of the REVIEW—see page 483)

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LX. NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1919 NO. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

[TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS: This November number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS *makes its appearance fully half a month late by reason of a printers' strike in New York City. Such delay does not, however, imply staleness in the treatment of current topics, or in the program of contributed articles; for the entire number from first page to last is written or edited as of the moment of going to press, which is at the beginning of the second week of November.*

There will be no difficulty in issuing future numbers; and lost time will be regained by making the intervals a little less than a month. Thus the December number will be issued early next month, and the January number will appear between Christmas and New Year's Day.

Our readers, like those of many other periodicals, have been considerate and patient; and advertising patrons have well understood that the publishers were not seeking selfish advantage in withstanding strike demands, but were firmly supporting sound principles of justice, and methods of order and reasonableness, in the settlement of differences between employers and wage earners.

It is not our custom to make editorial allusion to our own affairs; but this brief word of explanation is due to our readers because our delay of several weeks is also their affair. We are soon to enter upon the thirtieth year of this periodical, with unbroken continuity of editorship and management. Through this period the REVIEW *has tried to uphold the principles of American freedom, and to interpret current movements as related to the progress of the country and the world. If our point of view was optimistic thirty years ago, it is even more so to-day.*

Ahead of us lies a year of political activity and industrial and social ferment; but it will also be a year of great opportunity for those who are minded to help keep the country sound and sane. This REVIEW *hopes to be able to promote the wise objects of all those who are working for the nation's integrity and for its further upbuilding.*—THE EDITOR.]

The Greatest Post-War Industrial Crisis

As the present month of November opened, with the first anniversary of the Armistice close at hand, the convulsive disturbances that had been affecting the social and economic life of Europe—in the endeavor to turn from four years of war struggle to a normal balance of peacetime conditions—had, like some great tidal wave, swept across seas to break upon our American shores. What seemed the climax of industrial disturbance in Great Britain had been reached just a month earlier. On October 3 an Associated Press dispatch from London summed up the situation in the great British railroad strike then pending, as follows:

After seven days the railroad strike situation to-night became the gravest in the history of any labor crisis of the British Empire in the present generation. All efforts of the Transport Workers' Federation to find a bridge to enable a renewal of negotiations between the government and the National Union of Railwaymen failed.

The government's proposal for a seven days' truce for the rail men to return to work and permit resumption of negotiations on the disputed points, coupled with the offer by the government to resort to arbitration in the event of failure to reach an agreement, has been rejected by the railwaymen's union, and the whole possibility of mediation for the moment has collapsed.

At the same time, it was announced that at a meeting of trade union delegates, following the conference with Premier Lloyd George, it was decided to convene in London on Tuesday a congress of all the trade unions in the United Kingdom, to discuss the situation.

The Premier in the course of a conference today made an impassioned appeal to the railway men to accept the offer of arbitration, and it is reported that some delegates of the transport workers were in favor of accepting the offer.

Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, in a statement to the

press to-night referred to the breakdown in negotiations to-day as "lamentable" and announced that the congress of trade unions had been convened for Tuesday to "engage in any form of moral and sympathetic support of the railway men in the struggle they are waging for trades unionism."

The view taken in government circles to-night is that the position is extremely grave, and all necessary steps are being taken by the government to meet the new situation.

British Sanity Triumphant

On October 5 a dispatch from London began with the remark that "optimism was the note on which the eighth day of the British railway strike came to a close." On October 6 the cable brought the following cheerful announcement:

With dramatic suddenness in the quiet of the London Sunday afternoon, it was announced to a knot of people waiting in Downing Street that the great railway strike which appeared to have brought the country almost to the brink of revolution was settled, and that the strikers would resume work as quickly as possible.

Labor controversies in England are by no means ended as yet, and we are almost certain to see in the near future a general election in which industrial issues will be dominant and in which the Labor party, which is controlled by trade-unionism, will endeavor to elect a majority of members of Parliament,



MR. LLOYD GEORGE, THE LITTLE WIZARD

Uncle Samuel: "Say, John, can't you lend Lloyd George to me for a week or so to settle up my strike situation?"

(From the *Star*, Montreal, Canada)

and govern the country with a labor leader for Prime Minister. But the election of members of Parliament friendly to the point of view of labor leaders is a strictly constitutional mode of proceeding; and the adoption by Parliament of such proposals as the nationalization of railroads or the operation of coal mines as Government property, while involving great actual changes, would not be revolutionary in the *method* of change.

England's Railway Strike

British railroads were still under Government control and operation in continuance of the war-time policy, and the strike of late September and early October was directly against the Government. Many people in England thought it was the beginning of civil war. It looked for a few days as if the coal miners, "transport" workers, and various other bodies of organized labor would strike in conjunction with the railway men. It was also feared that policemen in general would be found on the side of the strikers. "Civil guards" were called into being by the Government, and scores of thousands of citizens undertook to make the strike a failure by helping to bring food into London on motor trucks, to move passengers in omnibuses and automobiles, and to operate railroad trains at least to a limited extent. Even the King and Queen could not secure railroad services, and motored 500 miles from their summer home (Balmoral in Scotland) to London. Trade-unionism is much stronger relatively in England than in the United States; but the attempt of the railway workers, supported by other unions, to enforce particular technical demands by sheer attack upon the vital processes of the country itself was doomed to failure.

Reason and Humanity of Official Group

However much or little of arrogance there might have been on the part of the British labor leaders—and it must be admitted that their manner and tone are usually far better than those of American labor leaders—there was very little of the autocratic or of the high note of authority in the attitude assumed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. He and his right-hand man, Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the House of Commons, together with those two masterf and remarkable brothers now foremost in the Government's dealings with transportation and industry, Sir Auckland Geddes and Sir Eric Geddes, have not bothered much about their official

dignity, and have dealt man to man with labor on equal and democratic terms. Sir Eric, who held different administrative posts during the war and who was a practical railroad manager previous to 1914, is now Minister of Transportation and head of the Government operation of railroads. Sir Auckland Geddes—a great scientist and medical authority—enlisted and equipped armies in the war period, and is now head of the ministry that is dealing with the post-war problems of national economic life. This quartet of strong and able men met the labor leaders in a spirit of conciliation. They did their best to avert the strike, and the crisis was ended not by assertion of the majesty and power of Government as against the tenacity and strength of trade-unionism, but by a demonstration on the part of the great public that it could and would support its rights —those ordinary rights of society and of individuals.

Terms of Settlement

The controversy was chiefly about wage scales. Announced schedules would have reduced the pay in the near future of certain classes of railway workers. The strike was settled through the good offices of the leaders of the Transport Workers' Union, who brought about a friendly conference at the Prime Minister's house in Downing Street between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law on the one hand, and Mr. J. H. Thomas and other leaders of the railway men on the other hand. This Sunday meeting was courteous and open-minded on both sides. The group got up an informal lunch at midday and stayed together; and every point in dispute was met and compromised. It was agreed that the workers should resume their places immediately. Negotiations would then be re-opened, to be completed before January 1. Wages were to be stabilized at present level for another full year (until October 1, 1920). No adult railroad man in Great Britain should receive less than a minimum wage of 51 shillings (nearly thirteen dollars) per week as long as the cost of living remained 110 per cent. above the average at the beginning of the war. It was further agreed that there should be no victims, and that returning workers would work harmoniously with those who had remained at their posts, and *vice versa*. Finally, it was agreed that arrears of wages would be paid on return to work.



MR. J. H. THOMAS, HEAD OF ENGLISH RAILWAY WORKERS

(Mr. Thomas has been regarded for several years past as one of the ablest and most trustworthy of the group of British labor leaders who are also prominent Labor members of Parliament. The success of the Labor party in the English municipal elections on November 1 encourages the Labor party to plan for success at the polls as a substitute for strikes)

Social Factors in the Contest

The strikers felt that Mr. J. H. Thomas, their leader, had accomplished a great deal for them, but he refused to claim a victory and attributed the "honorable settlement" to the "great and worthy part played by the Premier." The British press commented upon the good temper of the public in facing the terrible loss and inconvenience of a railroad strike, and regarded the settlement as a victory gained by the people at large and not by the extremists on either side of the controversy. Such a strike is a bad business and ought not to be tolerated; but in England at least the best way to avoid the danger of future strikes against the public comfort and convenience is to have a demonstration that the public can and will meet the emergency and defeat the hold-up. The five-year war period had greatly increased the efficiency of the ordinary young Englishman. Lords and Dukes were ready to drive motor trucks or handle baggage. If half a million railway workers had refused to operate trains, there would soon have been three times as many young men equal to taking

their places and probably half a million young women.

Process of British Reform

Industrial society in England is not to be overthrown by the menace of any organized group or element — aristocratic or otherwise — that chooses to adopt the highwayman's methods. For several generations England has been steadily reducing the advantages of the so-called "privileged classes." Political enfranchisement has been extended until now it is universal as regards men, and it includes women also. The burden of taxation has been shifted from the poor to the rich. Land monopoly is virtually a thing of the past. The controlling power of hereditary peers in the House of Lords has been ended. If "cheap labor" was once regarded as necessary to Britain's commercial preëminence, the rights of men and women are now understood and safeguarded. Industrial capital no longer grinds down the working masses. Short hours prevail, and wages are high. A new system of education has been adopted, that will give the poorest boy and girl almost as good a chance in England as the sons and daughters of the so-called "upper classes."

"Labor" in Politics

There are specific inequalities yet to be remedied by acts of Parliament or by general agreement, but sound *methods* of progress have been vindicated in England and they will surely be sustained. It may be that a British Parliament in the near future will decide that the coal supply is so fundamental to all British enterprise, and so essentially a national rather than a private or individual resource, that it must be taken over by purchase and operated under public control. If this should be done, it would be no violent or revolutionary proceeding, but a policy that could be justified easily enough in theory if only it could be made to work well in practice. The strength of the Labor party in the English municipal elections early this month points to a possible Labor Parliament within a year or two.

Coal Mining and Human Uplift

As we have remarked more than once in these pages, the traditional lot of miners in Central Europe, in Great Britain, and in the United States has been one of hardship and self-sacrifice. Modern industrial history, as related particularly to the mining of coal, surely enlists on the side of the workers the sympathies of the lover of his fellow-men. The general movement for human betterment has also reached the miners, and it is not due to any one factor. Labor organization has played some part, political democracy an even greater part, the spirit of education and opportunity still greater; and the creation of abundance through invention, through the use of machinery, through railroads, through capitalistic development, has played the greatest part of all. Shorter hours, better standards of living, a wider diffusion of the comforts and satisfactions of life, a diminution of the evils of poverty, overwork, infectious illness and so on—these things have come as permanent acquisitions of our civilization. Wherever organized labor has taken an intelligent view of these matters, it has undoubtedly helped very much to secure better treatment of women workers, abolition of child labor, safety appliances in railroads, mines, and shops, improved sanitary conditions, suitable hours of work, and proper standards of pay. These better conditions of life, when attained by workers in more highly skilled crafts and trades, are quite sure to extend to other trades, such as mining, until there is at least an approximation everywhere towards such standards as are reasonable in view of all the facts.

"Unions" and the Trend of Progress

We are not likely in our generation to see the time when these conditions can be regarded as ideal in any industry or trade. Human desires grow by what they feed upon, and a certain amount of discontent is essential to wholesome progress. Furthermore, there will be particular troubles in some kinds of work, far more serious than those complained of by workers in other callings. When men are engaged permanently in kinds of work that are thoroughly distinctive—such, for example, as the mining of coal—it is likely that they will continue to find it beneficial to be associated together in organ-



THE LION AND THE L[illegible] (AS YEARS AGO)

izations based upon the fact of their rendering the same kind of industrial service. It does not follow that if they were *not* associated in a particular way, as in the existing international miners' union, their grievances would remain without redress. The law of supply and demand in the labor market would still operate, and if the miners' lot were too hard the sons of miners would go off into other callings, as would most of the younger miners themselves.

How Public Sentiment Regulates

The general consciousness of the country is aroused as to the needs of decent housing, proper schooling and suitable conditions for all citizens. The workers have in their hands the secret ballot, with an honest count, and they can use it to their own ad antage in local as well as in general elections. There is dominant throughout the United States—not within labor circles alone, but within all circles—an irresistible sentiment that cries out against needless extremes of wealth and poverty, and that demands a reasonable share in the good things of life for all American citizens who contribute by honest labor to the prosperity of the country.

Arrogance of Capital — as it Was

There was a time when in this country it was not easy for working men to obtain a hearing for their real or fancied grievances. It is a long story, not to be recounted in these passing editorial comments. The railroad companies a generation ago were opposed to any form of organization among their men. The heads of the railroads quite generally were unwilling to recognize the reasonableness of the principle of arbitration in labor disputes. In those days the workers, in their groups or brotherhoods or unions, would not have dreamed of advancing in their demands beyond the securing of a right to state their grievances, a right to period-



THE LION AND THE LAMB (AS NOWADAYS!)
(From the *Central Press Association*, Cleveland, Ohio)



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SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA
(Senator Cummins champions a plan for arbitration of railroad disputes to prevent danger of future strikes)

ical negotiation, and a right to arbitrate. Arrogance was almost wholly on the side of employing capital. A great change has come about, and the employers as a rule prefer high-priced to cheap labor and desire to see their employees comfortable and happy. Furthermore, there is no general disposition on the part of employers to oppose "collective bargaining" in some form or another, while the principle of arbitration is almost universally recognized on the part of employers. Public opinion has laid its heavy hand upon railroad managers and the heads of corporations, and if such industrial "barons" or "magnates" were once arrogant towards the public, and unfeeling and irresponsible towards their employees, such is no longer the case.

Should Railroad Strikes Be Abolished?

The Cummins Railroad Bill, as introduced in the Senate a few weeks ago—to which we are referring in a subsequent paragraph as regards its general provisions—calls among other things for arbitration of disputes, to the end that neither managers nor employed men shall be guilty of harming the public by tying up the wheels of traffic. This is no novel idea. The editor of this REVIEW advocated it strongly more than thirty years ago without a hint of dissent from the leaders of the railway brotherhoods. The men who rose in indignant protest twenty-five or thirty years ago against the suggestion of compul-

sory arbitration were the presidents of railroad companies, with a vocal backing of railroad and corporation lawyers. As for the predecessors of the present heads of the railway unions or "brotherhoods," the idea of compulsory arbitration seemed to savor of the millennium—a thing too good to be hoped for in a country so dominated as they felt that ours then was by capitalistic arrogance. We had numerous and bitter railroad strikes in those days, in which the strikers as a rule had genuine grievances, and had no means of obtaining redress except through the strike method, deplorable as it was. Such strikes, years ago, were not against the general public, but against a particular railroad company. Competing roads took care of the public, and the strike controversy was one chiefly between contending private interests. A fair hearing and a chance for arbitration was the most that the brakemen or firemen or locomotive engineers were asking for in those days, some twenty or thirty years ago. Thoughtful students of the situation believed that the railroad companies, as a condition of their enjoying public franchises, ought to be compelled by law to accept the principles of collective bargaining and of arbitration. No human being supposed that the men themselves would ever repudiate the principle of arbitration!

The New Spirit of Capital

Arrogance, however intrenched it may be in the security of demonstrated power, is always a blind and stupid thing, that overreaches itself. With the turn of the century we came into a new order of things. Corporation power had been riding for a fall. It was the great function of President Roosevelt to curb the corporations; to limit the undue tendency to form unregulated trusts and monopolies; to destroy the system of railroad rebates; to bring those who controlled finance and industrial power to a recognition of the full authority of the laws of the land. Each in his Presidency he met the fundamental issues in the great anthracite coal strike, and later he dealt with monopoly power in other portentous forms. But he could also rebuke arrogance in labor leadership, as we are showing (see page 458 elsewhere in this magazine). If capital was more arrogant and lawless, there is little reason to attack it on those grounds at the present moment. The owners of steam railroad property are now willingly fighting hours and are witnessing unprecedented gains in the combination of their honest investment. The owners of electric street railroads, and other local public utilities, who were once regarded as greedy exploiters and monopolists, are facing bankruptcy from one end of the country to the other because they are not allowed to charge enough for their services to meet their enhanced costs. Elsewhere in great industries we find a spirit of reasonableness,—a concern for the welfare of wage-earning men, women and children. All this is in happy contrast with the prevailing attitude of corporation managers a quarter of a century ago.

Wealth Recognizes Responsibility

It was popularly believed three decades ago that the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, the Carnegies, the Hills (these names being used as typifying the class of great capitalists and employers, rather than as singling out particular individuals), were unapproachable and not like other men, but grasping and without human sympathy. As individuals, certainly, they were generous on a vast scale and broadly public-spirited. As industrial leaders, speaking of them as a class, they belonged to a school that has been superseded. Their successors are men of the twentieth-century spirit in their attitude towards industrial democracy. They conceive of capital as a collective force, and of their own function as a representative one. They are not arrogant; they do not bluster; and they realize that the period is past for the domination of industry by a group of individuals possessing great wealth and living ostentatiously. Capital is essential to production, and we cannot have too much of it for the present needs of a disturbed and war-impoverished world. It has become democratic, being diffused in the hands of millions of small investors. Labor is also vital, and its efficiency should be encouraged in every possible way.

More important than either capital or labor, however, to the highest forms of industrial progress is what we may call "brains"—the faculty of ideas. The inventive brain of an Edison or a Westinghouse has been worth more to the economic welfare of the country than hundreds of millions of dollars in liquid capital or the labor of hundreds of thousands of [illegible] brains of the inventive man who can organize, direct, and be encouraged by the freedom of op-

portunity, and a constant lessening of artificial distinctions between social or industrial groups and classes. With the schools turning to the teaching that prepares for practical life, we shall have new leaders coming to the front all the time, by reason of personal fitness. Leadership is relatively more valuable than either labor or capital.

Machines and the Modern Boy

We have come into an age of machinery, and the modern boy has a right to demand that he be taught all that he can learn about steam engines, gas engines, water power, electricity and the various applications of power-driven machinery to the production of articles of commerce —whether in agriculture, in mining, in transportation, in metal-working, in textiles, or in any other direction. Photography and mechanical drawing are of basic importance in many arts and industries, and should be taught in all the schools. The practice of trade unionism in restricting the number of apprentices who may learn a given craft, belongs to the Dark Ages and is an affront to the intelligence of the Twentieth Century.

Recent Attitude of Labor Leaders

The pendulum swings violently from one extreme to the other before a new equilibrium is established; and to the philosophical mind it is not strange that the momentum acquired by the labor elements in their once creditable efforts to secure recognition and better conditions should have led them to success beyond their earlier hopes, with the temptations that victory and power so often engender. This idea was expressed, at the moment of this writing, by an office associate in whose presence these comments were being dictated. His remarks were in the following terms: "We are fighting against the abuse of power to-day by organized labor, even as we fought against the abuse of power by organized capital some years ago. Labor to-day is copying from capital's book; but it is an old book, and capital has turned over the page and gone on with the next lesson. Labor is using to-day the same relentless and ruthless methods for personal advantage of its leaders that capitalistic leaders used for the same purpose ten years ago. Organized labor lags one step behind in the march of progress, and it is now studying the lesson that it cost capital money and blood to learn. Win, lose, or draw, the leaders are the last to suffer; and, just as capital is to-day suffering from the sins of a few, so will labor to-morrow suffer as a whole, while the leaders go unscathed."



"IF THEY GET TOGETHER IT'S OUR FINISH"
(From the *Times*, New York)

Strikes against the Public Are Wrong!

Strikes and lockouts are not to be regarded as permanent resorts. They were never pleasant or desirable; but within limits they have at times been used with salutary results. When the strike gets beyond limits, it is no longer chiefly a matter between two contending private interests. It becomes predominantly a matter of public concern. When a strike takes on national dimensions and threatens to paralyze all industry, hazarding the very lives of thousands by stopping the food supply of cities (as in the recent English railway strike), it is not to be tolerated, and it is to be put down by the solid opposition of society. The small and local railroad strike of a generation ago was bad enough, but it did not paralyze the business of any considerable region—much less of the whole country. To-day, the numerous railway unions have learned to act concertedly and to act on the national plane. A railway strike means the stoppage of the whole movement of steam traffic. Such a strike is not to be tolerated, and is without the faintest semblance of excuse if the Government will but provide a method of arbitration which the railway managers on their part agree to accept. The Senate railway bill is on solid ground in prohibiting strikes and providing for arbitration. This boon is demanded by society.

The Great Bituminous Coal Strike

The railroad problems, and more especially the strike in the iron and steel industry, were occupying much attention until they were suddenly thrown into the background by the actual launching of a strike of the miners in the soft or bituminous coal fields. This strike began with the morning of the first day of November, and took out some 400,000 miners in almost twenty-five States, extending from Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Maryland in the East, through Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma to Montana, Wyoming and Washington not to mention Texas, Arkansas and several other states. The strike was called by Mr. John L. Lewis, acting President of the United Mine Workers of America, on the vote of a convention held as recently as October 23, the question of a strike not being referred back to the men themselves. The demand of Mr. Lewis and his fellow leaders was for a sixty per cent. increase in wages, with work to be limited to five days a week and six hours a day. The associated mine operators were not willing to concede the demands, and Mr. Lewis was peremptory rather than conciliatory. The Secretary of Labor, Hon. W. B. Wilson (who was himself formerly a practical coal miner and an official of this very miners' union), called the operators and the strike leaders to Washington and endeavored to avert the strike; but without success.

A Plainly Unlawful Action

Secretary Wilson attributed the blame for this failure to the labor leaders, and not to the mine operators. Under any circumstances, a strike in early November in the fields producing most of the country's coal would be a very serious calamity. In the present case it was the more gravely offensive because coal production was still under the Government wartime control by virtue of the Lever act; and the strike was in the plainest violation of this federal law and was, by terms of that statute, a criminal conspiracy. Until peace is declared and the Lever act expires by limitation, it is against the law for men to unite in interfering with the production and distribution of food or of fuel. President Wilson, from his sick chamber in the White House on October 24 sent a message of appeal to the miners and operators to reach an agreement. He asked them for the sake of the welfare of the country, to continue the operation of the coal mines and to arbitrate.

Lewis versus President Wilson

On the 25 President issued a public [illegible]nt declaring that the propos[illegible]e would be "not only unjustifiable, but it is unlawful." He warned the miners' union that the "law would be enforced and means found to protect the national interest in any emergency that might arise." He declared his readiness to appoint at once a tribunal to protect the just rights of both the private interests concerned, as well as those of the general public. Acting President J. L. Lewis of the mine workers took the astonishing course of declaring that President Wilson's attitude was "the climax of a long series of attempted usurpations of executive power." It is to be noted that both Houses of Congress had immediately adopted emphatic resolutions supporting the President and endorsing his stand, thus re-enacting, so to speak, the Lever food and fuel statutes. Mr. Lewis, on his part, declared that "the President of the United States and his Cabinet by a unanimous vote ally themselves with sinister financial interests, which seek to deny justice to labor and precipitate our country into industrial turmoil." He then attempted an argument in the field of constitutional law, to justify the right of the miners to strike.

Government Tackles the Strike

For a day or two it was uncertain just how the Government would proceed, although the Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer,



[illegible] SHALL NOT FREEZE!"
(By Ha[illegible]g, in the *Eagle*, [illegible]rooklyn, N. Y.)



© Western Newspaper Union

SECRETARY WILLIAM B. WILSON'S PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE TO AVERT THE COAL STRIKE

(In the picture above, Secretary Wilson occupies the center, with President Thomas F. Brewster, of the Coal Operators' Association, at the reader's left and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, at the right)

was known to be preparing to take legal action. At length, on Friday the 31st, the Government took its first step by obtaining from Judge A. B. Anderson of the United States District Court at Indianapolis a temporary restraining order preventing the heads of the United Mine Workers from carrying on strike activities. In the brief interval of an hour before the judicial process could be served, President Lewis had sent out word to the miners to the effect that the strike was not to be averted and the injunction would merely complicate the problems involved. Mr. Lewis' prediction proved to be true, and the men actually went out as numerously as had been feared. Meanwhile the Government was proceeding with its "second line of action," this being, in our opinion, by far the more important. This "line" involved the maintenance of order, and the protection of the mines and workers against violence or intimidation on the part of the strikers. The English railway strike was broken, not by court injunctions, but by the energy of the British public in attempting to show that the strikers could not succeed in stopping the movement of food and supplies. The coal strike in the United States, as it appeared to many observers, could be brought to deserved failure by the uprising of an outraged nation, which would not allow leaders like Mr. Lewis to cut off the supply of fuel from railroad trains and factories, and from private homes and offices at the beginning of the cold season. The Government was firm in its legal attitude; but with or without "injunctions" the strike was doomed to failure.

The Country Resolute

The Governor of every coal-mining State in the Union was prepared to act in harmony with the Government at Washington. The powers of the Fuel Administrator, Dr. Garfield, were turned over to Secretary Lane of the Interior Department. Coal dealers were warned against profiteering, and prices were fixed officially. Priorities were indicated as in the war time, so that the most essential demands, such as those of the railroads, might be met. With the forces of the United States Army and the militia of the States available to prevent violence, it was reasonably certain that enough workers could be found, regardless of the miners' unions, to produce fuel and "keep the home fires burning." Non-union mines were worked for new production records, supplies were carefully "rationed," and the country showed confidence, while the labor leaders saw defeat before them. The Nation was resolute, and not alarmed.

Roosevelt and the Anthracite Strike

At the time of the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, when the men were ready to arbitrate and the operators were not ready, President Roosevelt intervened on behalf of the population of the great Eastern cities like New York, Boston and Philadelphia. His position was met at first with something like defiance on the part of the so-called "coal barons." Public opinion was aroused to a tremendous pitch in support of the President, who sought only the public good. The mine owners were obliged to accept the Presi-

dent's intervention, and were glad afterwards that they had yielded. In this present situation the attitude of the parties was exactly reversed. The defiance was on the part of the leaders of the men in the bituminous fields; while the operators were responsive to the President's appeal and obedient to the law. There is less excuse for Mr. Lewis and his fellow leaders than there was for the owners of the anthracite mines of Roosevelt's day; because no federal statute was involved in that period, and Presidential intervention was less obviously demanded. If the public interest prevailed at that time, it must, not less surely, prevail under the present circumstances.

"Injunctions" Are not all Alike

Mr. Lewis, with the support of labor leaders who have been regarded as more conservative, has attempted to divert public attention to the court injunction as an "unfair" proceeding, and thus to win sympathy. It should be observed that Judge Anderson's injunction was not one on behalf of the mine operators. It was not the use of a restraining order by one private interest against another in a labor dispute. It was an act on the part of a Federal Judge to uphold a particular federal statute at the instance of the President of the United States and the Attorney-General, in the name of the supremacy of law and in the interest of the public welfare. Such an injunction is not in the least to be confounded with those of the kind that labor leaders have in times past—often with justice and right on their side—so bitterly contended against. Thus this periodical never pretended to withhold its sympathy from Mr. Gompers when, years ago, he was convicted and sentenced for contempt of court, because of something printed (without unlawful intent) in the labor paper edited by him, that was regarded as not in keeping with the terms of an injunction that had been issued in a particular labor dispute. It will be remembered that Mr. Gompers fought the case through the Supreme Court and obtained a reversal and vindication. He has a right to be critical about the use of injunctions; but this particular order by Judge Anderson in support of the Lever law was—at least in the legal sense—a very different proceeding from those injunctions granted to employers in former days where private interests alone were involved. As labor leaders realized the blunder, and felt the sharp rebuke of public opinion, they e rly sought a way of retreat.

Miners Have Real Hardships

The coal strike, though legally wrong as a violation of a particular statute, would have been morally wrong without the existence of any such law. Its wrongness lies in the fact that it victimizes the innocent public incomparably more than it could hurt the owners of coal mines. It does not follow that the bituminous miners were without excuse in seeking better terms and conditions of employment. The trouble with mining arises from conditions beyond the immediate control either of the mine owners or of the workmen. The thing at fault is the system of distribution. Coal passes from the mines through the "breakers" into the railroad trains that move it to the points of consumption. There are no adequate storage accommodations anywhere, which permit a steady operation of the mines, and the accumulation of a year's surplus supply. Thus there is much enforced idleness; and it is said that during the past year the miners have had an average of perhaps not more than three or four days' work a week. It is said on their behalf that they have not averaged anything like the thirty hours that they demand.



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MR. JOHN L. LEWIS

(The leader who ordered the coal strike and denounced President Wilson's action)

Remedies to Be Sought

Thus, the miners have seemed to the public to be seeking to work very little, whereas their representatives say that the thing they want is to be allowed to work more,—even to the extent of being assured thirty hours a week. However that may be, the country does not want to see the miners oppressed; and a strike against the public is not the way to bring about an improvement in the whole business of producing and distributing fuel. In England, the miners think that national control is the only remedy for their difficult situation. But in this country, at least, there is little sentiment for permanent Governmental assumption of basic industries. A Bituminous Coal Commission appointed by the President would go into all questions justly and patiently; and a wiser leadership than that of Mr. Lewis and his fellows would have welcomed such a commission and would have refused to countenance a strike.

Farmers, Plainly, must not Strike

It may be necessary to bring coal mining under Government auspices in such a way as to protect the public while securing such conditions of employment for the miners as to render future strikes plainly unjustifiable. As for the railroads, they are now under Government control and operation. A general railroad strike would partake of the nature of a rebellion against the Government, and might indeed savor of treason. The President has declared that the roads are to be turned back to their owners in the immediate future, but it will be necessary, as agreed on all sides, to enact new legislation of a fundamental kind for the regulation of the railway business. Such legislation must assure continuous service to the public and must relegate railway strikes to the limbo of things obsolete. If at one time such strikes had a purpose to serve, that time is wholly past. Private interests are entitled to as much freedom as they can use without serious harm to public interests. If the farmers of the country should become closely organized and should threaten to strike and to withhold food supplies unless arbitrary price demands were met, it might become necessary to adopt land nationalization and put the nation's tenants under legal restraint. Such a danger is very remote however, and private land ownership will continue to be a sound and wholesome thing from every standpoint. Incidentally, we may remark in passing that the present conditions of American agriculture are most admirably reviewed for our readers in this number by Secretary Houston, while a competent Western writer, Mr. Hughes, will next month discuss pressing farm problems.



HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

(Mr. Houston regards the prosperity and steady development of agriculture as essential to the adjustment of conditions making for social unrest)

More Saving —Less Crusading

The war conditions proved very favorable for the work of the trade-union organizers, and they did not fail to push their opportunities. They greatly extended the number of different unions, and carried unionism far down into fields of unskilled employment, whereas the earlier practice of unionism had been largely confined to crafts and trades that were distinctive, technical or permanent in their nature. It is asserted by the union leaders that at the beginning of the war period they had about two million members and that now they have about four million. The tendency of a movement of this kind is to show the faults, as well as the virtues, of a crusade. Unionism has recently tended to create class spirit unduly, and it has become dangerously infected with "rule-or-ruin" doctrines and with the false and shallow notions of the German and Russian Socialists. Labor, for its own prosperity, needs capital just as much

as capital needs labor; and both of these forces need administrative leadership and the creative power that is the inheritance of a few men but not the inheritance of most. The condition to be desired is one in which every laborer shall as quickly as possible become a capitalist, through saving and the wise investment of his surplus earnings. Savings banks and other arrangements make possible the capitalistic use of the combined savings of millions of workmen. As for the leadership and direction that labor and capital alike require: this, for the most part, ought to come from the ranks of labor itself through ample opportunity for advancement on personal merit and through the provision by society of educational facilities of all sorts.

Unionism's Past and Future

American unionism has been showing a tendency to follow the blighting mistakes of British unionism in obstructing the free advancement of the individual. Now that unionism has challenged the country, the time has come for the country in turn to speak its mind about some of the practices of unionism. First, then, the unions are no longer the sole guardians or champions of the well-being of workingmen and their families. American workingmen have all the attributes and powers of free citizens; their children form a majority in our splendid schools; the whole policy of the community is now fixed as regards democratic progress and social welfare. No boy who wishes to advance himself in life should be hampered by union rules limiting the number of apprentices or by rules that would prevent his earning extra wages by reason of his efficiency and skill. Many valuable forms of associated effort have served their principal purpose by the time they have reached what they themselves have thought to be their permanent enthronement in power. Old-line unionism sought to bring up the level of the toiling masses. It was mistaken in many of its methods, as is best illustrated in the history of the violent attacks of English trade-unionism against the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Machines that take the place of hand labor often create inconvenient displacements; but machinery emancipates men, and in the long run it brings high wages, short hours, and social progress.

Where it Meets the Limit

Unionism will remain, and in many trades will be a valuable force; but its fanaticism and intolerance must diminish; and its tendency to needless strikes and to criminal violence must be corrected. The right to strike, in callings where the public interest is not vitally affected, ought not to be taken away, and will not be. It was a profound mistake for the American Federation of Labor to unionize the police forces of our cities, and thus to endeavor to win over—for aid to one organized private interest—the guardians of the peace whose sole duty it is to enforce law, maintain order, and recognize the undivided authority of Government. With the dire failure of the Boston police strike, the agitators who were planning for a general strike throughout the country and for the upset of our present form of Government, began to perceive that they had reached the limit. Police bodies and city firemen will not be allowed to take their orders from walking delegates, any more than from the heads of manufacturing associations or from the leaders of any other private interest.



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THREE LEADERS OF THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

(Beginning at the left, is W. F. Tighe, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. In the center is W. B. Rubien, counsel for the steel workers. On the right is W. Z. Foster, secretary of the strikers' committee)

Issues in Union's Fight against "Steel"

The great steel strike has not come within the class of movements which we are criticising as clearly against public interest. The police strike, the coal strike and the threat of the general railroad strike we have not hesitated to criticize and to condemn. The steel st[illegible]

like any other bitter controversy among one's fellow citizens, is to be regretted; but it has been a legitimate trial of strength on both sides. The issues involved were presented with remarkable clearness by Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, in a recent address made to the members of the Iron and Steel Institute. It did not reach the public in an extended way, and we are therefore publishing it in authorized form in this number of the REVIEW. The steel strike was not based upon complaints and demands made by the employees of the United States Steel Corporation. It was the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the American Federation of Labor to force unionism into the steel industry of the country. This steel industry has stood for the "open shop." Its employees have, within the past year or more, been very rapidly unionized, and the process was expedited under the conditions of war production.



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JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY
(Chairman of the board of directors of States Steel Corporation and president o and Steel Institute)

Unionism Fighting for Empire

The Federation of Labor had a right to do what it could to convert the steel workers to its doctrines and practices. It holds a militant creed, and seeks to conquer all foes. The heads of the steel corporations had an equal right to protect their plan of the open shop —that is to say, to protect in their employment all of the men who did not care to join unions or to be represented by outside labor leaders. The investigation of the steel strike by Committees of Congress did not result in diverting much public sympathy to the cause of Mr. Fitzpatrick and the strike agitators. The steel companies showed that they had repeatedly advanced wages, and had kept the pay of the men more than abreast of the advance in the cost of living. They also made out a good case for their welfare work, and their treatment of employees; and they presented what they regarded as the advantages of shop organization as against outside trade unionism. The steel strike has shown itself to be a tremendous undertaking—in some respects the strongest piece of aggressive work ever done by the American Federation of Labor; but strikes do not win unless there is a favorable public atmosphere. It was shown that the strikers for the most part were not bona-fide iron and steel workers. The greater number was composed of the sort of common laborers, largely unnaturalized foreigners, who are employed to handle material and do rough work in any manufacturing plant, whether it b mill, a cement factory, a packingh woodworking enterprise.

Failure of the Steel Strike

Such a strike as this c too much for its succ what are fundamental of weakness. One of these is the tion of good workmen into joining u accepting the leadership of bold ta agitators; and another is a system ism intended to keep new men fr employed to take the place of the This resort to terrorism will not be much longer, by reason of the ar mand for the protection by Gover individuals in their personal rights earlier period, corporations sometir gangs of thugs and "strong-arm strikebreakers, to intimidate good men who had real grievances. Ter one side is as bad as terrorism on t and the American public is not di tolerate either sort. As for the m propaganda which bring unwilling into union membership, it is merely that apparent strength gained by su

as capital needs labor; and both of these forces need administrative leadership and the creative power that is the inheritance of a few men but not the inheritance of most. The condition to be desired is one in which every laborer shall as quickly as possible become a capitalist, through saving and the wise investment of his surplus earnings. Savings banks and other arrangements make possible the capitalistic use of the combined savings of millions of workmen. As for the leadership and direction that labor and capital alike require: this, for the most part, ought to come from the ranks of labor itself through ample opportunity for advancement on personal merit and through the provision by society of educational facilities of all sorts.

Unionism's Past and Future

American unionism has been showing a tendency to follow the blighting mistakes of British unionism in obstructing the free advancement of the individual. Now that unionism has challenged the country, the time has come for the country in turn to speak its mind about some of the practices of unionism. First, then, the unions are no longer the sole guardians or champions of the well-being of workingmen and their families. American workingmen have all the attributes and powers of free citizens; their children form a majority in our splendid schools; the whole policy of the community is now fixed as regards democratic progress and social welfare. No boy who wishes to advance himself in life should be hampered by union rules limiting the number of apprentices or by rules that would prevent his earning extra wages by reason of his efficiency and skill. Many valuable forms of associated effort have served their principal purpose by the time they have reached what they themselves have thought to be their permanent enthronement in power. Old-line unionism sought to bring up the level of the toiling masses. It was mistaken in many of its methods, as is best illustrated in the history of the violent attacks of English trade-unionism against the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Machines that take the place of hand labor often create inconvenient displacements; but machinery emancipates men, and in the long run it brings high wages, short hours, and social progress.

Where it Meets the Limit

Unionism will remain, and in many trades will be a valuable force; but its fanaticism and intolerance must diminish; and its tendency to needless strikes and to criminal violence must be corrected. The right to strike, in callings where the public interest is not vitally affected, ought not to be taken away, and will not be. It was a profound mistake for the American Federation of Labor to unionize the police forces of our cities, and thus to endeavor to win over—for aid to one organized private interest—the guardians of the peace whose sole duty it is to enforce law, maintain order, and recognize the undivided authority of Government. With the dire failure of the Boston police strike, the agitators who were planning for a general strike throughout the country and for the upset of our present form of Government, began to perceive that they had reached the limit. Police bodies and city firemen will not be allowed to take their orders from walking delegates, any more than from the heads of manufacturing associations or from the leaders of any other private interest.



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THREE LEADERS OF THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

(Beginning at the left, is W. F. Tighe, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. In the center is W. B. Rubien, counsel for the steel workers. On the right is W. Z. Foster, secretary of the strikers' committee)

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Failure of the Steel Strike

Such a strike as this one relies too much for its success upon what are fundamental elements of weakness. One of these is the intimidation of good workmen into joining unions and accepting the leadership of bold talkers and agitators; and another is a system of terrorism intended to keep new men from being employed to take the place of the strikers. This resort to terrorism will not be tolerated much longer, by reason of the aroused demand for the protection by Government of individuals in their personal rights. At an earlier period, corporations sometimes hired gangs of thugs and "strong-arm men" as strikebreakers, to intimidate good workingmen who had real grievances. Terrorism on one side is as bad as terrorism on the other; and the American public is not disposed to tolerate either sort. As for the methods of propaganda which bring unwilling workmen into union membership, it is merely to be said that apparent strength gained by such means

always proves illusive in the end. A majority of the best men in the iron and steel mills were—it would seem—opposed to the strike. The strike-leaders (not themselves steel workers) were standing on the punctilio of being personally received and recognized by Judge Gary. Many of the mills were closed, and the quarter's steel output is much reduced; but work has been gradually resumed and the strike is evidently destined to fail. The "open shop" movement gains strength.

Washington Conference on Industry

Meanwhile, President Wilson, aware of the threats of the railway brotherhoods, and informed of industrial disturbances everywhere, had accepted the idea of Secretary Lane that something could be accomplished by calling together at Washington a group of men who would confer freely and try to formulate principles that could be accepted by employers and union leaders for practical purposes. The Conference was called, and it was made up of three groups. First came the body of union labor leaders, all affiliated with the American Federation, whose President, Mr. Gompers, was spokesman for the group. Second was a group of men representing employers, at the head of which was Mr. Harry A. Wheeler of Chicago. These men were selected by such organizations as the United States Chamber of Commerce. They were more identified with the public interest than any narrow or selfish attitude of employers as a class. The third group was appointed by President Wilson to represent the public. It was diversely made up, including men of wealth, like Judge Gary, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and H. B. Endicott, the shoe manufacturer; educators like Dr. Charles W. Eliot and Prof. Edwin F. Gay; socialist writers like John Spargo and Charles Edward Russell; lawyers like Mr. Chadbourne of New York and Mr. McNab of San Francisco; and several other men and women of distinction and high character. While the group was highly varied as to previous experience, it was made up without exception of men and women having the public welfare at heart; and every member was both capable and disinterested.

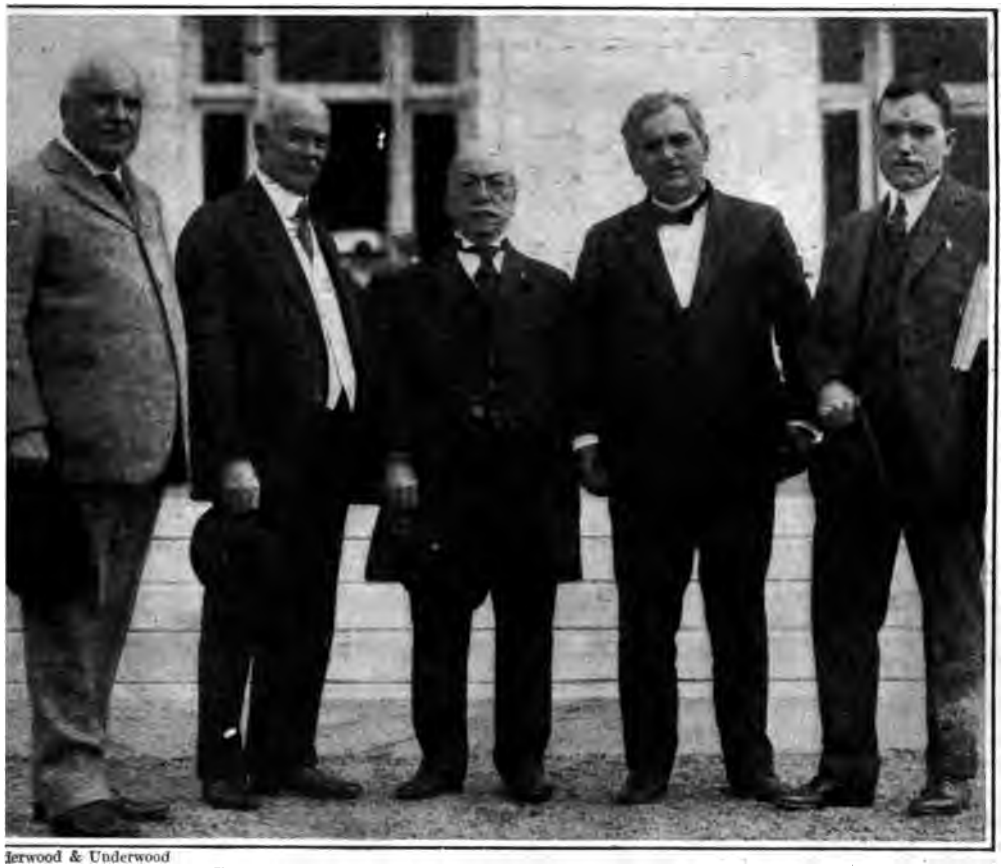
Why the Conference Broke up

The gathering was presided over by Secretary Lane, and it decided to keep the three groups distinct and to adopt only such proposals as should stand the ordeal of acceptance by all three. After a few days the Conference was deadlocked, and it gave up the effort to attain the objects that President Wilson had desired. In the background was the determination on the part of the labor group to force some kind of intervention in the steel strike. The Conference broke up over the effort to agree upon a resolution advocating so-called "collective bargaining" as a "right." Nobody objected to collective bargaining, which for that matter is in almost universal exercise as respects all large industries. The labor leaders, however, sought to secure a declaration that would practically restrict collective bargaining to trade unionism on the labor side. Judge Gary and other representatives of the employers opposed such restriction, and stood for the rights of particular shops and enterprises to find their own method of association, and to choose their own forms of agreement. It is to be regretted that the labor leaders walked out and broke up the Conference; but their position is of necessity that of agents, acting for militant organizations; while the other groups were not coherent, or committed in advance to any special point of view. Mr. Gompers and his associates knew exactly what they wanted, and were on solid ground. The rest of the Conference, except for those employers who stood for the "open shop" as a principle involving human liberty, had a tendency to be rather theoretical and academic. It will be seen in the end, however, that the Conference was not without value;



WOULN'T IT BE "A GRAND AND GLORIOUS FEELING?"

(From the *Daily News*, Dayton, Ohio)



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OUP OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE WHICH MET AT WASHINGTON ON CALL OF PRESIDENT WILSON IN OCTOBER

From left to right: Secretary Lane, who presided; Judge Gary; Mr. Samuel Gompers; Mr. Frank Morri- secretary of the American Federation of Labor; and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.)

it should be the precursor of a new one, d as a single body to represent the pub- velfare, with the exclusion of all whose ude is that of practical leadership on to which they are already pledged.

ıbattled nters of w York

Many readers have a desire to know something about the printers' strike in New York. s strike was the result of over-organiza-

The "closed shop" has been the rule a long time, and arbitration has pre- d as between the employers and such so- es as the Typographical Union. Trouble e with the forming of a series of newer nizations, made up of relatively un- ed workmen, such as "pressmen's ers," "paper handlers" and the like. The skilled the men, the more aggressive, ulent and peremptory are their unions aking demands, and the less scrupulous in rving contracts. The New York strike lved repudiation of agreements, and re- fusal to accept the employers' offer to arbi- trate everything asked—the employers waiv- ing all rights under contracts which had not yet expired. The employers, being obviously right, had the support of the national officers of the unions; but the leaders of local or- ganizations defied their national leaders; and the quarrel became one within unionism rather than between the employers and the men. The unionism which has no discipline, and cannot regulate its own affairs, is not likely to show reason in its attitude towards employers. The publishers of periodicals in New York were simply the victims of a situation beyond their influence. They were at the mercy of a long series of unions that were having family rows. Some of these unions kept faith with their national officers, and others did not. It was an impossible situation, with no logical alternative except the open shop. This remedy, however, lay far below the horizon of practical things, be- cause there were not to be found many

workers in the various allied printing trades who would run the risk of encountering the displeasure of unionism on the warpath. The printing industry was once second only to the clothing industry in point of importance in New York City. Hostile conditions are tending apparently to scatter the industry far afield.

Illness of the President

President Wilson, though confined to his room while slowly convalescing from his serious breakdown, was able to give attention to public questions at critical moments; and with the Cabinet more active in executive matters, the country's business was not seriously handicapped by the misfortune of the President's illness. He had returned from Europe greatly fatigued, and with his strength impaired as a result of an attack of influenza earlier in the year at Paris. His long and arduous speaking tour on behalf of the peace treaty and the league of nations, which extended to the Pacific Coast, would have tested the strength of the most sturdy campaigner who ever took the stump. No one—except Mr. Bryan perhaps—had ever encountered so severe a strain of this kind. Mr. Wilson had almost completed his speaking program, and was heading toward Washington when he experienced a temporary collapse, the exact nature of which has not been explained in bulletins to the public. Fortunately, he could be protected for a number of days from intrusion, without any harm to public business. Later on, as completed bills came to him from Congress for action, he was able to sign them or to return them with his veto. Constant improvement was reported.

"Dry" Law Vetoed and Repassed

One of the measures that he vetoed was an elaborate bill providing means for the drastic enforcement of the war-time prohibition order, and also for the constitutional prohibition that is to go into effect on January 16th. The President took the view that Congress ought to have repealed war-time prohibition, because the army had been practically demobilized and the emergency had disappeared. He vetoed the prohibition enforcement act and again called upon Congress to repeal the earlier legislation. Both Houses of Congress, however, repudiated the President's veto without delay and by emphatic majorities, thus passing the measure over his head and making it practically certain that there will be no "wet" interval before the arrival of constitutional prohibition in January. Such an interval was eagerly sought by the liquor interests, and hundreds of millions of dollars were involved. Immense quantities of liquor held in storage would have been absorbed into the private stocks of consumers, where neither present nor future laws would be likely to reach them. The President's veto message went to Congress on October 27, and the bill was passed over the veto on the same day in the House by 176 to 55 and on the following day in the Senate by 65 to 20. Several of the state elections of November 4, notably in Ohio, gave victories for prohibition. The "wets" won in other states.

Treaty in Final Stages

As the dull days of November arrived, seeming all the shorter and darker for the changing back of the clocks at the end of the "daylight-saving" season, it was realized in the United States Senate that November 11th was an anniversary; and that a full year had elapsed since the end of the fighting on the great war fronts in France. The treaty of peace was still unratified at Washington, and the two sides were wrangling over an attempt to fix the date for a final vote. The Democrats, with the help of a group of Republicans, had voted down every one of the textual amendments to the treaty that had been brought forward. Senator Johnson's amendment, which was aimed against the representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations of Canada, Australia and other British dominions, was next to the last to be defeated. Finally, Senator Lodge's amendment, relating to Shantung, failed to carry. Voting down the textual amendments merely cleared the way for the adoption of most of the same proposals in the form of "reservations." There were several main questions involved in this general line of action. Evidently some reservations could be adopted as giving more clearly the American interpretation to matters in the treaty. Others, while not antagonizing the spirit of the treaty, were to make explicit the principle that every particular question when it arises in the future must be acted upon by Congress.

Compromise Demanded by Country

Americans quite generally regard this as both reasonable and necessary. Still other reservations, however, were obviously in the nature of amendments to the treaty. It was expected that Senator Hitchcock, as leader of the Democratic minority, would be able to confer with Mr. Wilson and find out how far

the President was willing to go in accepting reservations. The country was eager to see the treaty ratified and out of the way. It was not the opinion of thoughtful men in general that the long discussion had been unnecessary. There were many who felt that the League of Nations was actually finding its real foundations in the great American debate. It was to be hoped that a compromise would be agreed upon between the parties at Washington, so that the treaty might be adopted, with the united acceptance of moderate reservations, in such form as would permit the treaty to go into effect. It had been ratified, meanwhile, by the British, French, Italian and Japanese Governments, and it was expected that this group would put it into practical operation not many days later than the anniversary of the Armistice.

Europe Facing a Hard Winter

The friction and ferment of the first year following so great a convulsion as the world war have not been greater than was to have been expected. We may reasonably hope to see much improvement in general conditions during the second year. Financial and business problems will puzzle all governments, and there is no single remedy that will do so much as the acceptance, for some time to come, of the need of strict economy and very hard work. Many of the demands that labor groups are making might better be postponed until the times are more auspicious. In our next number we shall give more specific attention to the conditions existing in European countries, and shall publish articles by writers whose observation has been fresh and extended, upon present social and economic conditions in Germany and Austria, together with reports upon conditions in Great Britain, France and Italy. Meanwhile it may be remarked that Germany is extremely handicapped by a coal famine, and that Vienna and Budapest, the former Austro-Hungarian capitals, are in dire distress, with shortage of food, fuel and the raw materials of industry. German trade is reviving slowly in spite of difficulties, and the French and British merchants in particular are said to be eagerly pushing trade with Germany, while American business men have been held back by obstacles which they attribute to our own Governmental methods and policies. Russia is condemned to another winter of misery, no matter what may happen in politics and in the pending civil conflicts.



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DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

(Who has been investigating conditions in China and inspecting the work of the China Medical Board)

Fiume,— Shantung

The episode of Captain D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume has bulked large in the news, but will probably simmer down to a very modest place in the pages of history. Some compromise will be found by which the Jugo-Slavs may have full commercial access to the Adriatic, while Italy will maintain her naval position, and a measure of control over distinctly Italian points on the Dalmatian coast. A more serious matter, in view of international feeling, is the quarrel between China and Japan over Japan's ambitious determination to hold economic mastery in the great Province of Shantung. Here again it should be possible to find some reconciling formula. There ought to be discovered a mutually beneficial way to develop the resources and to modernize the industrial life of China, with the help of Japan, without impairing China's sovereign rights.

American help in China

We are glad to present to our readers this month an article of great value upon the conditions in China from the pen of Dr. George Vincent, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, who has just now returned from the Far East. That great agency for human welfare, so munificently endowed by Mr.



Photograph by Illustrated News, New York

CARDINAL MERCIER AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT

(The photograph shows President Butler at the moment of conferring a degree upon the Cardinal. Archbishop Hayes, of New York, is sitting. Cardinal Mercier received like honors from a number of leading American universities)

Rockefeller, has entered upon a policy that will bring blessings beyond measure to the people of China, where medical knowledge and sanitary methods are so desperately needed. One of the services maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation is an International Health Board that has been fighting infectious diseases in various parts of the world, with great success and without much advertising. This agency, employing that eminent sanitary authority General Gorgas, has now brought to the point of extinction on the west coast of South America the last lingering foci of yellow fever infection. Through the General Education Board, Mr. Rockefeller has within a few weeks contributed an additional twenty million dollars for the purpose of advancing the best types of medical education in the United States. It was further announced, early in November, that a new gift of ten million dollars had been made by Mr. Rockefeller to the Institute of Medical Research that bears his name, and that is devoted to those patient scientific inquiries that result in life-saving discoveries. One of the things that most interested the eager mind and spirit of the Queen of the Belgians on her recent visit to this country was this Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Her great desire is to secure the beginnings of a similar institution at Brussels.

American Hospitality

The visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians was regarded by them as agreeable and satisfactory, and it was much enjoyed by the American people. As the President justly remarked in speaking to the son of the visiting sovereign, "the King is every inch a man." Both King and Queen are devoted to all that may contribute to the best progress of the people of Belgium; and that little country is fortunate in the political stability that it derives from having a constitutional democratic head, who as life president is a real leader, above parties and factions. The Prince of Wales has been enjoying a long and interesting visit in Canada, where, out in the Northwest, he has purchased a ranch for the breeding of horses and cattle. He was to make his visit in the United States in November; and it was hoped that the President would be well enough to have him for several days as a guest in the White House. He has made himself very popular in Canada,

and his welcome in the United States will be genuine. Cardinal Mercier's visit was notable in the way it evoked American expression of right feeling. M. Schneider, the eminent head of "Creusot," the great French gun factory, has been making some brilliant addresses to American business gatherings, and has received deserved ovations as a leader in industry and a model employer of labor.

The Roosevelt Celebration

The celebration of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday October 27, under the fine auspices of the Roosevelt Memorial Committee was universal; and it proved to be a most valuable occasion for the preaching of true American patriotism. How memorial week was observed by the country is admirably told for our readers by Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, than whom few men were closer in Colonel Roosevelt's confidence during his last years. Mr. Hagedorn is performing a rare public service in rescuing much Roosevelt "material" that might otherwise be lost. Thus he is to be credited with having personally secured for us that most delightful narrative about Colonel Roosevelt's early experiences in Maine, and his ranch life in the West, that is told by "Bill" Sewall, the writing of whose book was due to Mr. Hagedorn's efforts. Our front cover has a picture of the Roosevelt memorial tower built in the Black Hills of Dakota. The memorial committee will execute noble plans at Oyster Bay and elsewhere; but localities will spontaneously erect many visible tributes of their own to the memory of the best-loved American of our generation.



Photograph by Illustrated News, New York

QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM—FROM A SNAPSHOT PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN NEW YORK



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THE PRINCE OF WALES ADDRESSING AN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Great Britain's New Financing

The announcement of a loan to the British Government offered for popular subscription in the United States is the first and significant step toward caring for the large sums borrowed in America by Great Britain between 1915 and 1917. There were four such loans taken by American citizens and institutions. The first was the so-called Anglo-French loan of $500,000,000 at 5 per cent., floated in the autumn of 1915. With the increasingly serious aspect of the war, the next three short-term issues offered more attractive terms to American investors,—5½ per cent. interest and collateral security of a great variety of stocks and bonds to an amount of 120 per cent. of the face of the issue. In all, Great Britain borrowed $1,300,000,000 on these short-term notes including France's share of the Anglo-French loan. The security behind the second, third and fourth loans consisted of foreign government bonds, railroad and industrial stocks and bonds secured in one way or another for this purpose by

the British Government. By next November $500,000,000 of these short-time issues will have been redeemed.

Speculation in the Rate of Exchange

The new issue of a quarter of a billion dollars is issued without the collateral security but with ingenious provisions for speculative advantages to the investor arising from the expected tendency of English exchange to return toward normal. Thus, the issue, consisting of three-year notes and ten-year bonds, is convertible at par into the ten-year National War Bonds of Great Britain at the exchange rate of $4.30 for the pound sterling. This means that if exchange should by 1929 return to the normal of $4.8665 for the pound sterling and if Great Britain redeems the bonds at the promised rate of 105, the investor will net, over and above the interest return, a profit of nearly 23 per cent. The new notes and bonds are offered at 96¼ and 98 respectively, so that with their interest rate of 5½ per cent. they bring the investor a yield of 6 to 6¼ per cent. irrespective of the speculative profit that may come from the recovery in the rate of exchange.

British Financial Worries

Great Britain's financial problem is, indeed, a puzzling one. The year to date shows a deficit of £312,000,000, compared with a deficit of only £11,700,000 for the like period in 1913. The public debt has been increased ten times. To be sure much has been done to cut down the current expenditure due to the war; to date this year, revenues have increased £114,000,000 from 1918 and expenditures have decreased £663,000,000 showing a net reduction in annual deficit as compared with the last war year of no less than £777,000,000. But even with this handsome movement in the right direction, the problem of taxation facing the new term of Parliament will be a very harassing one, and radical members are already demanding the confiscation of all "war fortunes."

Bolster up Europe's Credit!

The too great value of the American dollar as measured in pounds, francs, marks and lira might be a boon to Americans if we were counting on making vast purchases from England, France, Germany and Italy. But as we are counting on making vast sales of goods instead, the utterly abnormal rates of exchange are a heavy handicap, and there has been talk interminable of the necessity of granting credits to European countries as an absolutely indispensable part of reconstruction work,—with very little actually done so far. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont has explained very clearly in a recent address how this process is the personal concern of each individual American citizen, and not merely of governments and bankers. Any thrifty and solvent American citizen can help, and must help if the world is to work out of its chaotic financial situation. As Mr. Lamont says: "Our farmers have wheat to sell. Very well, the farmers must sell that wheat on credit, not all of it, but a reasonable share. The farmer will extend that credit, not in a single shipment of a hundred bushels, but through the method of investing in a thousand dollar bond of some solvent European country that may offer her promise to pay for sale here, so that with the credit she establishes here, her people can buy American wheat." Poland and other mid-European countries are expecting to sell bonds in this popular fashion to the American public.

The Cummins Railway Measure

On October 23 Senator Cummins introduced his bill for the reorganization of the railways of the country,—one of the most elaborate measures ever presented to Congress, requiring 108 printed pages. Senator Cummins spoke with exceeding emphasis of the necessity for passing such legislation within the very near future, predicting real disaster to the country if it be delayed. He frankly stated the determination of his colleagues and himself to oppose to the bitter end any recess of this Congress until the railway legislation shall have been attended to, and recommended that it should be the order of business immediately after the Peace Treaty is voted on. The scheme of the Cummins measure is avowedly an ambitious one. It not only provides for the return of the railroads to their private owners (at midnight of the last day of the month in which the bill becomes law) but, in the words of its chief author, "covers the entire reorganization of the railroad systems of the country, provides for coördination of the rail and water transport systems inside the United States and for intimately correlating the railroad system with the maritime transportation system. In short it is to nothing less than organize under one control in one gigantic unity under effective federal control all the instrumentalities of river, canal, rail and ocean transportation."

Proposed Regional System

The railroads are to be grouped into not less than twenty and not more than thirty-five systems in order that rates may be made for each system without the old obstacle, which proved insuperable, of finding that a rate reasonable for one road made its neighbor unduly prosperous. The plan proposes to preserve competition in service; thus, for instance, there will be between New York and Chicago four or five competing systems. A period of seven years is allowed for voluntary consolidations which will be made on the basis of "valuations fixed by public authority." A consolidated group will then have as its capital the exact number of dollars fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission as the aggregate value of all its parts. After the period of voluntary consolidation has passed, any roads not yet grouped will be required to consolidate.

A Transportation Board

This tremendous process of consolidation is to be supervised by a Railway Transportation Board, of five members appointed by the President, with salaries of $12,000 per year. Their work of grouping the roads must be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This body is also the final judge of wage disputes, which are referred to it after the boards entrusted with wage-fixing have failed to agree. Until the Transportation Board has completed its work of grouping the roads in a score or more of new systems, the Interstate Commerce Commission is to divide the country into rate-making districts.

The Fixing of Rates

Rate-making is to be in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which will be required to fix the rates of each district so that the net return in that district shall be as nearly as possible 5½ per cent. on the valuation of the properties as determined by the Commission. That body may at its discretion increase the return to 6 per cent., but in such a case the addition is to be used for improvements, such as certain terminal investments, which do not produce revenue. Then comes a provision which Senator Cummins pronounces the most difficult his committee had to deal with: when the average return for a rate-making district results in certain roads earning largely in excess of the average, the prosperous road is restricted as to its maximum earnings. If this income is above 6 per cent., one-half of the excess between 6 and 7 per cent. goes to a company reserve fund, to bolster up weak years, and the other half to a railway contingent fund, "to be used for the general advancement of railway interests." Above 7 per cent., one-fourth of the excess goes to the company reserve fund and three-fourths to the railway contingent fund. In deciding disputes as to rates and regulations in which individual States are taking part, the State Commissions can sit with the Interstate Commerce Commission, but the members of the former will have no voice in the decisions.

Some Aspects of the New Situation

The House Bill for reorganizing the railroads differs, in its present stage, from Senator Cummins' measure in omitting any guarantee to the owners of the roads of any specific returns, and in a much milder and less effective curb on strikes. In both measures and in the discussion and study involved in their preparation there is obvious a disposition to bestow a great amount of thought on the matter of preventing certain railroads from making too much profit, when, as a matter of fact, the disastrous thing is that the railroads are not now making nearly enough profit to enable them to serve the public. Even under the Senate provisions for an average return of 5½ per cent. in each rate-making district there is no sort of guarantee whatsoever that the less advantageously situated roads will give an attractive return on new capital, while there is a dead certainty that capital's return in the more fortunate or better managed roads will be strictly limited to a rate which does not look, as a maximum, very alluring in the present era of high prices for capital and everything else. This restriction on the earnings resulting from efficient management and good judgment may, too, decrease beyond the danger point the incentive to show those qualities, without which railway service must be poor and rates must be high. In an era when investors can lend their money to Great Britain with the certainty of a return of 6¼ per cent., and a probable return of nearly 9 per cent., why should they lend their money to private railroad companies, or buy their stocks, with the certainty that they will get no more than 6 per cent.? And vast amounts of money must be furnished by investors to be spent on the roads if they are to give any sort of decent and adequate service.



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CALVIN COOLIDGE (Rep.) RICHARD H. LONG (Dem.)

SUCCESSFUL AND DEFEATED CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS



EDWARD I. EDWARDS (Dem.) NEWTON A. K. BUGBEE (Rep.)

THE OPPOSING CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR IN NEW JERSEY

Gov. Coolidge, and other Elections

The elections of November 4 were of minor importance in most States. The reëlection of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, by a plurality of 124,000, was everywhere interpreted as an endorsement of his firm stand against the Boston police strike. Mr. Long, his Democratic opponent, had promised to reinstate the strikers. While Republicans were naturally pleased, they realized that the triumph was one for law and order and not for the party. In New Jersey, a Democratic Governor was elected, Prohibition being the most conspicuous issue. The Republicans were on the "dry" side; and New Jersey is evidently thirsty. In Kentucky, it was the Republicans who happened to hold the "wet" position, and they elected their candidate. In Maryland the result was exceedingly close, the Republicans having made large gains, with the Democratic candidate apparently successful. There was a notable Republican victory in New York City, where Congressman LaGuardia was elected President of the Board of Aldermen and Mr. Henry H. Curran President of the Borough of Manhattan. We shall give further attention to the elections and to the political outlook for next year, in our December number.



ALBERT C. RITCHIE (Dem.) HARRY W. [illegible] (Rep.)

CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF [illegible]



EDWIN P. MORROW (Rep.)

GOVERNOR-ELECT OF [illegible]



LEE M. RUSSELL (Dem.)

GOVERNOR-ELECT OF MISSISSIPPI

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 13 to October 31, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 16.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), leading the Administration members temporarily in the majority, forces a reading of the Peace Treaty before the Republicans are ready; Mr. Sherman (Rep., Ill.) severely arraigns the President.

September 18.—Both branches assemble in the House Chamber and bestow upon General John J. Pershing the thanks of Congress.

September 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) denounces the League Covenant and in particular takes issue with the President's assertions regarding the powers of the proposed Assembly. . . . The Committee on Interstate Commerce, considering the Cummins railroad bill, hears the criticisms of Samuel Gompers (president of the American Federation of Labor), Warren S. Stone (Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers), and Glenn E. Plumb (advocate of nationalization); they all condemn the provision forbidding strikes by railroad employees.

September 23.—In the House, Mr. Cooper (Rep., Ohio), a former labor-union man, denounces the radical element among labor leaders; he declares specifically that one of the two principal organizers of the steel strike is unfit for American citizenship.

September 24.—The House passes the Senate bill restoring to the Interstate Commerce Commission power to review railroad rates established by the Railroad Administration.

September 25.—The Senate Committee on Education and Labor begins an investigation of the situation which brought about the steel strike; John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the steel workers' strike committee, is the first witness.

September 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.) speaks in support of the amendment to the League of Nations covenant equalizing the voting power of Great Britain and the United States.

October 1-2.—The Senate Committee investigating the steel strike questions Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation, regarding his refusal to confer with the union leaders.

October 2.—The Senate rejects various amendments submitted by Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.), eliminating the United States from membership on commissions created by the treaty of peace.

October 3.—The Senate committee investigating the steel strike questions William Z. Foster, secretary-treasurer of the strike committee, particularly regarding his writings in the field of industrial revolution.

October 4.—The House Appropriations Committee is urged by ex-President Taft and Secretary of the Treasury Glass to provide a budget system for federal expenditures.

October 7.—The Senate votes to confer the permanent rank of Lieutenant General upon Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General and the man responsible for the creation and administration of the selective draft.

October 8.—In the House, a special committee introduces a bill providing for the establishment of a budget system—creating a Bureau of the Budget and an accounting department, and concentrating power in an enlarged Committee on Appropriations.

October 9.—The House passes a bill repealing the Canadian Reciprocity Act of 1910, which had never been ratified by Canada.

October 16.—The Senate, by vote of 55 to 35, rejects the Lodge amendments to the peace treaty which provided for the restoration of Shantung province to China rather than to Japan.

The House passes a bill extending for one year wartime passport regulations, in order to have a check upon radical immigration after the signing of the peace treaty.

October 20.—The Senate completes reading of the peace treaty with Germany.

October 22.—The Senate passes the measure extending for one year the war-time restrictions on the issuance of passports.

October 22-23.—In the Senate, the Republican members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and one Democratic member, agree upon a new program of reservations to be made a part of the resolution ratifying the peace treaty; the preamble declares that the reservations must be accepted by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

October 23.—In the Senate, the Cummins railroad bill is reported from committee.

October 24.—In the House, the committee considering the case of Victor L. Berger, Socialist member-elect from Wisconsin, recommends his exclusion from membership on the ground of disloyalty to the United States during the war.

October 27.—The House passes the Prohibition Enforcement bill over the President's veto, 176 to 55.

October 28.—Both branches are addressed by King Albert of Belgium.

The Senate repasses the Prohibition Enforcement bill, 65 to 20, and the measure becomes a law.

October 29.—The Senate rejects three amendments to the peace treaty aimed to equalize the British Empire's representation in the Assembly created by the League of Nations covenant.

October 30-31.—Both branches adopt a resolution approving the Administration's policy in the coal strike.

October 31.—The Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs obtain the views of General Pershing on military policy; he urges a stand-

ing army of not more than 300,000 men (against 575,000 recommended by the General Staff).

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 13.—President Wilson, in his speaking tour of the country explaining the peace treaty, reaches the Pacific Coast; he speaks in Tacoma and Seattle and reviews the Pacific Fleet.

The War Department announces that 113,000 men have enlisted in the ten months since the armistice.

September 14.—Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts backs the opinion of his Attorney General and the Police Commissioner of Boston, that the striking policemen forfeited their jobs and cannot be reinstated.

September 15.—President Wilson speaks in Portland, Ore.

The President of the National Non-Partisan League, A. C. Townley, is sentenced by a Minnesota court to three months imprisonment after conviction on a charge of disloyalty.

September 16.—In the Philadelphia mayoralty primary, Congressman J. Hampton Moore, wins the Republican nomination, defeating John M. Patterson, candidate of the faction in power.

President Wilson enters California for the first time since his election, plans calling for five days of speechmaking in that State.

September 17.—In a speech at Chicago, Senator James Hamilton Lewis declares that the President will soon announce the doctrine of socializing coal, oil, and national road and water highways.

September 18.—The President speaks in San Francisco and Oakland.

The representatives of the organized steel workers inform the President that delaying a strike (until after the Industrial Conference meets on Otcober 6) "means the surrender of all hope."

September 19.—The President speaks at San Diego, his voice reaching 50,000 persons by means of electrical devices.

September 20.—The President, speaking at Los Angeles, answers criticism of the League relating to the British Empire's six votes; he explains that the assembly is merely a debating body, that unanimous action is required and a negative vote by the United States would nullify Britain's six votes, and that in the Council the representation of the two nations is equal.

September 22.—In the New Jersey primaries, Governor Runyon (Rep.) is defeated for renomination by State Controller Newton A. K. Bugbee; the Democratic nomination is won by Edward I. Edwards, who defeats James R. Newton.

In the Massachusetts primaries, Governor Coolidge is renominated without opposition and Richard H. Long is the successful Democratic candidate.

The President speaks at Salt Lake City, Utah, on his return swing from the Pacific Coast toward the Capital.

September 25.—The President speaks in Denver and Pueblo, Colo.

September 26.—President Wilson, because of illness in Kansas due to strain, suddenly abandons the remainder of his speaking tour in support of the peace treaty; it is estimated that he had delivered forty speeches.

September 27.—The Alabama House passes the Senate bill penalizing combinations or agreements to impede industry—aimed to prevent strikes.

The United States Shipping Board takes over from the War Department the giant *Imperator* and seven other former German ships which were allocated to the United States under the terms of peace.

September 28.—President Wilson returns to Washington and becomes a bed patient in the White House.

September 30.—The President nominates Brand Whitlock to be first Ambassador to Belgium; the Senate immediately confirms the appointment.

The Ohio Supreme Court affirms the decision of a lower court which held that the Legislature's ratification of the prohibition amendment must be submitted to a referendum vote of the people.

October 2.—A physician's bulletin issued from the White House states that "the President is a very sick man."

The Government's report on the cotton crop indicates a small yield (10,696,000 bales), in low average condition.

October 7.—The Shipping Board announces that America's shipbuilding efforts, begun with the war, have resulted in the construction of 1468 vessels of more than eight million deadweight tonnage.

October 11.—On the sixteenth day of President Wilson's illness, his physicians announce that "his condition is such as to necessitate his remaining in bed for an extended period."

October 14.—The Bureau of Internal Revenue announces that corporation taxes for the year 1917 totalled $1,326,900,480, from 58,788 corporations.

October 22.—Registration figures in New York City show that 50,000 (12 per cent.) fewer women will vote in the municipal election this year than voted last year.

October 25.—President Wilson issues a statement on the threatened coal strike, after failure of negotiations by the Secretary of Labor; he declares that a strike with such disastrous consequences "is not only unjustifiable but unlawful," the public welfare being paramount; he expresses conviction that the individual members of the Mine Workers' union would not favor a strike.

October 26.—Miles Poindexter, United States Senator from Washington, announces his candidacy for the Republican nomination for President.

October 27.—President Wilson vetoes the Prohibition Enforcement bill, disapproving of that portion which attempts to enforce "war time" prohibition when the emergency has ceased to exist.

October 29.—The Government at Washington makes plans to handle situations arising out of the coal strike; Dr. Harry Garfield is recalled to the post of Fuel Administrator; Attorney-General Palmer announces his determination to enforce the statute which prohibits interference with the supply and distribution of fuel.

October 31.—Federal Judge Anderson, at Indianapolis, grants an injunction sought by the Government, restraining officials of the Mine Workers' union from efforts to bring about or continue a strike.

Four hundred thousand unionized miners quit work in the soft-coal regions, to enforce demands for increased wages and a thirty-hour week.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 13.—The Rumanian Cabinet under Premier Bratiano resigns as a result of the complications in foreign affairs.

September 14.—Francisco Brogan becomes Provisional President of Honduras, pending an election.

September 22.—King Albert of Belgium, with Queen Elizabeth and Crown Prince Leopold, sail for the United States on board an American steamer.

September 28.—A plebiscite in Luxemburg registers the desire of the people to retain the Grand Duchess Charlotte as ruler and to establish an economic alliance with France.

In the Italian Chamber, Foreign Minister Tittoni explains the Government's policy in the present international complication, and the ministry of Premier Nitti receives a vote of confidence.

September 29.—The Prince of Wales, on a tour of Canada, leaves the Pacific Coast at Victoria and turns eastward.

October 1.—The legislative assembly of Gautemala ratifies the peace treaty with Germany.

October 2.—The French Chamber of Deputies ratifies the peace treaty and the special protective agreements with Great Britain and the United States; the vote on the peace treaty is 372 to 53, with 73 members abstaining from voting.

A new ministry is formed in Serbia, with Stoyan Protitch as Premier.

October 6.—The people of Norway vote overwhelmingly in favor of prohibiting whiskey and other strong liquors.

October 7.—The Italian King issues a decree approving the German and Austrian peace treaties—which must, however, be presented to Parliament before conversion into law.

October 9.—Progress on reconstruction work in France is officially reported; 60,000 houses have been rebuilt, 2016 kilometers of railway repaired, 588 plants restored, and approximately one fourth of the devastated area returned to farmers.

October 11.—President Poincaré issues a decree declaring that the state of war in France is at an end.

The French Senate, without a dissenting vote, ratifies the peace treaty and also the special treaties of defense with Great Britain and the United States.

October 12.—Augusto Leguia is proclaimed constitutional president of Peru for a term of five years.

October 17.—The Austrian National Assembly ratifies the peace treaty of St. Germain.

October 19.—The New Zealand House of Representatives authorizes acceptance of a mandate for Samoa.

October 20.—The men and women voters of the Province of Ontario, Canada, sustain the temperance act which has been in effect since 1916; the Conservative government of Sir William Hearst is overthrown.

October 22.—The British Parliament reassembles, financial and labor problems being chief topics of discussion.

October 25.—The resumption of an offensive by General Yudenitch, directed against the Bolshevist regime, brings his forces within fifteen miles of Petrograd.

October 27.—The so-called War Cabinet in Great Britain, with extraordinary powers, is supplanted by the customary peace-time form with enlarged personnel.

October 30.—The financial policy of the Lloyd George government is approved in the British House of Commons by a majority of 355.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 13.—The Italian poet-captain, Gabriele d'Annunzio, enters Fiume at the head of several thousand soldiers and assumes control of the contested port in defiance of the Italian military authorities and the Allied army of occupation.

September 14.—Premier Venizelos declares that Greece would be glad to see the United States take a mandate for Armenia.

September 19.—A peace treaty is handed to the Bulgarian delegation by the representatives of the five great powers; the principal territory taken from Bulgaria is that of Western Thrace; the army is reduced to 20,000 and reparation fixed at $445,000,000.

September 22.—President Khatitian of Armenia is reported as declaring at a dinner to American relief representatives that Armenia ten months after the armistice is on the point of extermination and needs troops, not investigators.

September 25.—An independent Italian force seizes the port of Trau; upon the suggestion of an Italian naval officer and upon the approach of Serbian troops, a small force of Americans is landed from the *Olympia* and the Italians are persuaded to withdraw.

September 26.—Viscount Grey arrives in the United States as Ambassador from Great Britain.

September 27.—The Allied governments present a note to Germany again demanding the withdrawal of German troops in Russian territory, in the Baltic region; failure to comply will result in withholding foodstuffs and raw materials.

October 2.—King Albert of Belgium, accompanied by Queen Elizabeth and Crown Prince Leopold, arrives at New York on an extended visit to the United States.

October 13.—The Lettish Foreign Office reports that for five days Lettish troops before Riga have been resisting German attacks; Allied cruisers and Lithuanian soldiers are participating in the defense.

October 16.—It becomes known that the Supreme Council has invited Germany and the European neutrals to join in blockading Bolshevist Russia.

October 24.—The Bulgarian reply to the peace terms of the Allies is handed to the secretary of the peace conference.

October 25.—The President of the Austrian Republic signs the peace treaty of St. Germain, completing acceptance by Austria.

October 26.—The United States consular agent at Puebla, held for ransom by Mexicans since October 19, is released upon payment of $150,000; the money is furnished by friends, but it is understood that the Mexican government will be held responsible.

The new Ambassador from Japan, Kijuro Shidehara, arrives in the United States.

October 31.—The Belgian royal family leaves the United States for home, after a rousing welcome in all parts of the country.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 14.—A hurricane and a tidal wave in and near Corpus Christi, Texas, render thousands homeless and cause the death of more than 300 persons.

September 17.—General Pershing leads the troops of the First Division in a parade in Washington, over the historic route along Pennsylvania Avenue.

The head of the United States Steel Corporation gives his reasons for declining to meet union leaders; he believes that the men do not represent large numbers of employes, and that conferring with them would be treated as recognition of the "closed shop."

The Rev. Charles Sumner Burch is chosen Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York.

September 18.—A new world's record for altitude flying is established by Roland Rohlfs in a Curtiss triplane near New York; he ascends 34,610 feet (more than six and a half miles), the thermometer recording a temperature of 43 degrees below zero.

September 20.—A convention of the United Mine Workers of America, at Cleveland, approves a resolution demanding the immediate nationalization of the coal-mining industry.

September 21.—A general strike in Boston, in support of the police, is unanimously rejected by labor union men, upon the advice of their leaders, as "not opportune."

September 22.—A strike in the steel industry, aimed chiefly at the United States Steel Corporation but involving practically all the country's iron and steel mills, succeeds in closing many plants but fails to fulfill the leaders' predictions; the men demand wage increases and shorter hours, but the fight is principally to establish union supremacy.

September 23.—The second day of the steel strike shows many plants entirely closed, the unions having greater strength in the Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio districts than in Pennsylvania.

The United Mine Workers of America, in convention, demand a 60 per cent increase in wages, with a six-hour day and a five-day week.

Revised statistics of war casualties in the American army are published; 35,585 were killed in action, 14,742 died of wounds, 58,073 died of disease; the total deaths were 116,492, with 205,590 wounded.

September 26.—It is announced that John D. Rockefeller has given $20,000,000 to the General Education Board, which he founded, to be used for the betterment of medical education in the United States.

September 27.—A railway strike in Great Britain completely ties up the transportation systems; the Government puts into effect measures formulated for war emergencies, reviving food rationing and motor-truck transportation.

The volcano Mauna Loa, in Hawaii, begins to throw forth a stream of lava one thousand feet wide and more than twenty feet deep, a virtual river flowing down to the sea.

September 28.—A mob in Omaha lynches a negro murderer after setting fire to the new court house; during the rioting the Mayor is seriously injured; the War Department sends troops from nearby posts.

October 1.—Factional strife between printers' unions in New York completely suspends the publication of more than 150 weekly and monthly periodicals; more or less in the background is the workers' demand for a $50 wage and a 44-hour week.

October 5.—Disturbances by strikers in the great steel city of Gary cause the Mayor to request the presence of Indiana State troops.

The British railway strike is ended by a compromise agreement; wages are to remain at the present level until October, 1920, with a minimum of $12.75 a week.

October 6.—A National Industrial Conference is convened at Washington, growing out of the suggestion of President Wilson, with delegates representing capital, labor and the public.

Federal troops take charge of the situation at Gary, upon the request of the Governor of Indiana.

The War Department states that more than one third of the American soldiers wounded in the war were gas casualties—74,573, besides 1194 cases which resulted in death.

October 7.—The Industrial Conference chooses Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, as chairman and formulates rules.

A strike of longshoremen in New York City, without warning and in defiance of their own officials, causes interference with the sailing of passenger transport, and freight vessels and grave danger to the city's food supply; the men demand $1 an hour, although bound by a 70-cent agreement running to December 1.

The United Confederate Veterans meet in their twenty-ninth annual reunion, at Atlanta.

October 8.—A transcontinental airplane race is started simultaneously at San Francisco and New York, with 65 competitors.

October 12.—The United States Navy completes its task of clearing the vast mine field which it had laid in the North Sea.

October 15.—Bituminous coal miners are ordered by their president to quit work on October 31, negotiations with the operators having failed to bring about an agreement. the men have been working under an arbitrati arrangement holding "until the ending of the war or until March 31, 1920."

October 18.—In the transcontinental air race, Lieut. B. W. Maynard is the first to complete his flight; from New York to San Francisco and return (5400 miles) he occupied ten days, actual flying time being less than 48 hours; an accident in Nebraska adds twenty hours to his official time.

October 22.—The Labor members withdraw from the Industrial Conference, after the employers' group rejects a proposal recognizing collective bargaining, in which the public group concurred.

An expressmen's strike in New York is ended by the demand of the Director General of Railroads that the men return to work pending a decision of the Wage Adjustment Board; otherwise the men will be dismissed and the full power of the Government exercised to render express service to the public.

Lieut. Alexander Pearson, arriving at New York, is the apparent winner of the army's transcontinental air race, his official flying time being 48 hours and 37 minutes for the 5400 miles.

October 24.—The National Industrial Conference at Washington comes to an end, the public group deciding not to continue alone.

At the final session of the triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop Thomas F. Gailor of Tennessee is elected chairman of the new executive council, virtual executive head of the Church.

October 29.—Officials of the United Mine Workers, meeting at Indianapolis, declare that a strike of bituminous miners cannot be avoided, that the men's demands are subject to negotiation, and that responsibility rests upon the coal operators.

The American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods issue a joint call for a conference of executives of national and international unions (in Washington on December 13) to discuss "the grave situation confronting labor."

OBITUARY

September 13.—Leonid Nikolaievich Andreyeff, the Russian novelist, 48.

September 15.—Ben F. Allen, a widely known Washington newspaper correspondent, 41.

September 17.—Brig.-Gen. James M. Bell, U. S. A., retired, 81.

September 18.—Joseph B. Thompson, Representative in Congress from Oklahoma, 52.

September 20.—Ramon Barros Luca, President of Chile, 1910-1915.

September 21.—Theodore Perry Shonts, president of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York City and former chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 63.

September 22.—D. Newlin Fell, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 78.

September 24.—Howard C. Hollister, of Cincinnati, Judge of the United States District Court, 63.

September 25.—Charles Lang Freer, the Detroit art collector and philanthropist, 65. . . . John S. Washburn of Minneapolis, head of one of the country's largest flour mills, 61.

September 26.—Don Albert Pardee, of Atlanta, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals, 82.

September 27.—Adelina Patti, the famous operatic singer, 76. . . . Viscount Francis Leveson Bertie, for thirteen years British Ambassador to France, 75. . . . Rear-Adm. Edwin C. Pendleton, U. S. N., retired, 72.

September 28.—Henry Whitelaw Bond, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, 71.

September 30.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Lawrence Cooper, U. S. A., retired, 74. . . . Patrick Egan, former United States Minister to Chile and pioneer advocate of Irish Home Rule, 78.

October 1.—Victorino de la Plaza, President of the Argentine Republic, 1914-1916. . . . Sir Edward Tyas Cook, a widely known British editor and author, 62.

October 3.—John C. Sage, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Salina (Kansas), 53.

October 4.—Solomon Schinasi, the cigarette manufacturer.

October 7.—Henry Mills Alden, for half a century editor of *Harpers Magazine*, 82. . . . Alfred Deakin, twice Premier of Australia, 63. . . . Francis Emanuel Shover, a former member of Congress from New York City, 58. . . . Cyril G. Hopkins, of the University of Illinois, a leading authority in agricultural chemistry, 53.

October 9.—Carlos Melendez, recently President of Salvador, 58.

October 11.—Rev. David Gregg, D. D., prominent as a Presbyterian minister in Boston and New York and later president of Western Theological Seminary, 73. . . . Brig.-Gen. William Trent Rossell, U. S. A., retired, 70.

October 14.—Bishop Philip J. Garrigan, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Sioux City, 79. . . . Dr. Kuno Meyer, professor of Celtic language and literature in the University of Berlin, 61.

October 15.—Rear-Adm. Richardson Clover, U. S. N., retired, 73.

October 19.—William Waldorf Astor, the American multi-millionaire who became a British subject and peer, 71. . . . William P. Sheffield, former Representative in Congress from Rhode Island.

October 20.—Martin D. Foster, recently a Representative in Congress from Illinois, 58.

October 21.—Alfred T. Ringling, head of the famous circus family, 56. . . . Brig.-Gen. Philip Reade, U. S. A., retired, 75.

October 22.—Alexander Peckover, first Baron Wisbech, a widely known Quaker banker of London and former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 89.

October 23.—George W. Elkins, of Philadelphia, prominent in finance and traction affairs, 61.

October 24.—J. Henry Williams, judge of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, 55.

October 25.—Sir Ernest Albert Waterlow, a noted British landscape painter, 69.

October 26.—Reuben O. Moon, a former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, 72. . . . Field Marshall Gottlieb von Haeseler, the German Crown Prince's military adviser during the Verdun attack, 84.

October 30.—Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, the widely known writer of inspirational verse, 64. . . . Charles Herman Steinway, the piano manufacturer, 62.

MORE CARTOONS OF UNREST



HE FEELS THE KICK
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



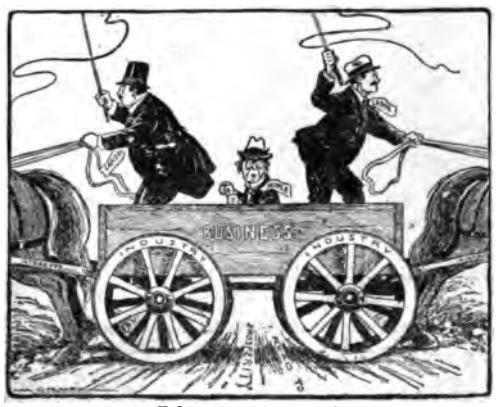
"SIT DOWN!"
From the *Star* (St. Louis)



THE WORLD'S ONLY OVERPRODUCTION
From the *News* (Dayton, O.)



"PASS THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE AT ONCE!"
From *The Passing Show* (London)



DON'T BE SILLY!
Man in middle (who pays for it all): "Here, get together! Make a team of your horses and let us get somewhere!"
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



THE CAT THAT CAME BACK—WITH ANOTHER CAT!
From *Opinion* (London)



CAPITAL AND LABOR—PAST AND PRESENT
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



NONE SO BLIND
THE SHOWMAN: "Hullo! You'd better be careful how you go to work with that saw!"
THE MAN-UP-THE-TREE: "That's all right, mate. I don't care. It ain't my tree!"
From *The Passing Show* (London)



SENATORIAL IMPROVEMENTS
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



WORRIED
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



THE FIRST TO WIPE HIS FEET ON IT
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



"RUN NOW—FLY IT, IF YOU C
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, M

Our readers will have noticed
prevalent social and political un
marks this present time is reflecte
cartoons selected for reproduct
month, as it was to a lesser degree,
in the October issue.



SHALL IT BE "INTERPRETED" TO
"I am confident . . . . that our example w
diately be followed in many quarters."—The
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, N

WAS ROOSEVELT WEEK A SUCCESS?

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

months ago the Roosevelt Me-
al Association sent out an appeal
the newspapers of the country and
the State and local officers of the
ni, calling on the American people
the week of October 20th to 27th
evelt Week", and to dedicate that
the inauguration of a movement to
e the memory of Theodore Roose-
the principles for which he stood.
sociation asked, furthermore, that
's sixty-first birthday, falling on
27th, be celebrated by special exer-
ughout the Union. It called par-
on the schools of the country to
ore the boys and girls the life and
of the man who, possibly more
other American, has appealed to
nation of youth. Finally, the Asso-
lled for voluntary subscriptions for
ial park in Oyster Bay, a monu-
nemorial in Washington and a
Foundation "for the development
ication of Theodore Roosevelt's
Americanism and citizenship."
velt Week" is now in the past.
sponse did a nation of a hundred
illion people, absorbed in the read-
following a great war and dis-
rumblings of social and industrial
ake to the Association's leadership?
uestion is important and demands
led analysis, for it has a bearing on
bled times. For the point at issue
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SENATORIAL IMPROVEMENTS
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



WORRIED
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



THE FIRST TO WIPE HIS FEET ON IT
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



RUN NOW—FLY IT, IF YOU CAN!"
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)

Our readers will have noticed that the prevalent social and political unrest that marks this present time is reflected in the cartoons selected for reproduction this month, as it was to a lesser degree, perhaps, in the October issue.



SHALL IT BE "INT[illegible]PRETED" TO DEATH!
"I am c[illegible]t our example would imme-diately be[illegible]in [illegible]ters."—The President.
Fr[illegible]Omaha, Neb.)

WAS ROOSEVELT WEEK A SUCCESS?

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

SOME months ago the Roosevelt Memorial Association sent out an appeal through the newspapers of the country and through the State and local officers of the Association, calling on the American people to observe the week of October 20th to 27th as "Roosevelt Week", and to dedicate that week to the inauguration of a movement to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and the principles for which he stood.

The Association asked, furthermore, that Roosevelt's sixty-first birthday, falling on October 27th, be celebrated by special exercises throughout the Union. It called particularly on the schools of the country to bring before the boys and girls the life and character of the man who, possibly more than any other American, has appealed to the imagination of youth. Finally, the Association called for voluntary subscriptions for a memorial park in Oyster Bay, a monumental memorial in Washington and a Roosevelt Foundation "for the development and application of Theodore Roosevelt's ideals of Americanism and citizenship."

"Roosevelt Week" is now in the past. What response did a nation of a hundred and ten million people, absorbed in the readjustments following a great war and disturbed by rumblings of social and industrial unrest, make to the Association's leadership?

The question is important and demands cold-blooded analysis, for it has a bearing on these troubled times. For the point at issue is not the sentimental question whether or not the American people really loved Theodore Roosevelt as much as they semed to love him, but whether or not they believe to-day in those principles of equality of rights and obligations, undivided allegiance and liberty under law which we group under the term "Americanism" and of which the name Theodore Roosevelt has become the outstanding symbol.

It is impossible as yet to give definite figures. No one in the Roosevelt Memorial Association or out of it will be able to tell for some time to come exactly how many meetings were held in honor of Colonel Roosevelt during the week of memorial observances, how many children listened to words in praise of the great American and united in repeating the pledge to the flag in his memory, how many people, young and old, joined the Association, how many dollars were subscribed. But it is possible to say that the week of October 20th to 27th saw a wave of enthusiasm for Roosevelt sweep the country which surprised and stirred none more by its magnitude than the leaders whose appeal had called it forth.

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principal towns and cities are being held in honor of Roosevelt's memory."

In New York City alone over a thousand meetings were held, and in every town and village in New England and the Middle States the day was observed by mass meetings or special school exercises. The South, stronghold of the Democratic party, responded with equal enthusiasm. The Governors of a number of Southern States issued special proclamations. A county in Georgia with a quota of $200 contributed $4000 to the fund; another with a quota of $400 raised $1600; every small town in the State trebled the amount suggested as its quota.

Party Lines Disappeared

Party lines vanished utterly in the endeavor to do adequate honor to the memory of the man who had been an American before he was a Republican. Tammany Hall held meetings in every election district in New York City. Everywhere Democratic newspapers extolled the patriotic service of the man whom politically they had opposed, and at countless meetings Democrats joined with Republicans in giving tribute of enthusiasm and devotion. The most important meeting, held in New York City, at which Herbert C. Hoover was the guest of honor and Elihu Root the principal speaker, was presided over by Alton B. Parker, Democratic nominee for President in the campaign of 1904 when Roosevelt was elected by an unprecedented majority. The Democratic Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, issued a special proclamation, calling on the citizens of the State to observe Roosevelt's birthday.

From Panama came word of $7000 subscribed; from Cuba came the announcement of a proclamation by President Menocal calling on the Cuban Congress to appropriate $50,000 to the Roosevelt memorial fund, and the pledge of $100,000 more in popular subscriptions; Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines cabled news of the formation of branches of the Memorial Association. Hawaii wired: "All ministers in Hawaii are using Roosevelt's life as subject of their sermons on Sunday. Addresses Wednesday in every school, public and private, in Hawaii. Memorial services Roosevelt's birthday by Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., Army and Navy and Admiral Jellicoe's officers and men." Americans in England, France and Italy held meetings. Marshal Foch, Marshal Joffre and M. Clemenceau sent messages of sympathetic interest to the Memorial Association.

The meetings varied in plan and detail, but all seem to have been alike in their spirit of high devotion to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and the things for which he stood. Old enmities were forgotten. The men who had fought at Roosevelt's side seemed scarcely more enthusiastic than the men who had fought against him. October 27th was a great day of forgiving and forgetting for the common good of all. Black men and white men spoke from the same platform; Protestants, Catholics, and Jews joined in singing Roosevelt's favorite hymn, "How firm a foundation."

Passage of the Roosevelt Flag

The State of which Colonel Roosevelt was a "native son" saw a unique spectacle. Starting from the house at Buffalo where Roosevelt was inaugurated President on the death of President McKinley, a "Roosevelt flag," red and white stripes with a blue field but without stars, was borne by relays of boy runners to forty-eight places of historic interest in the State. At each resting-place, five young girls sewed on a star, until, seven weeks after it began its thousand mile journey, the last star was sewn on at the Cove School in Oyster Bay on October 27, and the flag was laid for a day on Theodore Roosevelt's grave and then given for safekeeping to the mistress of Sagamore Hill. The passage of the flag was the occasion of extraordinary patriotic demonstrations on the part of the children along the line of its triumphal journey.

Colonel William Boyce Thompson, president of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, estimated that during the week of October 20th to 27th approximately 300,000 meetings were held throughout the country in memory of Theodore Roosevelt. From preliminary reports he placed the number of members enrolled by November first as over a million.

Was "Roosevelt Week" a success? It was an astounding success, recalling to millions, in a critical moment of the nation's history, those basic principles of which Theodore Roosevelt was and will ever remain the symbol. For an hour here, for a quarter-hour there, for an evening, for a day, elsewhere, throughout the length and breadth of the land, men, w[illegible] children paused in their labors and [illegible] pleasures to pay tribute to Theodore R[illegible]velt and through him to the flag he lov[illegible]

ROOSEVELT ON LABOR AND THE COURTS

[*The wisdom of President Roosevelt and his frankness in dealing with the issues between capital and labor that arose in the period of his Presidency have now become a legacy to the country that will be appreciated in the days to come even more than they were in his own time. He did not hesitate to attack abuses of power on the part of the management of great corporations, and in the last part of his second term he was bitterly antagonized by the men who dominated the principal agencies of organized capital.*

In his first term he had been compelled to face a great national emergency in the shape of a coal strike of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania. The miners had been only recently organized, and the financial and railroad interests that controlled the mines refused to deal collectively with the men. President Roosevelt took bold measures which broke the strike; forced the "coal barons" to tolerate the unions and accept arbitration; and created the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission under the chairmanship of Judge Gray, which brought peace, hope, and social progress into the mining districts.

There was created an impression in certain quarters that Mr. Roosevelt was hostile to capital, and did not appreciate the point of view of the leaders of industry, commerce and finance. This, however, was a mistaken impression. Mr. Roosevelt stood always for justice and human rights as against arrogance, greed, or menace on the part of any particular private or class interest. In the election of 1908, in which President Roosevelt was supporting the candidacy of his successor, William Howard Taft, the dominant leaders of organized labor were in strong opposition to the President and to the Republican candidate, and were clamoring against the Courts of law. They had demanded certain legislation which would have given better opportunity for unrestricted boycotting, and for the unlimited employment of the sympathetic strike and other militant methods of trade-unionism at its worst.

President Roosevelt, in his last annual message to Congress, December, 1908, expressed himself upon this attitude of labor leadership in plain terms; and the wisdom of his remarks becomes freshly apparent in the light of conditions existing to-day, after a lapse of eleven years. What we print below is an extract from that Presidential message of December, 1908.—THE EDITOR]

AT the last election certain leaders of organized labor made a violent and sweeping attack upon the entire judiciary of the country, an attack couched in such terms as to include the most upright, honest, and broad-minded judges, no less than those of narrower mind and more restricted outlook. It was the kind of attack admirably fitted to prevent any successful attempt to reform abuses of the judiciary, because it gave the champions of the unjust judge their eagerly desired opportunity to shift their ground into a championship of just judges who were unjustly assailed.

Last year, before the House Committee on the Judiciary, these same labor leaders formulated their demands, specifying the bill that contained them, refusing all compromise, stating they wished the principle of that bill or nothing. They insisted on a provision that in a labor dispute no injunction should issue except to protect a property right, and specifically provided that the right to carry on business should not be construed as a property right; and in a second provision their bill made legal in a labor dispute any act or agreement by or between two or more persons that would not have been unlawful if done by a single person.

In other words, this bill legalized blacklisting and boycotting in every form—legalizing, for instance, those forms of the secondary boycott which the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission so unreservedly condemned; while the right to carry on a business was explicitly taken out from under

Whereas, The organizing force now in the field working upon this vast project is altogether inadequate in strength to carry on the work in the vigorous manner imperatively demanded by the situation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and Chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, be authorized to call a conference, during the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the heads of all international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to the end that they make arrangements to lend their assistance to the organization of the iron and steel industry.

President Gompers thereupon named the heads of twenty-four affiliated organizations to act as a committee to develop and carry out plans for unionizing the iron and steel industry pursuant to the resolutions mentioned. You are familiar with what has occurred since that time, and you are more or less acquainted with the history of the different union leaders who have been connected with the attempt to enlist the employes and to bring about a strike in the manufacturing works. The strike, which has been directed by the union labor leaders and was begun, so far as I am informed, without any request or authorization from the workmen themselves, has been conducted in the usual way.

Immediately preceding the day fixed for ordering out the men, intimidating letters, large numbers of them being anonymous, were sent to the families of the workmen threatening physical injury to the father or husband, damage to or destruction of the home and kidnapping of the children unless the employe referred to should obey the order to strike. A number of the workmen, who had joined the unions voluntarily, accepted the order to strike and others remained away from the factories through fear.

In many, if not most of the mills, the larger number of employes continued to work without interruption. At the beginning, many of the workmen who attempted to continue their work and others who had remained at home through fear and attempted to return, were confronted in the public streets and elsewhere by strikers, or pickets, and importuned to engage in the strike; and many were assaulted and seriously injured. After protection was afforded by the police, sheriffs' deputies, State constabulary, and in some cases State or National troops, the numbers resuming work increased appreciably from day to day until in many places operations are about normal. Taken as a whole, the situation at p good and steadily improving.

The Sole Issue—Closed Shop or Open Shop

It will be observed that the strike is not the result of any claim by any workmen for higher wages or better treatment, nor for any reason except the desire and effort on the part of union labor leaders to unionize the iron and steel industry. As stated in the first resolution, the action taken was "for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America."

Without discussing for the present the merit or demerit of labor unions, it may be observed that union labor leaders openly state that they seek to unionize or, as they say, "organize" the whole industry of this country. Those who do not contract or deal with unions, although they do not combat them, insist upon absolute freedom to both employer and employe in regard to employment and the management of the shops. The non-union employers and employees both stand for the open shop. The unions argue for the closed shop or, as the leaders now insist, "the right of collective bargaining through labor-union leaders."

Every proposition contended for by the labor unions at the National Industrial Conference at Washington led to domination of the shops and of the men by the union labor leaders. Every position taken by the other side centered on the open shop. This is the great question confronting the American people and, in fact, the world public. From 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. or more of labor in this country is non-union. It is for them and the employers generally, and the large class of men and women who are not, strictly speaking, employers or wage earners, to determine whether or not it is best for the whole community to have industry totally organized.

Judging by experience, we believe it is for the best interest of employer and employee and the general public to have a business conducted on the basis of what we term the "open shop," thus permitting any man to engage in any line of employment, or any employer to secure the services of any workman on terms agreed upon between the two, whether the workm is not connected with a labor u erdict of the people at large ide this question, and the ght.

Why the Industrial Conference Failed

I think the fundamental question submitted to the Conference for recommendation to industries was the open shop; that question apparently could not be decided by majority vote for the reason that the Conference was organized into three groups called Labor, Employers, and Public. No affirmative action under the constitution or adopted rules could be taken except by the unanimous vote of the three groups, each of which voted by a majority of all its members. It was necessary to have such a condition, as otherwise there could be no conference in which there would be an agreement between capital and labor, so-called.

Collective Bargaining

The union labor advocates stand for collective bargaining through the unions. The others favor collective bargaining through representatives selected by the employees themselves from their own numbers.

The Employers' Group offered the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That, without in any way limiting the right of a wage earner to refrain from joining any association or to deal directly with his employer as he chooses, the right of wage earners in private as distinguished from Government employment to organize in trade and labor unions, in shop industrial councils, or other lawful form of association, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment, is recognized; and the right of the employer to deal or not to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employes and chosen by and from among them is recognized; and no denial is intended of the right of an employer and his workers voluntarily to agree upon the form of their representative relations.

The Employers' Group voted in favor of this resolution. The Public Group and the Union Labor Group voted against it.

The Public Group offered the following resolution:

> The right of wage earners in trade and labor unions to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.
>
> This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage earner to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses.

The Public Group voted in favor of this resolution. The Employers' Group and the Union Labor Group voted against it.

The Union Labor Group finally offered the following resolution:

> The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

The Union Labor Group and the Public Group voted in favor of the resolution. The Employers' Group voted against it. Thereupon the Union Labor Group retired from the Conference.

All through the Conference whenever the question of collective bargaining was discussed, it was apparent that the union labor leaders would not support any resolution in favor of collective bargaining except on the basis that collective bargaining meant bargaining through labor unions.

As further evidence of the attitude of the union labor leaders it may be mentioned that in the twelve points published by the leaders who were conducting the strike they included and insisted upon the following: "Abolition of company unions."

The Unions claim that collective bargaining through different forms of shop organization, made up of the employees tends to limit the extension of unions by increasing their numbers. The non-union employees and their employers insist that collective bargaining through labor unions means that employees are forced to join the unions, as otherwise they could not be represented. So it is perfectly clear that the whole argument returns to the main proposition of *open or closed shop.*

In the Conference there was no objection offered by any one to some form of collective bargaining as between employees and employers, provided both were free from outside representation and direction.

The Labor Group, so called, was made up of union labor leaders, leaving unorganized labor without special representation. The same mistake seems to have been made by a large portion of the public which was made throughout the war, namely, that organized labor really represents the workmen or wage earners generally, notwithstanding, as a matter of fact, that at least 85 per cent. of the total are non-union—not members of any union organization.

The Employers' Group, in which were men first-class in every respect, included men connected with large and important lines of industry, and also included several others, some of whom at least should have been with the Labor Group. In selecting the Public Group there were overlooked thousands of vocations, professions, artisan and other lines of industry, all of whom are more or less affected by the cost of production, the expense of living and, therefore, the control and conditions of both labor and capital.

Improvement of Working Conditions

However, it would seem there were many objects which might appropriately have been considered by the Conference, and conclusions for recommendations arrived at by unanimous consent, which would be advantageous to the public good, and therefore to all mankind—such as working hours, living and working conditions, women's work, child labor, recreation, medical and surgical treatment, pensions, relief in times of stress, rates of compensation, schools, churches, and other educational facilities. With the right disposition and intelligence, the Public Group, as sole survivor of the Conference, might have agreed upon recommendations to the industrial world which should be of substantial benefit. All of us are in favor of these principles, and of any others that may be suggested which we believe will be of real benefit to the wage-earners and to the general public.

I conceive it to be proper in this family of industrial workers consisting of 2000 members of the most important basic industry, to claim that we have demonstrated in practice that we are upon a plane which is higher and better than ever before occupied by this industry in this country; that we have been striving to deserve the approval of all who are interested in our business and our decisions; that we have sought the confidence of our employees; our customers, our competitors, our principals who own the properties we manage, and the general public.

And yet it would be unfortunate if we could not discover opportunities for further improvement; if we failed to read or to listen to the criticisms of others; if we let pass the requests or suggestions of our workmen for changes which they believe would be proper concerning their employment; if we neglected to give our employees—individually or in groups—opportunities to discuss with the managers all questions of mutual interest; if we minimize in any degree the well-recognized fact that the public good is of prime importance and that private interests must be subordinated. It is a pleasure to me to know from long experience that I am appealing to a sympathetic audience in behalf of a continued effort, on our part, to be more worthy of the respect and confidence of every right-thinking person who is familiar with our industrial life.

Considerable has been said in public of late concerning the attempt to spread the doctrine of Bolshevism in this country. All of us have known for some time that this disease is persistent, and that there has been some inoculation even in this best of countries. Still, we deny that there is danger of serious trouble. There is only one way to treat this disease, and that is to stamp it out; to meet it boldly wherever it can be found; to expose it and give it no chance for development.

In this free country, with its reasonable laws wisely administered, its golden harvests, healthful climate, peace-loving inhabitants who are generous in contributions for relief and protection, schools, churches and hospitals, there is no room except in the prisons for the anarchist, the bolshevist, or the other individual who seeks to substitute the rule of force for the rule of law and reason. If there are slinking, desperate, murderous bolsheviki in this country, even in small numbers, I believe the Secret Service Department of the Government should detect and expose them, and that the iron hand of justice should punish them as they deserve. And, as I have faith in this country and in its institutions, I believe this will be done and done promptly.

Any one who doubts the ability of the proper authorities to protect the persons and property of our people against bolshevism and other similar doctrines, fails to appreciate the courage of our citizens, and the terrible force and strength of subdued calmness when they are surrounded by threatened danger.

For ourselves, let us be fair and just, considerate and determined, hopeful and complacent. We shall emerge from the waves of unrest which naturally follow the demoralization and terrors of war, and as a people we will be better and stronger than ever.

AMERICA'S GREATEST BATTLE: THE MEUSE-ARGONNE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

THE article which I am now writing will be in the hands of the reader in the first days of November. These days mark the anniversary of the last phase of America's greatest battle and victory, that of the Meuse-Argonne, which was fought between September 26 and the day of the Armistice, November 11, 1918. Actually on November 1 the American troops began that march of victory, the final stage of their conflict, which carried them to Sedan, cut the Metz-Lille railway, the main western line of communications of all the German armies from the Vosges to the sea. On that day German resistance collapsed and at the moment when the war ended the Germans were still in flight with no prepared line of defense available until they were within their own territory.

When I went to France last January, General Pershing sent for me and on my request to be allowed to visit his battlefields and study them in detail he kindly promised to supply me with all facilities. As a result, in the first days of May, under the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel Loustalot, a West Point officer, who had served with the artillery of the Fifth Corps in the Meuse-Argonne conflict, I made an extended tour over the battlefield. I have thought perhaps my readers would find interesting a narrative of the struggle, as explained to me on the ground, and permit me to postpone until next month a discussion of current European events.

In the present article, therefore, I shall endeavor to set forth briefly the story of the battle in which nearly 800,000 American troops were engaged and the American loss was greater than the army commanded by Meade at Gettysburg, Grant in the Wilderness, or, for that matter, Napoleon at Waterloo. By loss, I mean killed, wounded, and captured, but of the last there were very few, since we lost in prisoners just over 4000 in the whole of our participation, as against 63,000 Germans captured by our own troops alone in the course of the engagement.

II. THE GENERAL SITUATION

In the last week of September of 1918, the situation on the Western Front was this: The final German offensive, the "Peace Storm" of July 15, had ended in a complete failure, owing to the splendid strategy of the Fourth French army, commanded by General Gouraud.

On July 18 the first great counter-offensive, between the Marne and the Aisne, had resulted in pinching out the Marne Salient, depriving the Germans of the offensive in the West, and had narrowly missed becoming one of the great military disasters of history. In this offensive, made possible by the arrival of American troops, two of Pershing's divisions, the First and the Second, had occupied the place of honor with French Moroccan troops in the attack upon the Soissons corner of the salient, while at least four others had shared in the general operation with distinction.

On August 8 the British had struck a terrific blow south of the Somme, overrunning the German systems of defenses, inflicting a defeat which Ludendorff describes under the title of "Germany's Black Day." French and British troops had participated in the exploitation of this victory and by September 26th the Germans had been forced back into the Hindenburg Line, from which they had started their great attack of March 21. In addition they had retired from the Lys Salient, the fruit of their April success, to avoid disaster.

On September 12 the Americans, acting for the first time as a separate army, had pinched out the St. Mihiel salient, taking 15,000 prisoners and many guns, establishing a safe flank for their subsequent offensive, and completely unblocking Verdun. As a result of these three operations, between the Marne and the Aisne, on the Somme front, and at St. Mihiel, the German had

been driven back into his prepared positions, which stretched without marked salients from the sea to Switzerland and frontal attacks were necessary to dislodge him.

In this situation Foch had prepared a series of blows. In Belgium, British, Belgian and French troops, later aided by Americans, were to strike out of the old Ypres Salient to turn the Germans out of the Belgian seacoast. The main British forces, aided by French to the south and reinforced by two strong American divisions, were to attack between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Finally, the Fourth French Army, between Rheims and the Argonne, and the First American Army, between the Argonne and the Meuse, were to strike northward, while the American front was to be extended across the Meuse toward the Woevre Plain, across the Heights of the Meuse, when the appropriate moment arrived.

All these attacks were to be launched in the last four days and put terrific strain upon the German man-power. It was recognized that the German strategy would now be to avoid a military decision, to retire, slowly if necessary, and by prolonging the struggle into the winter months, when operations were impossible, seek to obtain a favorable peace by negotiation, banking upon the exhaustion of the European powers making up the alliance against her.

It was the hope and purpose of Foch to achieve a decision before winter, to break the military power of Germany before the weather closed operations, and thus to obtain a victorious peace instead of a negotiated settlement. To accomplish this he planned to use every possible resource. He possessed an immense superiority in numbers, but a superiority due entirely to the arrival of American divisions, without which the two forces were still equal.

While there were fixed objectives for each of the three great hammer thrusts, the chief objective was absolute victory, obtained by exhausting the German reserves. In March the Germans had opened an offensive designed to bring decisive victory before American aid became effective. They had failed and, thanks to American aid, our Allies had wrested the offensive from the Germans in the battle of July 18, ending all chance of German victory, while the British victory of August 8 had indicated the possibility of absolute Allied victory. But the race now was with winter, as the race, when Germany possessed the initiative, was with America.

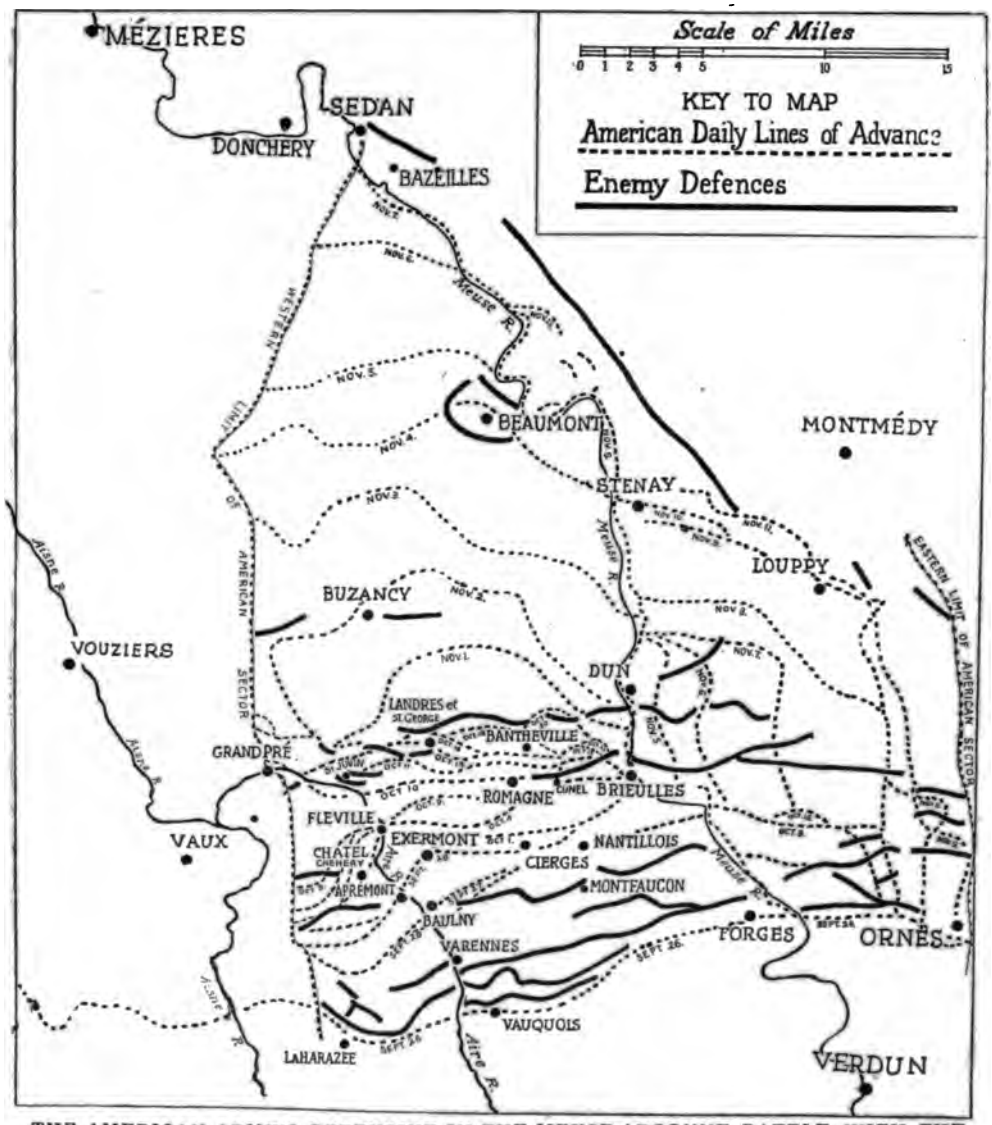
In the closing days of September, Foch's problem was, Can I force the Germans to surrender before winter sets in and the politicians take charge? He solved the problem. The Germans surrendered on November 11, precisely because they had used up their last reserves and were unable to meet new offensives already planned or stop victorious Allied armies advancing everywhere.

III. AMERICAN OBJECTIVES

For the First American Army, the mission in the general plan was as follows: All the German armies in France and Belgium were supplied by two trunk railway systems, the one passing through Belgium, crossing the Meuse at Liége and then spreading out fan-wise, sending arms all the way from Antwerp to Laon, and the other extending westward from Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg, but using a common route from Longuyon to Sedan, beyond which it in turn spread out, serving the front from Laon all the way to Verdun. In addition, this latter route, by its main extension to Maubeuge, bound the German front in Lorraine and Champagne with that in Flanders and Picardy.

Thanks to this line, the Germans were able to rush troops just behind the main front from west to east or east to west, as the necessity demanded. It was in fact the main cord which bound the two fronts together. But, as a result of the enormous concentration of troops and material in Western Belgium and Northern France, the Germans could not hope, in case of retreat, to get either their armies or their materials out of Belgium by the Liege road alone. If the Alsace-Lorraine line were cut, were cut on the Longuyon-Sedan sector, then a great disaster would be inevitable, because it would be impossible to get out of Belgium without abandoning vast stores of material and losing heavy artillery and men. Nor would it be possible to stay in Belgium and Northern France, after the line was cut, because the Liége line was inadequate to supply and maintain the armies in Belgium and France.

It was the objective of the American army, advancing due north on a front between the Meuse and the Argonne, with its northern extension, the Forest of Bourgogne, to cut-



THE AMERICAN ARMY'S OFFENSIVE IN THE MEUSE-ARGONNE BATTLE, WITH THE DAILY LINES OF ADVANCE, SEPTEMBER 26 TO NOVEMBER, 11, 1918

this vital railway line where it crosses the Meuse, just south of Sedan, at Bazeilles, a village memorable in the Sedan fight of 1870. Could they accomplish this, ultimate disaster of unequalled proportions would result, since the main mass of the German armies, facing the French, the British and the Belgians from Champagne to Flanders, would be deprived of adequate rearward communications.

In addition, the victory at St. Mihiel had thrown the Germans back upon the fortified area of Metz, uncovering in a measure the famous Briey iron district, on which Germany was dependent for most of her iron for war purposes. When the American advance toward Sedan had reached a satisfactory point, it was the plan to begin pushing out, across the Meuse and down the eastern slopes of the Meuse Heights toward Briey, and a relatively slight push would bring the district under the long-range guns of the Americans and forbid its use by the Germans. Such a prohibition would insure a failure of war material almost as fatal as the destruction of German communications by the advance on the west bank of the Meuse to Sedan.

These were the geographical objectives. The effect of cutting the communications

would be to produce a mammoth Sedan; the result of dominating Briey would be to disarm the enemy. In addition, America, with reserves which were henceforth bound to be without any approximate limit, was to contribute powerfully to the general scheme of using up German reserves until, to use Grant's phrase, by attrition, if by no other means, the Germans were brought to surrender. This last might be accomplished without actual realization of either of the other specific aims. As it happened, the Americans reached Sedan, cutting the railway, would have been able with no long delay to dominate Briey, given their rate of advance up to November 11, and in addition wore out forty-six divisions, substantially a third of the total number available for the Germans in this final phase.

During the progress of the American battle the German was powerfully and successfully attacked by the British, the French and the Belgians and forced to retire out of France and away from the Belgian coast. But he could and did retire in good order, and he could afford to surrender the territory thus lost, because it did not interfere with his communications, since the communications were perpendicular to the fighting front. On the other hand, when the Americans reached Sedan, he lost his communications and the loss would have spelled supreme disaster had he not surrendered before the consequences were translated into fact.

Finally, it is well to remember that, since nowhere else could successful attack carry such great immediate peril, the German was bound to defend himself to the uttermost limit of his capacity against the Americans, just as he was bound to fortify this section with extreme care in advance of any such attack.

IV. THE BATTLEFIELD

The American field of operations constituted a fairly regular triangle, the base of which was the front between La Harazee in the Argonne and the Meuse at the mouth of the Forges Brook from which Pershing's troops advanced at "Zero Hour" on the morning of September 26. The distance between these points is something less than twenty miles in a straight line, although the actual front, curving and bending as it did, was much longer.

A second, the western, side of the triangle was formed by the [illegible] of Argonne and its northern exte[illegible] Forest of Bourgogne, north of the [illegible] Grandpré, where the Aire breaks through and joins the Aisne. From the intersection of the south and west sides of the triangle at La Harazee to the Meuse at Donchery, just west of Sedan, is rather more than thirty miles and the point where the western side touches the Meuse was the scene of the last and saddest phase of the Sedan tragedy of 1870. Bellevue, the château where Napoleon III. capitulated, is exactly here.

The third side of the triangle is supplied by the Meuse River, which flows northeast from the Forges Brook to Sedan. In the last days of the operation the Americans crossed the Meuse on a front of some fifteen miles from the mouth of the Forges Brook to Mouzon below Stenay and pushed eastward carrying a deadly threat to Briey, but the main theater of the struggle was between the Meuse and the Argonne.

This region had been frequently fought over. The Valmy campaign which saved France in the Wars of the Revolution was fought about the Argonne. The region about Sedan had seen the collapse of the Third Empire and the rise of Germany as a world power. In 1914 the Army of the German Crown Prince had crossed the Meuse on a front between Sedan and Stenay, after severe if brief fighting. In 1916 the Germans had made a second advance in the Argonne and the valley of the Aire, just to the east, after their retreat from the Marne, taking Varrennes, where Louis XIV was arrested in his flight from France in the Revolution.

But the most memorable fighting in the history of this war-scarred region had been the struggle for the hills south of the Forges Brook, Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill, in the spring of 1916, during the great Battle of Verdun. Both had been taken by the Ger[illegible], but both had subsequently been retak[illegible] by the French in August, 1917, and were [illegible]ide the American lines when our [illegible]attle began.

[illegible]raphically, the country was the most [illegible]t for military operations on the whole fr[illegible] between the sea and the Vosges Mountains. The Argonne Forest itself, is a long, clayey [illegible]st of some 800 feet al[illegible]e of the country, [illegible]ed, its steep and [illegible] by many little

brooks. Practically no good roads exist in it—none leading from south to north, the direction of the American advance. For five miles in front of the American line the woods had been swept by more than four years of artillery fire and the result was a tangle of stumps, fallen limbs and undergrowth recalling the timber-fall in a northern forest after logging operations followed by a forest fire.

This forest the Germans had organized with extreme skill. The first lines of wire were several miles deep. The most considerable concrete dug-outs on the western front were behind the first German system of defenses. In this forest both the French and the Germans had attempted offensives and abandoned them in 1915 and thenceforth the region had been a quiet sector, but during the quiet the German, as was his custom, had continued to multiply defense works.

East of the Argonne, running along the abrupt slope of its hills, is the little Aire River, flowing north, parallel to the Meuse, through a narrow, but fairly open valley, which is bordered by the single good north and south highway of the whole region. East again from the Aire, and between this river and the Meuse, begins a ten-mile stretch of country, difficult to describe but incomparable as a defensive region. Seen on a relief map it is a maze of relatively inconsiderable elevations, the highest little above a thousand feet, each of these elevations crowned by thick forest, some of the intervening valleys wooded, some of them open.

The forests in hill and valley supply perfect cover for machine-gun nests. Direct observation is impossible. Moreover, many little valleys leading eastward into the Meuse are commanded by the abrupt hills on the east bank of this stream, which were occupied by German artillery and enabled the German to keep up an enfilading fire almost to the end. While none of the hills were considerable, many of them were as great military obstacles as the famous Chemin des Dames, on which the French offensive of 1917 broke, while Vimy Ridge, famous in British annals, found many counterparts and there were other woods and hills surpassing both these famous fighting grounds.

In addition, the region was destitute of good roads, and railway communication did not exist. Between the Meuse and the valley of the Aire the Americans in their first advance were forced to pass over a wide belt of country which had been shell-torn by the fighting in the Battle of Verdun. Most of this front was south of the little Forges Brook, inconsiderable in itself, but, like the Ailette north of the Chemin des Dames, transformed into an almost inpenetrable marsh by shell-fire.

Two summits, memorable already in the war, the Hill of Vauquois and the eminence crowned by the town of Montfaucon, were landmarks in the whole countryside. Montfaucon rises above the general level of the country with a squat appearance recalling the conning tower of a submarine. From it the Crown Prince had watched the opening bombardment of Verdun in a wrecked house, containing a wonderful periscope, which has been transferred to America.

This village had been ruined by shell-fire, but amidst the ruins the Germans had constructed massive concrete works, which remain one of the curiosities of the battlefield. In the first phase of the battle, on September 26, Montfaucon was to the American Army a landmark recalling Montsec in the still recent St. Mihiel operation. Its capture, on the second day, was a feat that must remain memorable.

To describe the topography of the country in such fashion as to give the reader any notion of the difficulties of our troops is wellnigh impossible. Swamp, forest, hills, obstacles to tanks which rendered their usefulness incomparably less than elsewhere on the front at a moment when Allied offensive tactics depended upon the tank largely, forest screens which made aerial observation almost impossible, when the detection of machine-gun nests was the chief necessity of the hour, an absence of roads which made supplying and reinforcing a vast army an incalculable task—these were major circumstances.

But above all the forests and the hills combined to supply exactly the requirements of machine-gun warfare and the German defense rested beyond all else upon this weapon. It could calculate, and did, that the new and relatively untrained American Army would wear itself out against the machine-gun defenses until, staggered by its losses and exhausted by its efforts, it would abandon the struggle.

The supreme praise earned by our young troops was in surmounting this machine-gun obstacle and enduring losses which in many

units equalled those in the veteran regiments of the British Expeditionary Army at Ypres. In September, 1918, I do not believe any other army in Europe, Allied or German, would have undertaken and persevered in such a combat. But our troops, cheerfully and with unfailing determination, accepted the most difficult sector on the Western Front, endured appalling losses, and broke through all obstacles, not the least of which were supplied by a country, which to any visitor will instantly appear as designed for the use of the machine gun and the employment of those defensive tactics which the German had used and improved during more than four years of struggle.

V. THE GERMAN DEFENSE SYSTEM

I have already pointed out that the main German reliance was upon the machine gun. They had, however, four well-defined systems or lines of defense—the Hindenburg Line, which faced the Americans, the Hagen Line of Stellung, just behind it and so close to it as really to constitute with it a single organized defensive zone four or five miles deep, the Volker Stellung, a mile or two in the rear of the first two, and finally, not far behind, the Kriemhilde system, which was their last and strongest line.

In the Argonne the Hindenburg Line and the Hagen Line had been strengthened steadily since the German offensive was pinned down in 1914. Moreover, without entrenchments, the forest supplied cover for machine guns and constituted a barrier which could not be carried by frontal attack alone. Actually the Germans were turned out of it by the advance of American and French troops on either side. But from the Argonne hills and the hills east of the Meuse the Germans long enfiladed the divisions which had passed northward.

In these first two lines Montfaucon was the center of resistance and its ruins were filled with concrete works. These concrete works, the conspicuous detail to-day in the battle areas, were low structures, usually square with a rounding roof, made of reinforced concrete, several feet thick. Usually they were built in the midst of the debris of a fallen house, generally at a turn of the road, so that they commanded a stretch of that highway. Toward the enemy they showed only a narrow slit, several feet long but hardly three or four es wide, through which the machine gi ired. They were invisible from the air ; usually detected on the ground only when one was within a few feet of them.

The walls were impervious to rifle bullets, to shrapnel, and to everything but a direct hit by a heavy gun, a thing almost impossible to bring off, given the smallness of the target and the difficulty in detecting it. Inside this cover three or four men, with their machine guns, could hold up a regiment indefinitely and inflict heavy losses. Frequently the walls were cut on three sides, allowing the occupants to fire upon an enemy advancing and to enfilade him as he passed. Capturing them was a hazardous task, bound to be costly unless artillery could be employed. Usually these machine-gun nests were arranged in such fashion as to work together, sweeping a large belt of territory.

At Montfaucon, as at certain other places along the Western Front, notably on the Etain road, leading from Verdun into the Woevre Plain, the Germans had constructed great concrete posts, closely together, to protect the town against tanks. All four of their separate lines were wired, that is, covered by a wide, deep belt of heavy barbed wire, but this wire was not in the latter phases of the war as great an obstacle as it appears to the civilian.

In protective defense works the German far surpassed all of his opponents. To pass from behind the Allied lines to the rear of the German front is to recognize how infinitely superior was the protection possessed by the German soldier, how characteristically thorough was the German method. And nowhere on the whole front was his defensive protection more elaborate than in the Meuse-Argonne, covering the vital railway lines which were necessary to German existence.

Finally, and I make the point again because it is essential: Nowhere else was the country so well adapted to the use of the machine gun, which was an essential detail, the main circumstance in German defense, the weapon which had won him so many defensive victories in the past. Given the nature of the country, every hill with its crown of woods was a natural emplacement for machine guns, every thicket filled valley an equally good cover, and all of the hills and valleys had been organized, reinforced by concrete works, wired and prepared.

'I. THE OPENING PHASE

ıe Battle of the Meuse-Argonne opened
e morning of September 26, after a pre-
ary artillery preparation of many hours,
ıg which more ammunition was probably
ed than in the whole of the Civil War.
American attack east of the Argonne
coördinated with a French attack to
rest. The American front was bounded
e east by the Meuse and extended across
Argonne. These two obstacles on either
made all maneuver impossible. The
was of a necessity nothing but a direct
al attack, a push on rather more than
n miles frontage.

ıe army facing the Americans, the Fifth
ıan Army, was commanded by General
Marwitz, who in the preceding autumn
won the Battle of Cambrai, after the
ninary British success, and in the
ıe campaign of 1914 had commanded
German cavalry corps which had so long
disastrously checked the British advance
of the Marne River. It was composed
ve divisions, which with artillery and
arms probably numbered sixty or sev-
thousand strong. A single guard di-
ı was the only first-rate unit in line at
ime.

ıe American army in line facing the
German army consisted of nine divi-
organized as three corps. The Amer-
divisions were at this time at least four
as strong as the German and the
rican army which attacked must have
ted in all arms close to 300,000 men—
greatest army in American history and
oximately as strong as the French army
ı had made the Champagne offensive
915 and the British army which opened
Battle of the Somme in 1916.

ıe position of the American troops from
to east was as follows: The 77th, 28th
35th Divisions, constituting the First
s, were in line from La Harazee in the
nne Forest to Vauquois on the eastern
of Aire Valley. The 91st, 37th and
constituting the Fifth Corps, extended
Vauquois to the Forges Brook, just
ı of Hill 304, memorable in the history
e Battle of Verdun. Finally, the 4th,
and 33rd Divisions held the right flank
e left bank of the Meuse.

the American plan of battle it was ex-
d that the three corps pushing north
d break through the first three of the four German defense systems and by September 27 arrive before the final or Kriemhilde Line. The First Corps was to reach Apremont on the west bank and Exermont on the east side of the Aire. The Fifth Corps was to pass through Montfaucon and arrive at Romagne and Cunel. Finally, the Third Corps was to cover the flank of the general advance to the east, along the Meuse River with the 80th and 33rd Divisions, and the Fourth Division was to take Brieulles. Having thus cleaned up all but the Kriemhilde Line, the Americans were to make a brief halt and then push forward through this last obstacle to the Meuse at Sedan.

In the general scheme no real objectives were fixed for the troops in the Argonne, where it was recognized that the obstacles were such as to make direct progress next to impossible. But in a general way the First Corps was to drive down the valley of the Aire, on either bank, the Fifth was to push north through indescribably difficult country, breaking the center of the German defense systems, while the Third Corps was to guard the flank.

American plans called for a complete break-through of the German defense systems and a forward push of approximately ten miles. The program was ambitious beyond words. It called upon the American troops to accomplish something that had not yet been achieved against the Germans, occupying positions, long prepared; the British had made such a penetration through German lines hastily constructed to cover their great gains in the March victory in Picardy.

The American attack was not a surprise. Marwitz in an order dated September 15 had warned his troops of what was coming and told them the American objectives were the Longuyon-Sedan Railway and the Briey Iron District. Such surprise as the German suffered must have come from the intensity of the artillery preparation. The result of this preparation was shown in the fact that the initial advance in places exceeded seven miles, and nowhere fell short of three.

Despite this great success, it was almost immediately discovered that the greater hopes could not be realized. None of the main objectives were reached, chiefly because of the difficulty of supplying the troops, a difficulty due to the paucity and poorness of the roads, but in some small degree due to the fact that the American Army was making its first considerable effort.

But if the advance fell short of the extreme objectives, it was still the most considerable the Allies had yet made against the German fixed defense systems. It exceeded the British achievement in the first phase of the Battle of Cambrai the previous year, hitherto the maximum, and unlike Cambrai, the first gains were not lost in the American battle. On September 26 Montfaucon was not taken, but it was encircled and fell the next day. The First Corps passed through Varennes and reached the edge of Baulny. It actually took Apremont, its extreme objective, two days later. The Fifth Corps on the same day reached Nantillois and the outskirts of Cierges—a name recalling bitter but glorious memories of the Aisne-Marne fighting, two months earlier, while the Fourth Division of the Third Corps approached but could not take Brieulles on the Meuse, owing to the cross-fire from the east bank of that stream.

Thereafter, until October 4, the fighting died down. There was the usual consolidation of gains, preparation for a new attack, and relief of various divisions. In this phase the Hindenburg Line had been broken on a twenty-mile front, the Hagen line behind it had been equally smashed, the third line had been reached and breached, eight thousand prisoners, more than a hundred cannon and an infinite amount of material had been captured, and the seven-mile advance between the Meuse and the Aire, that is, over two-thirds of the active front, was something not before achieved, to be compared, with certain reservations, with an average gain of less than a mile made by the British Army in its first great battle—that is, the new British Army—at the Somme, in July, 1916.

As to the conduct of the several divisions, I shall make no comment, beyond pointing out that all, save the Fourth, were militia or new army units and only two, the 4th and the 28th, had had previous battle experience, in both cases under French command. The veteran divisions, the First and Second, the 26th and 42d, for example, had not yet been engaged. The 77th, which fought in the Argonne, had participated briefly in the final phase of the Aisne-Marne, but relatively slightly.

On the German side, three new divisions were used to check the American advance. If the American General Staff had exaggerated the possibilities of victory, the German had terribly misjudged the situation and had paid for it by a humiliating defeat and the loss of defense systems on which he had expended years of effort. What was worse, from the German standpoint, the Americans had covered at least a quarter of the distance to the vital railroad line.

VII. THE SECOND PHASE

On October 4 the American Army resumed its attack on the whole front and the struggle which followed lasted the rest of the month. Substantially the battle was the slow but sure erosion of the Kriemhilde Line, the destruction of the power of resistance of the Fifth German Army, the preparation for that final phase, the March to Victory, which began on November 1 and had not ended ten days later, when the Armistice stopped the campaign.

When this second phase began the Germans were holding a line which extended from the Argonne forest, just north of Apremont, to the Meuse at Brieulles. Their chief centers of resistance were hills east and west of Grandpré, where the Aire divides the Argonne from the Forest of Bourgogne—hills which looked up the Aire Valley through which the First Corps was advancing and were covered in front for several miles by the Aire itself, which bends westward. On the west bank of the Aire, in the Argonne, their front extended southward in a deep salient and they were able to enfilade the American troops in the valley from the wooded hills, notably those about Chatel Chehéry.

To the eastward, between the Aire Valley and the Meuse, the Germans occupied an intricate system of hills, woods and villages extending through St. Juvin on the Aire, Landres et-St. George, Bantheville, and reaching the Meuse just south of the rocky cliff from which the upper town of Dun-sur-Meuse dominates the surrounding country. Holding the Bois de Chatillon, just opposite Brieulles on the east bank of the Meuse, the Germans were able to deliver a murderous cross fire upon the American troops advancing between Cunel and Brieulles, across the narrow valley which connects these two towns.

In the second phase new divisions began to appear. The veteran First replaced the 35th, which had ex[illegible]d a set back near Apremont and had be[illegible]withdrawn. The 32nd, which had do[illegible] well at Juvigny,

took over from the 37th, and the Third, which had won glory at Château-Thierry both in June and in July, replaced the 79th.

The first day of the second phase was, on the whole, a failure. The total advance was less than a kilometer, barely a half-mile, against seven miles at certain points in the earlier phase. The resistance of the Germans in the wooded hills in the center—Bois des Rappes, des Ognons, Cote de Chatillon—was desperate in the extreme, while the enfilading fire from the Argonne Heights held up the advance in the Aire Valley. On the third day, October 6, the 28th Division, which had been facing north, turned west, forded the narrow but deep Aire, and carried the heights back of Chatel Chehéry in one of the most brilliant dashes of the whole struggle. Seen from the Aire Valley, near Fleville, these Argonne heights recall the Palisades of the Hudson. The result of this operation was the collapse of the Argonne salient and four days later the 77th, still fighting in the Argonne, emerged from the forest at the northern end facing Grandpré, beyond the Aire. Eight days before, some companies of two battalions of one brigade of the 77th division—seven companies in all—had been temporarily isolated near the Moulin de Charlvaux and under Major Whittlesey won enduring fame as "the lost battalion."

The success west of the Aire abolished one of the sources of crippling cross-fire. There remained the even more serious menace coming from the east bank of the Meuse, on the wooded heights above Brieulles, in the bend of the river. To clear this flank a joint Franco-American operation was necessary. Two French divisions, together with the American 29th, pushed north from the lines occupied by the French, following their successes about Verdun in 1916 and 1917, while on October 9, the 33rd Division, west of the Meuse, crossed the river and joined in the operation. The crossing of the considerable and deep river, paralleled by a canal, was one of the brilliant feats of the war. But despite great efforts the operations of the east bank of the Meuse did not relieve the situation for the main forces across the river, until the real decision had been had.

All through October the fight went on. Obscure woodlands, insignificant hills and unknown villages, reduced to a heap of stones and ashes, were the scenes of a bitter and gruelling contest. The Bois des Loges, just east of Grandpré, looking up the Aire Valley, was taken, lost and retaken many times by the 78th Division. October 14 was a third day of general attack between the Meuse and the Aire, in which the region about Romagne and Bantheville, with the wooded hills of the district, were fiercely fought for. Romagne, memorable hereafter as the site of the great national cemetery, where nearly 30,000 American troops fallen in the Meuse-Argonne struggle are buried, was finally taken on this day.

By October 20 the offensive period of the second phase was over. The American army was out of the Argonne, north of the Aire. It held Grandpré. The fifth attack on the Bois des Rappes had finally led to final occupation. St. Juvin had been taken. The western end of the Kriemhilde line was thus gone, the center was breached at points, but still clung to the wooded area about Bantheville, but on the eastern end, near the Meuse, the supporting fire from the eastern bank enabled the German to maintain a precarious hold on Brieulles and control of the Meuse valley roads on either bank. Meantime in addition to the units already mentioned, the 78th, 82nd, 42nd, 5th and 90th divisions had appeared and the 5th, fighting in the center, had suffered terrific losses. The 42nd had encountered the Third Prussian Guard near Landres-et-St. George on the Cote de Chatillon, and on October 14 practically annihilated it, suffering heavy losses itself. The 78th, fighting at Talma and Belle Joyeuse Farms east and west of Grandpré and the Bois des Loges, had succeeded after contests which were desperate in the extreme. The Bois des Loges episode was one of the most notable in the battle.

VIII. The Final Phase

On November 1 the German Army had been fought to a standstill. It still held a portion of the Kriemhilde Line, midway between the Meuse and the Aire, but the power for resistance had gone. West and east of the Meuse and mainly on the west, he had used 46 divisions. Thirteen of these had been used twice and two three times. These had faced twenty-two American divisions and four French. Eleven of our divisions had been used twice and one three times. But each American division was probably four times as strong as the German division, while the French were at least equal. Thus one

may reckon that on the basis of the German strength, the odds were 92 to 46, or two to one. Given the strength of the German positions and the fact that the Germans were fighting defensively, the odds were not impressive.

The attack of November 1 was delivered by the following corps, in line from west to east: The 79th, 78th, 80th, 2nd, 89th, 5th, while the 90th was used the following day between the 89th and 5th. Like the first attack on September 26 this last offensive began at 5:30 A. M., this time after two hours of artillery preparation. The result of the attack was the immediate collapse of the whole German line between the Meuse and the Forest of Bourgogne, the extension of the Argonne north of the Aire. By the close of the day the 2nd and 89th divisions, in the center, were five miles through the Kriemhilde line and approaching the Stenay-Buzancy road, while on the next day the 80th and 77th passed on either side of Buzancy.

Thenceforth the battle was a pursuit race. West of the Meuse the German fled back to Sedan, opposite which town elements of the 42nd appeared on November 7. Officially it was the French who first entered the town, but the citizens of Sedan testify that the first Allied troops whom they saw belonged to the "Rainbow" Division. Thus the Sedan-Longuyon railway was cut and the main objective of the American operation achieved.

In the same period there had been a general crossing of the Meuse from the Forges Brook northward. Stenay had fallen to the 90th Division on the morning of the armistice, with the headquarters of the German Crown Prince, just north of the town, the headquarters from which he directed the great battle of Verdun. The Fifth Division passed through Louppy on the tiny Loison and seized the last headquarters of Marwitz in the Meuse-Argonne battle on Armistice day and from the road above Louppy could see the towers of Montmedy in the distance —the last semblance of a barrier between them and the Belgian frontier.

Still to southward, the 32nd was across the Loison, also above the northern end of the Meuse Heights, facing toward Briey. So was the 79th, a little more to south, while the 26th was fighting toward the famous Twin Hills of Ornes, from which the Kaiser had watched the Verdun battle and beneath which in the Great Forest of Spincourt, the Germans had massed their batteries for the opening phase of the same struggle. All the way from the fortified area of Metz northward the German was staggering backward.

His army, Marwitz's Fifth Army, was not routed. It had not lost its organization. It was still fighting back, holding up the advance with machine-gun fire. But it had been evicted from every fixed line of defense. It had no positions, no more concrete works, no more lines of trenches and wires, although I saw many in the first stages of construction west of Longuyon. But, if it was not routed, much less destroyed, the German Army was not only beaten, but in the last days there were signs of demoralization unusual even in temporarily shaken German forces.

IX. THE ACHIEVEMENT

It remains to sum up briefly the achievement. The American Army which fought in the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne was, roughly speaking, in the same stage of development as the British Army which fought the First Battle of the Somme. It was an army passing from apprenticeship to actual warfare, but save for a few officers and a handful of divisions, without battle training.

In a battle of a little more than five weeks' duration, from September 26 to November 1, the American First Army broke through four complete systems of defense, covering a depth of above ten miles, and on the latter date was moving forward in a wild dash, which only terminated with the end of hostilities themselves. In that time we engaged 22 American divisions, between 600,000 and 700,000 men, lost rather more than 100,000 in casualties, and took 16,000 prisoners, 468 guns, 2664 machine guns, 177 trench mortars. We made a maximum advance in 47 days of 34 miles, liberated 1550 square kilometres of French soil and 150 villages.

The battle was fought under conditions recalling the Battle of the Wilderness in the Civil War, but that struggle lasted only three days, while the main contest in the Meuse-Argonne endured for 36. We opened the battle with 3928 cannon in line and we fired, with the French 3,408,000 rounds, several times the consumption of ammunition in the Civil War. On the enemy we inflicted a loss which was at first estimated to approximate 100,000, but experienced American officers now inform me that they believe these estimates were exaggerated and that the ene-

my's loss outside of prisoners would but little exceed 50,000, which would mean a total loss in killed, wounded and captured of approximately 70,000.

The heaviest loss by any American division was that of the 1st, which was just under 7500—a little more than 25 per cent. The 3rd lost almost as many, 7451 against 7467. The 32nd lost 6912 and the 82nd 5947. The 77th, 35th, 80th, 5th and 78th lost above 5000 each, the 4th and 29th over 4000. American troops were materially aided by French aviation, although much good work was done by Americans.

The American victory has been widely discussed in America and emphasis laid on many details which seem to me inaccurate. It is essential to recognize the facts about our army to measure its real achievement. Neither the men nor their officers were trained as the French and the British, or as the Germans. We were at the beginning. We disclosed no marvelous mastery of modern warfare and no inspired leadership in the high command. This was well-nigh impossible. We paid very heavily in casualties for our lack of experience and our transport did not compare with that of the older armies.

What we accomplished was, however, the more wonderful, given our circumstances. The spirit of our troops was incomparably better than those of any other army in Europe. Our men were neither tired nor affected by the failures of other campaigns. They went where no other troops on the Continent would have gone. They kept going under losses which veteran French or British divisions could no longer endure.

The actual fruits of the American victory were never disclosed because the German surrendered before they could be harvested. But had the German not surrendered he would have been confronted with a terrible crisis since he would have been compelled to bring all his troops out of Belgium by the single line remaining—that through Liége.

We attacked the German where he was strongest, in positions where his necessity to hold was greatest. We broke his lines, defeated one of his most distinguished generals, occupied his principal line of communications for all his western armies, and were "going strong" when the end came. We made courage and determination do for much training.

I have been asked since I came home if the American sacrifice was necessary. I do not know who is responsible for the cruel legend that the victory was certain had we not made our campaign, but I do know that it has served to increase the grief of those whose relatives died in the Meuse-Argonne. The truth is plain: But for our attack the German would have been able to prolong resistance until the weather turned bad and then escape defeat by negotiations, since all his enemies, save ourselves, were as tired as he was. Or, failing this probable outcome, he would have had a winter to reorganize his armies, behind new lines.

When the fighting ended we had 1,200,000 combatant troops in France, two-thirds, at least, battle-trained. We held more line than the British and we had more troops on our line than did they. At Cantigny and Château-Thierry, with the Belleau Woods accompaniment, we made our beginning, modest but useful. In the Aisne-Marne, we gave Foch the weight for his first counter-offensive, which wholly changed the general situation. At St. Mihiel in the first all-American "show," we dealt a staggering blow and at the Meuse-Argonne we did all that anyone could ask and more than anyone could hope or justly expect. What we still lacked in science, we largely made up in sheer dogged fighting spirit and that sublime confidence, never shaken, that nothing that lived could face America, out for battle.

Whether Pershing would have developed into a great military genius or remained only an effective commander is a matter for conjecture. But the fact is still clear that he understood the possibilities of his men, trusted them, fought our Allies for the chance to show what an American army could accomplish, where it organized, carried his point, and "made good" in his subsequent operations against the German. The army which won the Meuse-Argonne was his, and it fought under his command in the decisive periods. He built the army, fought it, led it to victory and after victory, held it ready to deliver new blows, if the war were resumed. His praise and that of his soldiers is identical. It is written in the Meuse-Argonne and will be read by millions of Americans in future years, who ride, as I did recently, over all the field of battle and see what men lately from the plough and the factory accomplished against troops and officers who had profited by the national training of half a century and by the actual experience of four years of tremendous conflict.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT WORKS WITH THE FARMER

BY HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON

(Secretary of Agriculture)

[By far the greatest of the nation's industries is the cultivation of the soil. For six years and a half the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. David F. Houston, has been in a better position than any other man to survey the progress of American farming in all its aspects and relations. Dr. Houston came to the Department with unusual fitness and he has rendered service directly to the farmers, and through them to the country, that cannot well be overestimated. The survey he contributes herewith to this number of the REVIEW is based upon a great range of information and rests upon a basis of solid judgment.—THE EDITOR]

IN the field of agriculture there is much to be done. This fundamental part of the Nation's industrial life will not stand still. Constructive action must, of necessity, continue, and there will be need of very clear and unbiased thinking. In this, as in all times of great change and movement, there is no little confusion and no little apprehension and misapprehension. We shall have our troubles. We shall be confronted with numerous proposals from the enthusiast with limited knowledge and less sense of direction. The tasks confronting us in agriculture are tasks not of reconstruction but rather of further construction, of selection, and emphasis. I am confident that the agriculture of the Nation is on substantially sound foundations and is developing in the right direction. Many experienced and disciplined minds and agencies in all parts of the country have zealously been studying the problems for many years, with increasing effectiveness during the last generation, and it will surprise me if many novel steps of large proportion are not taken.

Farming Must Pay!

Farming, of course, must pay. There always will be farmers enough if the business of farming is made profitable and if the conditions of farm life are made attractive and healthful. The farmer, as well as the industrial worker, is entitled to a living wage and a reasonable profit on the investment. He is entitled also to satisfactory educational opportunities for his children and to the benefits of modern medical science and sanitation. It is not the mission of the farmers simply to supply food to the consumer at prices which the latter desire to pay. This is not the test. It is no more the duty of the farmers to supply food on an unprofitable basis than it would be for the manufacturer to supply manufactured articles on an unprofitable basis. Each should want the other industry to prosper and the producers of all commodities to receive a fair price for what they produce.

The Question of Prices

It has been argued lately by otherwise intelligent business men that the price of farm products must come down before the cost of manufactured articles can be reduced. Nothing could be more unfair or more unsound economically. The costs of farm production are determined in large part by the prices of manufactured articles which the farmer has to buy. The turn-over of the manufacturer is a frequent one, whereas farmers, as a rule, have only an annual turn-over. Yet the farmer is being told, in effect, to go ahead and increase his production, paying the present high prices for all the things he requires to make his crop, and that a year from now he can market his produce at a greatly reduced level of prices. Obviously, manufacturers must be willing to make at least a contemporaneous decrease in their prices. It might even be contended that they should make a prior decrease, since the farmer's operations involve a year and he can not recoup for twelve months, or can not recoup at all, because, on the theory put forth, his products would fall in price.

Of course, everything possible is being done to enable the farmer to produce more economically, so that if prices do fall he will not sustain a lo[ss] at a loss. All the efforts of the D[epartment] of Agriculture and

of the land-grant colleges have this aim. They are trying to bring about better methods of cultivation, better financing, better marketing, the elimination of plant and animal diseases and insect pests, and the better utilization of labor. Much has been done in this direction, and much more will be done as time passes.

Land Settlement

Interest in land for homes and farms increases in the Nation as the population grows. It has become more marked as the area of public land suitable and available for agriculture has diminished. It is intensified at the present time by reason of the suggestion and desire that returned soldiers and others who may wish to secure farms shall have an opportunity to do so under suitable conditions. It finds expression, too, in discussions of the number of tenant farmers and in its meaning and significance.

That there is still room in the Nation for many more people on farms is clear. The United States proper contains about 1,900,000,000 acres of land, of which an area of 1,140,000,000 acres, or 60 per cent., is tillable. Approximately 367,000,000 acres, or 32 per cent., of this was planted in crops in 1918. In other words, for every 100 acres now tilled 300 acres may be utilized when the country is fully settled. Of course, much of the best land, especially that most easily brought under cultivation and in reasonably easy reach of large consuming centers, is in use, though much of it, possibly 85 per cent., is not yielding full returns. Extension of the farmed area will consequently be made with greater expense for clearing, preparation, drainage, and irrigation, and for profitable operation will involve marketing arrangements of a high degree of perfection and the discriminating selection of crops having a relatively high unit value.

Our Growth in Population

To a certain extent, we are still pioneering the continent, agriculturally and otherwise, and are still exporters of food, feedstuffs, and materials for clothing. With wise foresight and increased employment of scientific practice, under the stimulation of intelligent agencies, we can take care of and provide for a very much larger population under even more favorable circumstances and in greater prosperity. This is the task to which the Nation has set itself and indicates the responsibility resting upon each individual, and especially upon the farming population and State and Federal agencies responsible for leadership. We have, up to the present, succeeded in this enterprise. In the years from 1900 to 1915 the Nation gained a population of approximately 22,000,000, and they have been fed and clothed in large measure from domestic sources. It is estimated that in the years from 1915 to 1918 the population increased by 3,200,000, of which a very small part was from immigration. We shall, perhaps, gain as many more in the next fifteen or twenty years, even if the rate of immigration should not be maintained, for the natural growth in recent years, averaging about three-fourths of a million a year, shows an upward tendency.

It would be desirable to facilitate land settlement in more orderly fashion. This can be effected in a measure by systematic effort on the part of the Federal Government, the States, and the several communities through appropriate agencies to furnish more reliable information, intelligent guidance, and well-considered settlement plans. The Nation has suffered not a little from irresponsible and haphazard private direction of settlement. In many sections, especially in the newer and more rapidly developing ones, the situation has been complicated by the activities of promoters whose main concern was to dispose of their properties. They too frequently succeeded in attracting farmers to localities remote from markets where they either failed to produce crops or met with disaster through lack of market outlets or adequate marketing arrangements.

Ownership to Be Encouraged

It is particularly vital that, by every feasible means, the processes of acquiring ownership of farms be encouraged and hastened. This process is real in spite of appearances to the contrary. It has been too generally assumed and represented that tenancy has increased at the expense of ownership and that we are witnessing agricultural deterioration in this direction. Tenancy does present aspects which should cause great concern, but its bright sides have not been sufficiently considered. The situation does not warrant a pessimistic conclusion. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 the number of farms in the United States increased from 4,009,000 to 6,362,000, the number of those owned from 2,984,000 to 4,007,000, a gain of 1,023,000, or 34.3 per cent., and the number oper-

would be to produce a mammoth Sedan; the result of dominating Briey would be to disarm the enemy. In addition, America, with reserves which were henceforth bound to be without any approximate limit, was to contribute powerfully to the general scheme of using up German reserves until, to use Grant's phrase, by attrition, if by no other means, the Germans were brought to surrender. This last might be accomplished without actual realization of either of the other specific aims. As it happened, the Americans reached Sedan, cutting the railway, would have been able with no long delay to dominate Briey, given their rate of advance up to November 11, and in addition wore out forty-six divisions, substantially a third of the total number available for the Germans in this final phase.

During the progress of the American battle the German was powerfully and successfully attacked by the British, the French and the Belgians and forced to retire out of France and away from the Belgian coast. But he could and did retire in good order, and he could afford to surrender the territory thus lost, because it did not interfere with his communications, since the communications were perpendicular to the fighting front. On the other hand, when the Americans reached Sedan, he lost his communications and the loss would have spelled supreme disaster had he not surrendered before the consequences were translated into fact.

Finally, it is well to remember that, since nowhere else could successful attack carry such great immediate peril, the German was bound to defend himself to the uttermost limit of his capacity against the Americans, just as he was bound to fortify this section with extreme care in advance of any such attack.

IV. THE BATTLEFIELD

The American field of operations constituted a fairly regular triangle, the base of which was the front between La Harazee in the Argonne and the Meuse at the mouth of the Forges Brook from which Pershing's troops advanced at "Zero Hour" on the morning of September 26. The distance between these points is something less than twenty miles in a straight line, although the actual front, curving and bending as it did, was much longer.

A second, the western, side of the triangle was formed by the Forest of Argonne and its northern extension the Forest of Bourgogne, north of the Gap of Grandpré, where the Aire breaks through and joins the Aisne. From the intersection of the south and west sides of the triangle at La Harazee to the Meuse at Donchery, just west of Sedan, is rather more than thirty miles and the point where the western side touches the Meuse was the scene of the last and saddest phase of the Sedan tragedy of 1870. Bellevue, the château where Napoleon III. capitulated, is exactly here.

The third side of the triangle is supplied by the Meuse River, which flows northeast from the Forges Brook to Sedan. In the last days of the operation the Americans crossed the Meuse on a front of some fifteen miles from the mouth of the Forges Brook to Mouzon below Stenay and pushed eastward carrying a deadly threat to Briey, but the main theater of the struggle was between the Meuse and the Argonne.

This region had been frequently fought over. The Valmy campaign which saved France in the Wars of the Revolution was fought about the Argonne. The region about Sedan had seen the collapse of the Third Empire and the rise of Germany as a world power. In 1914 the Army of the German Crown Prince had crossed the Meuse on a front between Sedan and Stenay, after severe if brief fighting. In 1916 the Germans had made a second advance in the Argonne and the valley of the Aire, just to the east, after their retreat from the Marne, taking Varrennes, where Louis XIV was arrested in his flight from France in the Revolution.

But the most memorable fighting in the history of this war-scarred region had been the struggle for the hills south of the Forges Brook, Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill, in the spring of 1916, during the great Battle of Verdun. Both had been taken by the Germans, but both had subsequently been retaken by the French in August, 1917, and were inside the American lines when our own battle began.

Topographically, the country was the most difficult for military operations on the whole front between the sea and the Vosges Mountains. The Argonne Forest, itself, is a long, clayey eminence, with a crest of some 800 feet above the general level of the country, ten miles wide, heavily wooded, its steep and soft sides cut and eroded by many little

brooks. Practically no good roads exist in it—none leading from south to north, the direction of the American advance. For five miles in front of the American line the woods had been swept by more than four years of artillery fire and the result was a tangle of stumps, fallen limbs and undergrowth recalling the timber-fall in a northern forest after logging operations followed by a forest fire.

This forest the Germans had organized with extreme skill. The first lines of wire were several miles deep. The most considerable concrete dug-outs on the western front were behind the first German system of defenses. In this forest both the French and the Germans had attempted offensives and abandoned them in 1915 and thenceforth the region had been a quiet sector, but during the quiet the German, as was his custom, had continued to multiply defense works.

East of the Argonne, running along the abrupt slope of its hills, is the little Aire River, flowing north, parallel to the Meuse, through a narrow, but fairly open valley, which is bordered by the single good north and south highway of the whole region. East again from the Aire, and between this river and the Meuse, begins a ten-mile stretch of country, difficult to describe but incomparable as a defensive region. Seen on a relief map it is a maze of relatively inconsiderable elevations, the highest little above a thousand feet, each of these elevations crowned by thick forest, some of the intervening valleys wooded, some of them open.

The forests in hill and valley supply perfect cover for machine-gun nests. Direct observation is impossible. Moreover, many little valleys leading eastward into the Meuse are commanded by the abrupt hills on the east bank of this stream, which were occupied by German artillery and enabled the German to keep up an enfilading fire almost to the end. While none of the hills were considerable, many of them were as great military obstacles as the famous Chemin des Dames, on which the French offensive of 1917 broke, while Vimy Ridge, famous in British annals, found many counterparts and there were other woods and hills surpassing both these famous fighting grounds.

In addition, the region was destitute of good roads, and railway communication did not exist. Between the Meuse and the valley of the Aire the Americans in their first advance were forced to pass over a wide belt of country which had been shell-torn by the fighting in the Battle of Verdun. Most of this front was south of the little Forges Brook, inconsiderable in itself, but, like the Ailette north of the Chemin des Dames, transformed into an almost inpenetrable marsh by shell-fire.

Two summits, memorable already in the war, the Hill of Vauquois and the eminence crowned by the town of Montfaucon, were landmarks in the whole countryside. Montfaucon rises above the general level of the country with a squat appearance recalling the conning tower of a submarine. From it the Crown Prince had watched the opening bombardment of Verdun in a wrecked house, containing a wonderful periscope, which has been transferred to America.

This village had been ruined by shell-fire, but amidst the ruins the Germans had constructed massive concrete works, which remain one of the curiosities of the battlefield. In the first phase of the battle, on September 26, Montfaucon was to the American Army a landmark recalling Montsec in the still recent St. Mihiel operation. Its capture, on the second day, was a feat that must remain memorable.

To describe the topography of the country in such fashion as to give the reader any notion of the difficulties of our troops is wellnigh impossible. Swamp, forest, hills, obstacles to tanks which rendered their usefulness incomparably less than elsewhere on the front at a moment when Allied offensive tactics depended upon the tank largely, forest screens which made aerial observation almost impossible, when the detection of machine-gun nests was the chief necessity of the hour, an absence of roads which made supplying and reinforcing a vast army an incalculable task—these were major circumstances.

But above all the forests and the hills combined to supply exactly the requirements of machine-gun warfare and the German defense rested beyond all else upon this weapon. It could calculate, and did, that the new and relatively untrained American Army would wear itself out against the machine-gun defenses until, staggered by its losses and exhausted by its efforts, it would abandon the struggle.

The supreme praise earned by our young troops was in surmounting this machine-gun obstacle and enduring losses which in many

units equalled those in the veteran regiments of the British Expeditionary Army at Ypres. In September, 1918, I do not believe any other army in Europe, Allied or German, would have undertaken and persevered in such a combat. But our troops, cheerfully and with unfailing determination, accepted the most difficult sector on the Western Front, endured appalling losses, and broke through all obstacles, not the least of which were supplied by a country, which to any visitor will instantly appear as designed for the use of the machine gun and the employment of those defensive tactics which the German had used and improved during more than four years of struggle.

V. THE GERMAN DEFENSE SYSTEM

I have already pointed out that the main German reliance was upon the machine gun. They had, however, four well-defined systems or lines of defense—the Hindenburg Line, which faced the Americans, the Hagen Line of Stellung, just behind it and so close to it as really to constitute with it a single organized defensive zone four or five miles deep, the Volker Stellung, a mile or two in the rear of the first two, and finally, not far behind, the Kriemhilde system, which was their last and strongest line.

In the Argonne the Hindenburg Line and the Hagen Line had been strengthened steadily since the German offensive was pinned down in 1914. Moreover, without entrenchments, the forest supplied cover for machine guns and constituted a barrier which could not be carried by frontal attack alone. Actually the Germans were turned out of it by the advance of American and French troops on either side. But from the Argonne hills and the hills east of the Meuse the Germans long enfiladed the divisions which had passed northward.

In these first two lines Montfaucon was the center of resistance and its ruins were filled with concrete works. These concrete works, the conspicuous detail to-day in the battle areas, were low structures, usually square with a rounding roof, made of reinforced concrete, several feet thick. Usually they were built in the midst of the debris of a fallen house, generally at a turn of the road, so that they commanded a stretch of that highway. Toward the enemy they showed only a narrow slit, several feet long but hardly three or four inches wide, through which the machine gun fired. They were invisible from the air and steadily detected on the ground only when one was within a few feet of them.

The walls were impervious to rifle bullets, to shrapnel, and to everything but a direct hit by a heavy gun, a thing almost impossible to bring off, given the smallness of the target and the difficulty in detecting it. Inside this cover three or four men, with their machine guns, could hold up a regiment indefinitely and inflict heavy losses. Frequently the walls were cut on three sides, allowing the occupants to fire upon an enemy advancing and to enfilade him as he passed. Capturing them was a hazardous task, bound to be costly unless artillery could be employed. Usually these machine-gun nests were arranged in such fashion as to work together, sweeping a large belt of territory.

At Montfaucon, as at certain other places along the Western Front, notably on the Etain road, leading from Verdun into the Woevre Plain, the Germans had constructed great concrete posts, closely together, to protect the town against tanks. All four of their separate lines were wired, that is, covered by a wide, deep belt of heavy barbed wire, but this wire was not in the latter phases of the war as great an obstacle as it appears to the civilian.

In protective defense works the German far surpassed all of his opponents. To pass from behind the Allied lines to the rear of the German front is to recognize how infinitely superior was the protection possessed by the German soldier, how characteristically thorough was the German method. And nowhere on the whole front was his defensive protection more elaborate than in the Meuse-Argonne, covering the vital railway lines which were necessary to German existence.

Finally, and I make the point again because it is essential: Nowhere else was the country so well adapted to the use of the machine gun, which was an essential detail, the main circumstance in German defense, the weapon which had won him so many defensive victories in the past. Given the nature of the country, every hill with its crown of woods was a natural emplacement for machine guns, every thicket filled valley an equally good cover, all of the hills and valleys had been g , reinforced by concrete works, wired repared.

'I. THE OPENING PHASE

ıe Battle of the Meuse-Argonne opened e morning of September 26, after a pre- ary artillery preparation of many hours, g which more ammunition was probably :d than in the whole of the Civil War. American attack east of the Argonne coördinated with a French attack to 'est. The American front was bounded e east by the Meuse and extended across ırgonne. These two obstacles on either made all maneuver impossible. The : was of a necessity nothing but a direct al attack, a push on rather more than ı miles frontage.

ıe army facing the Americans, the Fifth ıan Army, was commanded by General Marwitz, who in the preceding autumn won the Battle of Cambrai, after the ninary British success, and in the ıe campaign of 1914 had commanded ierman cavalry corps which had so long lisastrously checked the British advance of the Marne River. It was composed /e divisions, which with artillery and arms probably numbered sixty or sev- thousand strong. A single guard di- ı was the only first-rate unit in line at ime.

ıe American army in line facing the German army consisted of nine divi- organized as three corps. The Amer- divisions were at this time at least four as strong as the German and the ·ican army which attacked must have ed in all arms close to 300,000 men— reatest army in American history and ximately as strong as the French army ı had made the Champagne offensive 15 and the British army which opened lattle of the Somme in 1916.

ıe position of the American troops from to east was as follows: The 77th, 28th 35th Divisions, constituting the First ;, were in line from La Harazee in the nne Forest to Vauquois on the eastern of Aire Valley. The 91st, 37th and constituting the Fifth Corps, extended Vauquois to the Forges Brook, just of Hill 304, memorable in the history e Battle of Verdun. Finally, the 4th, and 33rd Divisions held the right flank e left bank of the Meuse.

the American plan of battle it was ex- ł that the three corps pushing north ł break through the first three of the four German defense systems and by September 27 arrive before the final or Kriemhilde Line. The First Corps was to reach Apremont on the west bank and Exermont on the east side of the Aire. The Fifth Corps was to pass through Montfaucon and arrive at Romagne and Cunel. Finally, the Third Corps was to cover the flank of the general advance to the east, along the Meuse River with the 80th and 33rd Divisions, and the Fourth Division was to take Brieulles. Having thus cleaned up all but the Kriemhilde Line, the Americans were to make a brief halt and then push forward through this last obstacle to the Meuse at Sedan.

In the general scheme no real objectives were fixed for the troops in the Argonne, where it was recognized that the obstacles were such as to make direct progress next to impossible. But in a general way the First Corps was to drive down the valley of the Aire, on either bank, the Fifth was to push north through indescribably difficult country, breaking the center of the German defense systems, while the Third Corps was to guard the flank.

American plans called for a complete break-through of the German defense systems and a forward push of approximately ten miles. The program was ambitious beyond words. It called upon the American troops to accomplish something that had not yet been achieved against the Germans, occupying positions, long prepared; the British had made such a penetration through German lines hastily constructed to cover their great gains in the March victory in Picardy.

The American attack was not a surprise. Marwitz in an order dated September 15 had warned his troops of what was coming and told them the American objectives were the Longuyon-Sedan Railway and the Briey Iron District. Such surprise as the German suffered must have come from the intensity of the artillery preparation. The result of this preparation was shown in the fact that the initial advance in places exceeded seven miles, and nowhere fell short of three.

Despite this great success, it was almost immediately discovered that the greater hopes could not be realized. None of the main objectives were reached, chiefly because of the difficulty of supplying the troops, a difficulty due to the paucity and poorness of the roads, but in some small degree due to the fact that the American Army was making its first considerable effort.

UNCLE SAM, UNDERWRITER

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

TWO years and a half ago America gave the world the spectacle of an unmilitary democracy girding itself for a tremendous war effort. The nation was not at once fully conscious of all that was implied in its assertion of power. It groped for a time before it struck out; but when the moment came to deliver its blow it was prepared to hit hard. For most of us it was difficult to think of our country as one of the world's warring powers. Its traditions had been wholly different from those of Europe. Yet we found a way, through the conscription law, to apply democratic principles in the business of making war, with a degree of thoroughness and consistency never before attained in our history as a people. So our man-power was concentrated on the task in hand—not with complete efficiency, not without serious waste here and there, but on the whole with a success that surprised the world and surprised ourselves.

When the United States created for the first time in its history a truly national army and sent that army across the ocean to fight, new duties and obligations were assumed. Some of these were not at once perceived, some were gradually developed, remaining for many months unrecognized by Congress or the executive power, but for the most part the people and the government alike saw from the beginning that the nation was undertaking a job that was different in kind as well as in size from anything that we had tried to do in the past. It was clear that nothing in our national experience could help materially in shaping policies to meet the new emergency. Whatever our preconceptions may have been, we had now come to a situation that called for a workable, intelligible program to deal with a set of problems wholly unfamiliar in their scope and implications.



THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF WAR RISK INSURANCE

The Pension System Found Wanting

In its relations with the individual soldier and sailor, the Government at Washington might have followed the lines of least resistance from the start. Provision for the service man's family might have been left to the States and to private philanthropy. The care of dependents in the event of death or disability might have been committed (following Civil War precedent) to the future determination of Congress. Thanks to the foresight and imagination of a small group of men, without and within the lawmaking body, the federal government early assumed full responsibility in these matters and provided for them in definite and practical ways.

Half a century ago the pension system may have commended itself to patriots. In the retrospect it retains the approval of no one who has candidly examined its workings. Had anything like the Civil War pension policy been applied in the present emergency, the country could not have hoped to escape enormous waste of funds and grave scandals of administration, besides the perpetuation of gross inequalities and various forms of injustice that for fifty years have been a national reproach. Whatever may be said of the practical wisdom that originated the War Risk legislation of 1917, this at least must be admitted: The boys of our volunteer and draft armies were not to be abandoned to the hazards of hit-or-miss pension laws to be enacted at some future time and to serve perhaps for another generation as the footballs of party politics.

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LIEUT-COL. R. G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU SINCE MAY, 1919

Bargain with John Doughboy

did the authors of the War Risk
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ety. Very well, I will pay you $30 a month, but $15 of that must go to your wife as a regular allotment and to every $15 that your wife receives out of your pay I will add $15 on my own account. For children I will make further provision, up to a maximum of $50 per family, but you must contribute half of your pay."

Thus John Doughboy's wife was assured at least $30 and a family might receive as much as $66.50 every month. It was a thoroughly democratic arrangement. There was not the slightest element of "bounty" or gratuity in it. Nor did it in any way compromise the self-respect of John or his wife. All of Uncle Sam's millions of nephews who were with the colors were on precisely the same footing. Favoritism was barred. Beyond question, the fact that the Government took this responsibility for the care of dependents of enlisted men greatly strengthened the morale of our fighting forces overseas.

The Government as Insurance Company

Uncle Sam, however, was not content with merely sending monthly remittances to John Doughboy's family and paying death and disability claims. He thought that his nephew ought to be given a way of making better provision for his wife and children in the event of his death or permanent disability even after the end of the war. The problem of insuring John Doughboy's life was a perplexing one and if Uncle Sam himself had not attacked it when he did it might have gone unsolved to this day. The American Army and Navy constituted an exceptional

may reckon that on the basis of the German strength, the odds were 92 to 46, or two to one. Given the strength of the German positions and the fact that the Germans were fighting defensively, the odds were not impressive.

The attack of November 1 was delivered by the following corps, in line from west to east: The 79th, 78th, 80th, 2nd, 89th, 5th, while the 90th was used the following day between the 80th and 5th. Like the first attack on September 26 this last offensive began at 5:30 A. M., this time after two hours of artillery preparation. The result of the attack was the immediate collapse of the whole German line between the Meuse and the Forest of Bourgogne, the extension of the Argonne north of the Aire. By the close of the day the 2nd and 80th divisions, in the center, were five miles through the Kriemhilde line and approaching the Stenay-Buzancy road, while on the next day the 80th and 79th passed on either side of Buzancy.

Thereafter the battle was a pursuit race. West of the Meuse the German fled back to Sedan, opposite which town elements of the 42nd appeared on November 7. Officially it was the French who first entered the town, but the citizens of Sedan testify that the first Allied troops whom they saw belonged to the "Rainbow" Division. Thus the Sedan-Longuyon railway was cut and the main objective of the American operation achieved.

In the same period there had been a general crossing of the Meuse from the Forges Brook northward. Stenay had fallen to the 90th Division on the morning of the armistice, with the headquarters of the German Crown Prince, just north of the town, the headquarters from which he directed the great battle of Verdun. The Fifth Division passed through Louppy on the tiny Loison and seized the last headquarters of Marwitz in the Meuse-Argonne battle on Armistice day, and from the road above Louppy could see the towers of Montmedy in the distance—the last semblance of a barrier between them and the Belgian frontier.

Still to southward, the 32nd was across the Loison, also above the northern end of the Meuse Heights, facing toward Brieulles. So was the 26th, a little more to south, while the 91st was fighting toward the famous Twin Hills of Ornes, from which the Kaiser had watched the Verdun battle and beneath which in the Great Forest of Spincourt, the Germans had massed their batteries for the

of struggle. All the
ry fro a of Metz north-
ggering backward.
His ar th Army, was not
routed. It had not lost its organization. It was still fighting back, holding up the advance with machine-gun fire. But it had been evicted from every fixed line of defense. It had no positions, no more concrete works, no more lines of trenches and wires, although I saw many in the first stages of construction west of Longuyon. But, if it was not routed, much less destroyed, the German Army was not only beaten, but in the last days there were signs of demoralization unusual even in temporarily shaken German forces.

IX. THE ACHIEVEMENT

It remains to sum up briefly the achievement. The American Army which fought the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne was, roughly speaking, in the same stage of development as the British Army which fought the first Battle of the Somme. It was in the passing from apprenticeship to actual warfare, but save for a few officers and a handful of divisions, without battle training.

In a battle of a little more than five weeks' duration, from September 26 to November 1, the American First Army broke through four concrete systems of defense, covering a depth of more than ten miles, and on the latter date was pushing forward in a wild dash, which only terminated with the end of hostilities themselves. In that time we engaged 22 American divisions, between 600,000 and 700,000 men, lost rather more than 100,000 in casualties, and took 16,000 prisoners, 468 guns, 874 machine guns, 177 trench mortars. We made a maximum advance in 47 days of 34 miles, liberated 1550 square kilometres of French soil and 150 villages.

The battle was fought under conditions recalling the Battle of the Wilderness in the Civil War, but that struggle lasted only three days, while the main contest in the Meuse-Argonne endured for 36. We opened the battle with 2442 cannon in line and we fired, with the French, 3,408,000 rounds, several times the consumption of ammunition in the Civil War. On the enemy we inflicted a loss which was at first estimated to approximate 200,000. [illegible] American officers now [illegible] they believe these estimates were [illegible] and that the ene-

my's loss outside of prisoners would but little exceed 50,000, which would mean a total loss in killed, wounded and captured of approximately 70,000.

The heaviest loss by any American division was that of the 1st, which was just under 7500—a little more than 25 per cent. The 3rd lost almost as many, 7451 against 7467. The 32nd lost 6912 and the 82nd 5947. The 77th, 35th, 80th, 5th and 78th lost above 5000 each, the 4th and 29th over 4000. American troops were materially aided by French aviation, although much good work was done by Americans.

The American victory has been widely discussed in America and emphasis laid on many details which seem to me inaccurate. It is essential to recognize the facts about our army to measure its real achievement. Neither the men nor their officers were trained as the French and the British, or as the Germans. We were at the beginning. We disclosed no marvelous mastery of modern warfare and no inspired leadership in the high command. This was well-nigh impossible. We paid very heavily in casualties for our lack of experience and our transport did not compare with that of the older armies.

What we accomplished was, however, the more wonderful, given our circumstances. The spirit of our troops was incomparably better than those of any other army in Europe. Our men were neither tired nor affected by the failures of other campaigns. They went where no other troops on the Continent would have gone. They kept going under losses which veteran French or British divisions could no longer endure.

The actual fruits of the American victory were never disclosed because the German surrendered before they could be harvested. But had the German not surrendered he would have been confronted with a terrible crisis since he would have been compelled to bring all his troops out of Belgium by the single line remaining—that through Liége.

We attacked the German where he was strongest, in positions where his necessity to hold was greatest. We broke his lines, defeated one of his most distinguished generals, occupied his principal line of communications for all his western armies, and were "going strong" when the end came. We made courage and determination do for much training.

I have been asked since I came home if the American sacrifice was necessary. I do not know who is responsible for the cruel legend that the victory was certain had we not made our campaign, but I do know that it has served to increase the grief of those whose relatives died in the Meuse-Argonne. The truth is plain: But for our attack the German would have been able to prolong resistance until the weather turned bad and then escape defeat by negotiations, since all his enemies, save ourselves, were as tired as he was. Or, failing this probable outcome, he would have had a winter to reorganize his armies, behind new lines.

When the fighting ended we had 1,200,000 combatant troops in France, two-thirds, at least, battle-trained. We held more line than the British and we had more troops on our line than did they. At Cantigny and Château-Thierry, with the Belleau Woods accompaniment, we made our beginning, modest but useful. In the Aisne-Marne, we gave Foch the weight for his first counter-offensive, which wholly changed the general situation. At St. Mihiel in the first all-American "show," we dealt a staggering blow and at the Meuse-Argonne we did all that anyone could ask and more than anyone could hope or justly expect. What we still lacked in science, we largely made up in sheer dogged fighting spirit and that sublime confidence, never shaken, that nothing that lived could face America, out for battle.

Whether Pershing would have developed into a great military genius or remained only an effective commander is a matter for conjecture. But the fact is still clear that he understood the possibilities of his men, trusted them, fought our Allies for the chance to show what an American army could accomplish, where it organized, carried his point, and "made good" in his subsequent operations against the German. The army which won the Meuse-Argonne was his, and it fought under his command in the decisive periods. He built the army, fought it, led it to victory and after victory, held it ready to deliver new blows, if the war were resumed. His praise and that of his soldiers is identical. It is written in the Meuse-Argonne and will be read by millions of Americans in future years, who ride, as I did recently, over all the field of battle and see what men lately from the plough and the factory accomplished against troops and officers who had profited by the national training of half a century and by the actual experience of four years of tremendous conflict.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT WORKS WITH THE FARMER

BY HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON

(Secretary of Agriculture)

[By far the greatest of the nation's industries is the cultivation of the soil. For six years and a half the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. David F. Houston, has been in a better position than any other man to survey the progress of American farming in all its aspects and relations. Dr. Houston came to the Department with unusual fitness and he has rendered service directly to the farmers, and through them to the country, that cannot well be overestimated. The survey he contributes herewith to this number of the REVIEW is based upon a great range of information and rests upon a basis of solid judgment. THE EDITOR]

IN the field of agriculture there is much to be done. This fundamental part of the Nation's industrial life will not stand still. Constructive action must, of necessity, continue, and there will be need of very clear and unbiased thinking. In this, as in all times of great change and movement, there is no little confusion and no little apprehension and misapprehension. We shall have our troubles. We shall be confronted with numerous proposals from the enthusiast with limited knowledge and less sense of direction. The tasks confronting us in agriculture are tasks not of reconstruction but rather of further construction, of selection, and emphasis. I am confident that the agriculture of the Nation is on substantially sound foundations and is developing in the right directions. Many experienced and disciplined minds and agencies in all parts of the country have evidently been studying the problems for many years with increasing effectiveness during the last generation, and it will surprise me if many novel steps of large importance are now taken.

Farming Must Pay

Farming, of course, must pay. There must be a margin between the business [illegible] made available and the [illegible] made accurate and honest. The farmer, as well as the industrial worker, is entitled to a living wage and a reasonable profit on the investment. He is entitled also to adequate educational opportunities for his children and to the benefits of modern science and sanitation. It is not the purpose of the farmers simply to support [illegible] the consumers at prices which [illegible]. This is not the test.

It is no more the duty of the farmers to supply food on an unprofitable basis than it would be for the manufacturer to supply manufactured articles on an unprofitable basis. Each should want the other industry to prosper and the producers of all commodities to receive a fair price for what they produce.

The Question of Prices

It has been argued lately by otherwise intelligent business men that the price of farm products must come down before the cost of manufactured articles can be reduced. Nothing could be more unfair or more unsound economically. The costs of farm production are determined in large part by the prices of manufactured articles which the farmer has to buy. The turn-over of the manufacturer is a frequent one, whereas farmers, as a rule, have only an annual turn-over. Yet the farmer is being told, in effect, to go ahead and increase his production, paying the present high prices for all the things he requires to make his crop, and that a year from now he can market his produce at a greatly reduced level of prices. Obviously, manufacturers must be willing to make at least a contemporaneous decrease in their prices. It might even be contended that they should make a prior decrease, since the farmer's operations involve a year and he can not recoup for twelve months, if he can not recoup at all, because, as the shears put forth, his products would fall in price.

Of course, everything possible is being done to enable the farmer to produce more economically, so that [illegible] does fall he will not sustain a [illegible] prices of the [illegible]

of the land-grant colleges have this aim. They are trying to bring about better methods of cultivation, better financing, better marketing, the elimination of plant and animal diseases and insect pests, and the better utilization of labor. Much has been done in this direction, and much more will be done as time passes.

Land Settlement

Interest in land for homes and farms increases in the Nation as the population grows. It has become more marked as the area of public land suitable and available for agriculture has diminished. It is intensified at the present time by reason of the suggestion and desire that returned soldiers and others who may wish to secure farms shall have an opportunity to do so under suitable conditions. It finds expression, too, in discussions of the number of tenant farmers and in its meaning and significance.

That there is still room in the Nation for many more people on farms is clear. The United States proper contains about 1,900,000,000 acres of land, of which an area of 1,140,000,000 acres, or 60 per cent., is tillable. Approximately 367,000,000 acres, or 32 per cent., of this was planted in crops in 1918. In other words, for every 100 acres now tilled 300 acres may be utilized when the country is fully settled. Of course, much of the best land, especially that most easily brought under cultivation and in reasonably easy reach of large consuming centers, is in use, though much of it, possibly 85 per cent., is not yielding full returns. Extension of the farmed area will consequently be made with greater expense for clearing, preparation, drainage, and irrigation, and for profitable operation will involve marketing arrangements of a high degree of perfection and the discriminating selection of crops having a relatively high unit value.

Our Growth in Population

To a certain extent, we are still pioneering the continent, agriculturally and otherwise, and are still exporters of food, feedstuffs, and materials for clothing. With wise foresight and increased employment of scientific practice, under the stimulation of intelligent agencies, we can take care of and provide for a very much larger population under even more favorable circumstances and in greater prosperity. This is the task to which the Nation has set itself and indicates the responsibility resting upon each individual, and especially upon the farming population and State and Federal agencies responsible for leadership. We have, up to the present, succeeded in this enterprise. In the years from 1900 to 1915 the Nation gained a population of approximately 22,000,000, and they have been fed and clothed in large measure from domestic sources. It is estimated that in the years from 1915 to 1918 the population increased by 3,200,000, of which a very small part was from immigration. We shall, perhaps, gain as many more in the next fifteen or twenty years, even if the rate of immigration should not be maintained, for the natural growth in recent years, averaging about three-fourths of a million a year, shows an upward tendency.

It would be desirable to facilitate land settlement in more orderly fashion. This can be effected in a measure by systematic effort on the part of the Federal Government, the States, and the several communities through appropriate agencies to furnish more reliable information, intelligent guidance, and well-considered settlement plans. The Nation has suffered not a little from irresponsible and haphazard private direction of settlement. In many sections, especially in the newer and more rapidly developing ones, the situation has been complicated by the activities of promoters whose main concern was to dispose of their properties. They too frequently succeeded in attracting farmers to localities remote from markets where they either failed to produce crops or met with disaster through lack of market outlets or adequate marketing arrangements.

Ownership to Be Encouraged

It is particularly vital that, by every feasible means, the processes of acquiring ownership of farms be encouraged and hastened. This process is real in spite of appearances to the contrary. It has been too generally assumed and represented that tenancy has increased at the expense of ownership and that we are witnessing agricultural deterioration in this direction. Tenancy does present aspects which should cause great concern, but its bright sides have not been sufficiently considered. The situation does not warrant a pessimistic conclusion. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 the number of farms in the United States increased from 4,009,000 to 6,362,000, the number of those owned from 2,984,000 to 4,007,000, a gain of 1,023,000, or 34.3 per cent., and the number oper-

ated by tenants from 1,025,000 to 2,355,000, a gain of 1,330,000 or 129.9 per cent. But in 1910 five-eighths of the farms and 68 per cent. of the acreage of all land in farms were operated by owners and 65 per cent. of the improved land. The number of farms increased faster than the agricultural population. The only class not operating farms who could take them up were the younger men, and it is largely from them that the class of tenants has been recruited.

In a recent study of the cases of 9000 farmers, mainly in the Middle Western States lying in the Mississippi Valley, it was found that more than 90 per cent. were brought up on farms; that 31½ per cent. remained on their father's farms until they became owners and 27 per cent. until they became tenants, then owners; that 13½ per cent. passed from wage-earners to ownership, skipping the tenant stage; and that 18 per cent. were first farm boys, then wage-earners, later tenants, and finally owners. It is stated, on the basis of census statistics, that 76 per cent. of the farmers under twenty-five years of age are tenants, while the percentage falls with age, so that among those fifty-five years old and above only 20 per cent. are tenants. In the older sections of the country (except in the South, which has a large negro population), that is, in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, the tenant farmers formed a smaller proportion in 1910 than in 1900. This is also the case with the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Divisions, where there has been a relative abundance of lands. The conditions on the whole, therefore, are not in the direction of deterioration but of improvement. The process has been one of emergence of wage laborers and sons of farmers first to tenancy and then to ownership.

New Legislation

The last six years have been especially fruitful of legislation and of its practical application for the betterment of agriculture. Special provision was made for the solution of problems in behalf of agriculture, embracing marketing and rural finance. The Bureau of Markets, unique of its kind and excelling in range of activities and in financial support any other similar existing organization, was created and is rendering effective service in a great number of directions. Standards for staple agricultural products were provided for and have been announced and applied under t ms of the cotton-futures and grain-sta s acts. Authority to license bonded wa o ises which handle certain agricultural prod cts was given to the Department, and the indications are that, with the return of normal conditions the operation of the act will result in the better storing of farm products, the stabilization of marketing processes, and the issuance of more easily negotiable warehouse receipts. The agricultural extension machinery, the greatest educational system ever devised for men and women engaged in their daily tasks, had very large and striking development. The Federal aid road act, approved shortly before this country entered the war, resulted in legislation for more satisfactory central highway agencies in many States and the systematic planning of road systems throughout the Union. To-day each State has a highway authority, with the requisite power and with adequate funds to meet the requirements of the Federal measure.

A Farmers' Banking System

The Federal reserve act, which has benefited every citizen through its influence on banking throughout the Union, included provisions especially designed to assist the farming population. It authorized national banks to lend money on farm mortgages and recognized the peculiar needs of the farmer by giving his paper a maturity period of six months. This was followed by the Federal farm loan act, which created a banking system reaching intimately into the rural districts and operating on terms suited to the farm owners' needs. This system began operations under the troubled conditions of the world war, and its activities were impeded by the vast changes incident to the entry of this country into the conflict. But, in spite of these difficulties, it has made remarkable headway, and there is little doubt that, after the return of peace, its development will be rapid and will more than fill the expectations of the people.

The operation of the farm-loan system, through arrangements by which those who have sold lands take a second mortgage subordinate to the first mortgage of the farm-land banks, carrying a relatively low rate of interest, will have a beneficial influence. If further developments can be made through the applicat or nciple of coöperation, ec y ation of personal-credit ons will be more

favorable. In the meantime special attention and study should be given to the terms of tenancy, including the lease contract, with a view to increase the interest both of the landlord and of the tenant in soil improvement and to make sure that there is an equitable division of the income.

Personal Credits

It still seems clear that there should be provided a system of personal-credit unions, especially for the benefit of individuals whose financial circumstances and scale of operations make it difficult for them to secure accommodations through the ordinary channels. Organized commercial banks make short-term loans of a great aggregate volume to the farmers of the Nation possessing the requisite individual credit, but there are many farmers who, because of their circumstances, are prevented from securing the accommodations they need.

An investigation by the Department to determine the extent to which farmers in the Southern States were dependent upon credit obtained from merchants revealed the fact that 60 per cent. of them were operating under the "advancing system." The men I have especially in mind are those whose operations are on a small scale and who are not in most cases intimately in touch with banking machinery, who know too little about financial operations, and whose cases usually do not receive the affirmative attention and sympathy of the banker. Such farmers would be much benefited by membership in coöperative credit associations or unions.

Of course, there are still other farmers whose standards of living and productive ability are low, who usually cultivate the less satisfactory lands, who might not be received for the present into such associations. This class peculiarly excites interest and sympathy, but it is difficult to see how any concrete financial arrangement will reach it immediately. The great things that can be done for this element of our farming population are the things that agricultural agencies are doing for all classes but must do for it with peculiar zeal. The approach to the solution of its difficulty is an educational one, involving better farming, marketing, schools, health arrangements, and more sympathetic aid from the merchant and the banker. If the business men of the towns and cities primarily dependent on the rural districts realize that the salvation of their communities depends on the development of the back country and will give their organizing ability to the solution of the problem in support of the plans of the organized agricultural agencies responsible for leadership, much headway will be made.

The foundation for effective work in this direction is the successful promotion of coöperative associations among farmers, not only for better finance but also for better production, distribution and higher living conditions. These activities are of primary importance. At the same time, it is recognized that such coöperation can not be forced upon a community, but must be a growth resulting from the volunteer, intelligent effort of the farmers themselves.

The Department has steadily labored especially to promote this movement by conducting educational and demonstrational work. Field agents in marketing have been placed in some of the States to give it special attention, and the county agents and other extension workers have rendered, and will continue to render, valuable assistance. The operations of the Farm Loan Board, especially in promoting the creation of its farm-loan associations, should be influential and highly beneficial.

The Department, with its existing forces and available funds, will continue to foster the coöperative movement and to keep in close touch with the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Marketing and Distribution

Difficult as are the problems of production, they are relatively simple compared with those of distribution. Only within recent years have agencies been created by the Federal and some of the State governments to assist in the marketing of farm products. Six years ago the present Bureau of Markets began its work as a small office with a very limited appropriation, and it has been carefully investigating the important marketing problems, expanding its field services, administering regulatory laws intended to correct abuses, and encouaging coöperative enterprises. It has been dealing with the many important questions involved in the standardization of production, the proper handling and packing of farm products, the use of standard containers, proper storage on farms, in transit, and at marketing centers, and the stimulation of the formation of farmers' co-

operative selling and purchasing agencies. It has assisted in the preparation and installation of accounting systems for, and has rendered active service to farmers in promoting, coöperative enterprises. It has funished suggestions for State legislation governing coöperative organizations, and, in conjunction with the State authorities, it employs trained men to advise extension workers, including the country agents, with reference to the marketing of their products and market organization problems. It conducts an inspection service on fruits and vegetables at 163 important central markets.

A Market News Service

It has in operation a nation-wide market news service which gives to producers information regarding conditions in the markets they can and should reach and to consumers information relative to current supplies and prices. In coöperation with a number of States, it issues exchange marketing lists periodically which make known to county agents, breeders, and feeders where surpluses of live stock, feed, and seeds are to be found. It enforces four important regulatory measures, namely, the grain standards, the cotton futures, the standard basket, and the United States warehouse acts, which were enacted to correct abuses and to enable the farmer to sell his products more nearly for what they actually are.

While the Bureau is already dealing with most of the larger problems involved in the distribution of agicultural commodities, its activities could be profitably expanded in many directions. It would be desirable, for instance, for it to have in each State one or more trained men working in coöperation with the State authorities to stimulate cooperative enterprises and to aid farmers in solving their marketing difficulties. The Market News Service could be extended with great advantage if the requisite funds were provided; and further work should be done in the matter of establishing standards. Three bills already have been introduced in Congress looking towards the establishment of standards for fruits and vegetables, feeds, and cotton; and bills are now before the Congress for the supervision of the packing plants and stockyards, as well as for the regulation of cold storage. All these things would aid, directly or indirectly, in promoting the more systematic and orderly marketing of farm products.

Highway Development

It is unnecessary to emphasize the vital importance of good roads both to urban and rural communities. In rural communities they are a prerequisite for effective agricultural production and marketing, for good schools, and for an attractive country life. During the war it was necessary to curtail road-construction operations, because of the difficulties of securing transportation, materials, and the requisite services. After the signing of the armistice, the work was actively resumed and vigorously prosecuted notwithstanding the fact that conditions were, and still are, abnormal in some respects, especially with reference to the prices of materials and supplies. It is not believed that the people of the Nation can wait for prices to recede before industrial operations are begun. Such hesitation will add to the difficulties instead of lightening them.

The Congress at its last session, accepting the recommendations of the Department of Agriculture, not only made available from the Federal Treasury large sums, aggregating $209,000,000, in addition to the original appropriation of $85,000,000 in the Federal Aid Road Act, for road construction in coöperation with the States, but also made some important amendments to the Road Act. These amendments have had the effect of greatly lessening the difficulties of selecting and constructing needed roads. The 1919 program for Federal aid road building is greater than any previous annual road-building accomplishments in this country. It is so great, in fact, that some of the States will undoubtedly defer taking up part of the Federal funds until 1920, because of the necessity of developing experienced contracting and engineering organizations from the stagnant conditions of the war period.

The Federal Aid Road Act, as amended, places only three limitations on the type of road to be constructed, as follows: The road must be substantial in character, it must be a "public road a major portion of which is now used, or can be used, or forms a connecting link not to exceed ten miles in length of any road or roads now or hereafter used for the transportation of the United States mails," and the amount contributed from the Federal Treasury for its construction must not exceed 50 per cent. of the cost, or, in any ev[illegible] $20,000 a mile. Under the terms of the [illegible]nded act, there-

fore, there are few important roads which will be debarred from receiving Federal aid.

It will thus be seen that a broad and comprehensive road-building program has been inaugurated. This program is being vigorously pushed, and the indications are that a larger volume of highway construction will have been accomplished this season than in any previous year in the history of the Nation. Furthermore, the work is being done in such a way as to utilize to the best advantage the road-building experience and facilities of the whole country.

The purpose of the Federal Aid Road Law is to encourage the construction of roads of a substantial nature by the States and to provide adequate safeguards for securing systematic and economical action. Long experience has shown that the best results will be secured if the work is performed under the supervision of the State highway departments, the method of the control depending upon local conditions. The greater the administrative and technical ability of these departments, the greater will be their usefulness to the taxpayers of the State. Under the Federal law, the State highway departments have been strengthened and developed in a way that could not be equalled under any other type of national road legislation that has been suggested. The progress that has been made in this direction is very gratifying and helpful.

By devoting all its energy to helping each State inaugurate the work as quickly and as extensively as possible, the Department of Agriculture multiplies its resources forty-eight times, and is a coöperator instead of a competitor in placing men and materials on the highways where they are most needed. The Department is maintaining the closest possible touch with the State highway departments, and, at its request, the American Association of State highway officials has designated some of its members to serve on an advisory committee to coöperate with the department in the administration and execution of the provisions of the Federal Aid Act.

Federal Feed and Fertilizer Laws

At present, in order to secure for the public the benefits of the provisions of the Federal Food and Drugs Act with reference to animal feeds, it is necessary to rely on the appropriate statutes of the different States. These are not uniform, and there are a few States which have no laws that can be invoked. It is believed that it would be wise to have a comprehensive Federal feed law placed upon the statute books, under which the Government could proceed in a uniform manner and secure to consumers adequate protection against misbranded, adulterated, and worthless feeds entering into interstate commerce. It is probable also that similar legislation would be feasible and valuable with reference to fertilizers passing into interstate commerce. It is obvious, of course, that if such laws could be enacted they should result in the protection not only of the consumer but also of the honest manufacturer and distributor.

Food Production for 1920

It is difficult to say what the world food situation will be at the end of the next harvest season in the fall of 1920 and what will be the course of prices for farm products. For the next twelve months the world will subsist, in large measure, on food products already produced. What the program of production should be for this fall and next spring has received earnest consideration at the hands of the Department and other agricultural agencies. The Department has already issued a circular containing suggestions regarding the fall sown crops, together with general notes on the live stock situation, and similar suggestions for the spring operations will be made at the proper time. It seems not unlikely that, when the world crops planted this fall and next spring have been harvested, most of the nations of the world may be in a fairly normal condition as regards food supplies. The consensus of opinion, so far as the production program of this nation is concerned, is that it would be wise for the farmers to return to the normal as promptly as possible and to resume operations best suited to their particular conditions, realizing that the present crisis calls for the fullest measure of economical production and for the practice of thrift. In their tasks for the future, as in the past, they will have at their disposal and for their aid the services of the Federal and State departments of agriculture and of the great State land grant colleges—agencies which in the aggregate, as regards numbers of personnel, activities, and financial support, exceed those of any three nations in the world combined.

UNCLE SAM, UNDERWRITER

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

TWO years and a half ago America gave the world the spectacle of an unmilitary democracy girding itself for a tremendous war effort. The nation was not at once fully conscious of all that was implied in its assertion of power. It groped for a time before it struck out; but when the moment came to deliver its blow it was prepared to hit hard. For most of us it was difficult to think of our country as one of the world's warring powers. Its traditions had been wholly different from those of Europe. Yet we found a way, through the conscription law, to apply democratic principles in the business of making war, with a degree of thoroughness and consistency never before attained in our history as a people. So our man-power was concentrated on the task in hand—not with complete efficiency, not without serious waste here and there, but on the whole with a success that surprised the world and surprised ourselves.

When the United States created for the first time in its history a truly national army and sent that army across the ocean to fight, new duties and obligations were assumed. Some of these were not at once perceived, some were gradually developed, remaining for many months unrecognized by Congress or the executive power, but for the most part the people and the government alike saw from the beginning that the nation was undertaking a job that was different in kind as well as in size from anything that we had tried to do in the past. It was clear that nothing in our national experience could help materially in shaping policies to meet the new emergency. Whatever our preconceptions may have been, we had now come to a situation that called for a workable, intelligible program to deal with a set of problems wholly unfamiliar in their scope and implications.



THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF WAR RISK INSURANCE

The Pension System Found Wanting

In its relations with the individual soldier and sailor, the Government at Washington might have followed the lines of least resistance from the start. Provision for the service man's family might have been left to the States and to private philanthropy. The care of dependents in the event of death or disability might have been committed (following Civil War precedent) to the future determination of Congress. Thanks to the foresight and imagination of a small group of men, without and within the lawmaking body, the federal government early assumed full responsibility in these matters and provided for them in definite and practical ways.

Half a century ago the pension system may have commended itself to patriots. In the retrospect it retains the approval of no one who has candidly examined its workings. Had anything like the Civil War pension policy been applied in the present emergency, the country could not have hoped to escape enormous waste of funds and grave scandals of administration, besides the perpetuation of gross inequalities and various forms of injustice that for fifty years have been a national reproach. Whatever may be said of the practical wisdom that originated the War Risk legislation of 1917, this at least must be admitted: The boys of our volunteer and draft armies were not to be abandoned to the hazards of hit-or-miss pension laws to be enacted at some future time and to serve perhaps for another generation as the footballs of party politics.



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LIEUT-COL. R. G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU SINCE MAY, 1919

Society's Interest

Now it is quite possible that in the onrush of big military activities and unfamiliar experiences that marked our entry into the war and made the years 1917-18 red-letter years in American history even well-informed citizens may have failed to catch the full meaning of the nation's new departure in its dealings with the service man. That it was distinctly a new departure there can be no doubt. The bill that became a law just six months after our declaration of war was based, so far as it was concerned with disabilities or deaths incurred in military service, on the principles of the workmen's compensation laws recently enacted by more than thirty of the States. Among civilized peoples the United States had been late in adopting these principles. In most of the European countries they had long been accepted. In brief, the State compensation laws, most of which have been enacted during the past ten years, seek to provide a rational, scientific system for the relief of all victims of industrial accidents, instead of leaving the matter to the initiative of the individual victim. They look to the community's interest in the welfare of the workingman and that of his family. Differing in detail, these various State laws are alike in recognizing the same social end.

Uncle Sam's Bargain with John Doughboy

Not only did the authors of the War Risk Insurance law demand that the Government should make payments on a definite, uniform scale to the injured soldier and his dependents. They insisted that provision be made for every soldier's family, from the day he entered the service, and that the soldier himself should do his part. In effect, Uncle Sam said to Nephew John Doughboy: "I'm drafting you for my service and taking you temporarily away from your business. At the same time I'm conscripting your family, for the absence of the breadwinner greatly increases the family burdens. The family must be held together, if possible, for the good of society. Very well, I will pay you $30 a month, but $15 of that must go to your wife as a regular allotment and to every $15 that your wife receives out of your pay I will add $15 on my own account. For children I will make further provision, up to a maximum of $50 per family, but you must contribute half of your pay."

Thus John Doughboy's wife was assured at least $30 and a family might receive as much as $66.50 every month. It was a thoroughly democratic arrangement. There was not the slightest element of "bounty" or gratuity in it. Nor did it in any way compromise the self-respect of John or his wife. All of Uncle Sam's millions of nephews who were with the colors were on precisely the same footing. Favoritism was barred. Beyond question, the fact that the Government took this responsibility for the care of dependents of enlisted men greatly strengthened the morale of our fighting forces overseas.

The Government as Insurance Company

Uncle Sam, however, was not content with merely sending monthly remittances to John Doughboy's family and paying death and disability claims. He thought that his nephew ought to be given a way of making better provision for his wife and children in the event of his death or permanent disability even after the end of the war. The problem of insuring John Doughboy's life was a perplexing one and if Uncle Sam himself had not attacked it when he did it might have gone unsolved to this day. The American Army and Navy constituted an exceptional

body of absolutely "good risks," from the insurance standpoint—in peace time. In war time—well, the insurance companies would underwrite any soldier or sailor, but the premium must be large enough to cover the war hazard. In our Civil War considerably less than one per cent. of the Union and Confederate armies were insured. The overwhelming majority of the young men who went to the training camps in 1917 were without insurance. Probably few of them had given the subject much thought.

Life-Insurance Soliciting Extraordinary

The War Risk Insurance Act provided government insurance for officers and men up to $10,000 on the payment of premiums considerably below those ordinarily charged. Of course, this was a wonderful opportunity and those service men who knew anything about insurance and saw the advantage to their families were quick to seize it; but about 75 per cent. of the men seemed apathetic, and to win them over the Army authorities carried through in the winter of 1917-18 one of the greatest "selling" campaigns in the annals of business. So many other activities related to the war were in progress at the time and the doings in the training camps were so little known to the great world outside that the American public was ill-informed as to the magnitude of this "drive." John Doughboy himself had to rub his eyes when his Uncle Samuel appeared in the guise of an insurance agent, but in the end he succumbed—and with the best of grace. Here is the story:

By the middle of December, 1917, there had been nearly a quarter of a million of applications for insurance, aggregating more than $2,000,000,000. A month later 470,000 men were insured for more than $4,000,000,000. By this time the campaign was fast and furious and not a soldier or officer in the great cantonments at home or in the training camps in France was exempt from solicitation. With the watchword, "A Million Insured Before February 12," regiments were already reporting "100 per cent. insured" and enthusiasm ran high. In a single day (January 28th) 32,000 insurance applications were received for $260,000,000.

Early in February several of the great camps were reported as from 95 to 98 per cent. insured. By February 12th practically every army camp was more than 93 per cent. insured and more than the million policyholders called for by the watchword had been "written." Then Congress extended for sixty days the time within which application might be received from men in active service when the act became effective (originally 120 days), and the drive was continued. On February 14, 54,000 applications for $500,000,000 of insurance were received. From that time on the number of policies written increased with the steady growth of the army itself. Early in March the total of insurance exceeded $12,000,000,000, a month later $14,000,000,000, on May 14, $16,500,000,000, and on June 30, $21,500,000,000 with an average policy for each man of $8387.

Yet this vast sum, to which nothing in the previous history of life insurance is comparable, was more than doubled by the end of the year when the Bureau reported more than 4,150,000 policies outstanding for a total insurance of over $38,000,000,000!

When it is remembered that the statisticians have estimated the entire amount of life insurance in force in the United States during 1917 at somewhat more than $27,000,000,000, that all the Liberty Loans together amounted to about $23,000,000,000, and that the national debt of Great Britain at the date of the Armistice was about $33,000,000,000, we begin to glimpse the vastness of the Doughboy's insurance claims.

The Bureau's Three Fields of Operation

We have seen that the War Risk Bureau was charged with three distinct functions: (1) A banking service in the handling of soldiers' family allotments and allowances; (2) adjusting and paying claims resulting from injuries and deaths incurred in line of duty; (3) insurance of officers and men at cost against death or permanent total disability. It has frequently happened that a writer in discussing the Bureau's work has confined himself to some one of these divisions, ignoring or minimizing the activities of the others. It follows that the public has not at all times been able to estimate fairly the Bureau's achievements as a whole. Yet the work in each of the three divisions is of vital importance, affecting the well-being of countless thousands of living Americans and of other thousands yet unborn.

Insuring Ships and Seamen at a Profit

When the War Risk Bureau was established two years ago there had already been



A DAILY SCENE IN ONE OF THE WAR RISK BUREAU'S OFFICES
(The clerical force has been recruited from every part of the country)

in existence since 1914 a bureau of the Treasury Department organized for the purpose of insuring merchant ships and cargoes (and later the lives of seamen) against the special hazards created by the war. This bureau had been managed with efficiency and issued 33,381 policies on which premiums had been collected, amounting to nearly $47,600,000, and claims paid of about more than $28,600,000. With a total business of nearly $2,400,000,000 this bureau was able to show a surplus above expenses of more than $17,500,000. In three years of operation the Government had actually made money in the insurance business and had at the same time powerfully aided in keeping our commerce afloat on the high seas at a time when all neutral ships and cargoes were in special peril.

Handling Allotments and Allowances

The War Risk Bureau, as organized today, is an expansion of the Marine and Seamen's Insurance Bureau of pre-war days. It was created by Secretary MeAdoo in accordance with the act of Congress of October 6, 1917. Even the men who drafted that law and the members of Congress who debated and passed it could hardly have visualized the tremendous business that was to be transacted under its provisions. Take, for instance, the banking operations conducted by the Allotment and Allowance Division—4,391,356 applications, with an expenditure during a year and a half of $508,000,000. The clerical labor involved in this enormous number of individual transactions was all performed under handicaps that cannot easily be exaggerted. The whole clerical force was created almost overnight and housed in such temporary quarters as could be secured in the City of Washington in the fall and winter of 1917-18. Names and addresses as they were received from the military authorities were incorrectly spelled in numberless cases. The unavoidable result was delay in the sending of many allotments, and complaints of this delay poured in from every side. If the Bureau had waited until it had its machinery fully perfected, fewer errors might have been made, but the delay would have affected millions instead of a few thousands. It decided to begin sending out checks at once and to perfect its machinery as it went along. Undoubtedly this procedure worked the greatest good to the greatest number.

A Great Court of Domestic Relations

In carrying out the provisions of the law relating to allotments and allowances complications at once arose which could not be understood by anyone who had not made a special study of the law itself. Several of these were explained by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay in an article contributed

to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1918. The allotment was made compulsory for every enlisted man who had a wife, or a child under eighteen years of age or any age if the child was insane or permanently helpless, or a divorced wife to whom alimony had been decreed by a court and who had not remarried. A common-law wife was entitled to the same consideration as a legal wife, and the claims of a legal wife and of all children took precedence of those of a divorced wife. At the time when Dr. Lindsay wrote his article more than half of the soldiers who filed statements in the Bureau as required by the law denied that they had dependents for whom allotment of pay was compulsory or for whom they wished to make a voluntary allotment. Commenting on this fact, Dr. Lindsay said:

> Some of these no doubt will be found to have a wife or child for whom they seek to evade responsibility and such wife or child or someone on their behalf should make application direct to the Bureau if they do not receive the allotment, and the man will be brought to account.

In the later experience of the Bureau Dr. Lindsay's prediction proved correct in a great number of instances. The difficulty of getting the facts in cases of this kind enormously added to the work of the Bureau and resulted in the organization of what is known in Washington as the greatest Court of Domestic Relations in the world, manned by a staff of legal experts who have at their finger's ends the marriage and divorce statutes of every State in the Union.



WHERE SOLDIERS' RECORDS ARE FILED

Payments for Disability

The Compensation and Claims Division, contending with all the inevitable errors arising from misspelling of names and duplication of names, which caused so much trouble in the matter of allotments and allowances, is nevertheless now paying monthly claims to the amount of $1,652,279, and has paid claims for burial expenses of $1,645,225.

Among the amendments to the War Risk Insurance Act which have been requested by the Bureau and the Treasury Department, have been adopted by the House, and are now before the Senate, are important changes in the schedule of compensation payable to disabled ex-service men. As the law now stands a man totally disabled is entitled to $30 a month if single. The amendment raises this to $80. If the man has a wife but no child living he gets $45 under the law. The amendment provides $90. If he has a wife and one child he now draws $55, and the amendment gives him $95. The adoption of these more reasonable rates would seem to remove every valid excuse for the introduction of special pension bills in the years to come.

Treatment in Hospitals

A matter that vitally concerns many thousands of disabled ex-service men is the hospital treatment to which they are entitled under the law. Government hospitals administered by the Public Health Service (under the Treasury Department) have already received nearly 13,000 cases for treatment and of this number about 7000 have been discharged. Men are now being received at the rate of 125 a day. Several thousand disabled men are about to be discharged from army hospitals and they will at once become War Risk cases for which hospital facilities will be required. For some of these cases probably many months of treatment will be needed to effect a cure. Congress at its last

n appropriated $9,000,-
or the purchase or build-
ınd equipment of hos-
especially for War Risk

/eral hundred shell-
cases are now under
nent in special hospitals
: the appliances and the
ɔnment are peculiarly
to help restore these
to their normal condi-
physical and mental.

'tatement of Insurance

the largest insurance
any in the world, the
Risk Bureau now finds
after having collected
iums amounting to more
n $200,000,000, com-
l to use every resource at
ɔmmand in the way of
nent and exhortation to
e its four million and a
ɔf policy holders to prevent the lapsing
:ir claims. A recent Treasury decision
rized the reinstatement of Government
ance within eighteen months after the
r's discharge by the payment of only two
ıs' premiums on the amount of insur-
to be reinstated, one covering the month
ıce during which the policy remained in
and one the month in which reinstate-
is made.

July last the advisory committee,
d by former Supreme Court Justice
les Evans Hughes (himself an insur-
expert of no mean standing) recom-
ed that every possible effort be made
ing about the reinstatement of policies
:he continuance of their insurance by
ıldiers, sailors and marines. For many
ıs past the energies of the Bureau have
largely directed to this end. The
es Committee took the ground that in-
ce with the guarantee of the United
Government behind it should be
d of to the fullest possible extent by all
e men, since the opportunity was offered
:m in recognition of their sacrifice.

lvantages of Government Insurance

should be clearly understood that in-
ce now held by former service men



SIGNING CHECKS BY WHOLESALE FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR FAMILIES. THE MECHANICAL PROCESSES FOR DUPLICATING SIGNATURES ARE AVAILED OF TO THE FULLEST EXTENT BY THE VARIOUS DIVISIONS OF THE BUREAU

may be converted at any time within five years after the declaration of peace into permanent insurance, permanently administered by the United States Government. The forms of Government insurance include:

Ordinary Life.
Twenty-payment Life.
Thirty-payment Life.
Twenty-year Endowment.
Thirty-year Endowment.

Endowment maturing at the age of sixty-two years.

Objection has been made to the provision in the law by which policies are paid in monthly installments covering a period of twenty years. Under an amendment, already passed by the House of Representatives and now before the Senate, the insured may elect to have the policy paid in lump sum, in thirty-six monthly payments, or as at present.

Most of the original policies were for $10,000. Since it may prove difficult for holders of these policies to pay the premium for this amount of insurance the Bureau permits the conversion of any part of the original insurance for any amount not less than $1000 and in multiples of $500 at a proportionate rate of premium. Premiums on these converted policies may be paid monthly, quarterly, semi-annually or an-

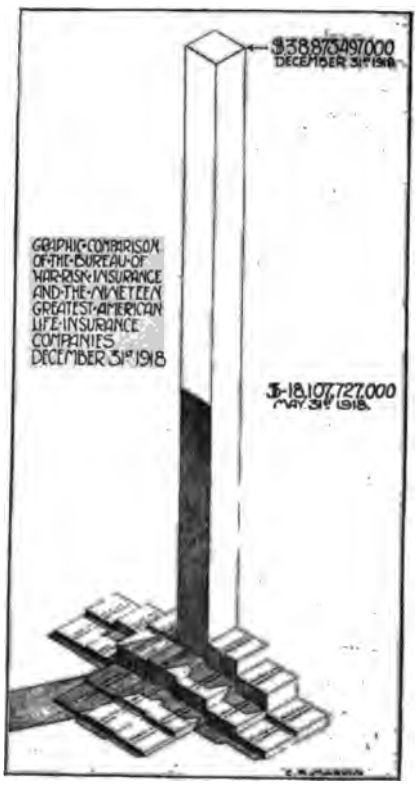
nually, and the discounted value of all premiums paid in advance of the month in which the death of the insured occurs are refunded at the settlement of the claim. Government policies are non-taxable and are incontestable from date of issue, save for non-payment of premiums. Add to these advantages the fact that because the entire cost of administration is assumed by the Bureau and is not included in the premium the initial cost of the insured is considerably below that of a policy in an ordinary commercial company, and the argument in favor of the retention or reinstatement of Government insurance would seem conclusive. Many service men seem to have taken this view.

The Bureau's Management and Personnel

If the somewhat well-known American ambition for bigness were the sole motive animating the men who guide the destinies of the War Risk Bureau, they would have ceased long ago to look for other worlds to conquer. Taking mere size as the criterion, the Bureau stands unchallenged. It is indeed a giant among the Washington offices and the work that it does makes of the Government a powerful competitor with private business organizations that in the past have had a great field to themselves. Yet its very bigness would defeat itself if the personnel failed to measure up to the opportunity.

From the first the Bureau has not lacked for intelligent and able leadership. It was started under the wise and enthusiastic direction of Secretary McAdoo and since his retirement from the Treasury Department it has had the unfailing support of his successor, Secretary Glass. The men who took a chief part in framing the law of 1917 were Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Capt. S. H. Wolfe; Mr. V. Everit Macy, and Professors Samuel McCune Lindsay, Henry R. Seager, and Thomas J. Parkinson, of Columbia University. Judge Thomas B. Love was made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of War Risk Insurance.

The present Director of the Bureau, Lieut.-Col. R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, was one of the group of officers who went to France with the late Major Willard Straight in December, 1917, to promote the insurance idea throughout the A. E. F. Since his appointment to the Directorship in May last, Colonel Cholmeley-Jones has succeeded to a remarkable degree in communicating to the whole organization something of his own contagious vim and earnestness in the course of making the Bureau serve in the most effective ways the immediate and future needs of the ex-service man.



THE BUREAU COMPARED WITH THE NINETEEN LEADING LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF THE UNITED STATES

As for the heads of divisions and subdivisions and the rank and file generally, their chiefs have good reason to be proud of them. It is the general testimony that never before has an office force in Washington developed so great a measure of intelligence and zeal in equal parts. The old Department atmosphere is wholly lacking. Of the 13,000 employees a large proportion have come from distant States. A division chief who had spent years of his business life in one of the largest New York insurance offices said that the rapidity and accuracy with which these young men and women mastered the intricacies of the business continually amazed him.

Here is one Government office where labor-saving machinery and time-saving methods are at a premium. If the spirit of the War Risk Insurance Bureau ever permeates the rest of Uncle Sam's Washington offices, Red Tape is doomed.

Because there were no precedents to follow, the War Risk Bureau has made its own precedents.

CHINESE PROGRESS, IN MEDICINE, SCHOOLS AND POLITICS

BY GEORGE E. VINCENT

(President of the Rockefeller Foundation)

[*Dr. Vincent returned in October from a visit of several months spent in the inspection of the medical enterprises in China that the Rockefeller Foundation, of which he is President, entered upon several years ago. He gives us a fresh picture of progress in the great country across the Pacific, and some realizing sense of America's opportunities of service to the Chinese.*—THE EDITOR]

"THE dormant giant is stirring; he will soon rise, shake himself, and call his tormentors to account." This is the sort of rhetoric which just now comes glibly from sanguine friends of the Celestial Republic. Among knowing ones in the Far East a quite different sentiment has been appreciatively savored: "China is not waking up: she's only turning over in her sleep." Somewhere between the seers and the cynics lies the truth; but who shall say at what distance from either extreme? Surely not a traveler who has merely spent a summer in visiting hospitals and medical schools in a score of Chinese cities from Mukden to Canton and from Shanghai to Changsha.

Yet an American cannot inquire with some care into the conditions of medical education and of hospital administration in China without also gaining impressions about general education, the sense of nationality, the attitude of China toward the United States, and the opportunity which America has in the Far East for statesmanlike leadership. Such impressions confirm neither the theory of the awakening giant nor that of restless slumber. These observations for what they are worth are set down with diffidence, for only the tourist who spends a few days in a treaty port and the "old China hand" dare speak with oracular finality.

It must be owned that there are disconcerting features in present-day Chinese life. "The Chinese lavishes so much loyalty on family, community, and province that he has none left for the nation" says a clever returned student at dinner. "The country is practically sold out now; no wonder the Peking politicians are getting what they can," declares another. "Oh, we always absorb any invaders in the course of two or three centuries," is the philosophic dictum of a serene spectator of his country's danger. In a company of intelligent, foreign-trained young Chinese, some of them minor Government officials, questions about the composition of the present legislative bodies, the qualifications of the electors, the number participating in the voting and the like, elicit amused replies or merely provoke gently ironic laughter.

Certain things in China may well cause apprehension: the division between North and South, which are terms of political faith rather than of geography; large armies unpaid for months, living on the countryside and terrorizing towns and cities; bandits now and then committing depredations within a few miles of centers like Peking and Canton; a government vacillating between the demands of militarists and fear of popular uprisings; revenues needed for constructive national tasks diverted to the uses of clamorous generals or dissipated in administration inefficient or worse; the development of natural resources hindered by the lack of public order and security; internal discord and weakness inviting aggression from without.

But when the worst has been said, there remain other aspects of China which are full of hope. One marvels that in spite of all the difficulties that have been mentioned the mighty current of Chinese life flows on steadily, calmly, irresistibly, for the most part in beds worn during the centuries but increasingly too in newly broken channels of innovation and progress. China is typical of a distracted world. If attention be fixed solely upon the sorrow, disease, poverty, strife, bitterness and suspicion of the present hour, it is well-nigh impossible to escape despair.

But when one takes account of the persistent, normal, upbuilding influences at work in the world, he takes heart again. So with China. There is a dark side, but there is also a bright and encouraging side.

Among the noteworthy evidences of progress in China are the developments in medicine, hospital care, general education, and a sense of nationality. There are nearly two hundred and fifty hospitals almost exclusively for Chinese patients, established and maintained by Protestant missionaries. These institutions vary from one-doctor dispensaries with a few beds in native buildings, to large, well-housed and equipped, modern hospitals with specialized staffs and trained nurses. There are, to be sure, only a few of the latter type. Various Catholic orders offer hospital service, generally in the larger centers. Local foreign physicians usually compose the staffs while the nursing is done by the sisters. In the treaty ports municipal councils, foreign societies, firms of practicing doctors, and individuals have opened hospitals and nursing homes for Europeans and Americans. The Japanese maintain excellent hospitals, chiefly for their nationals in cities where the Japanese population is numerous. The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation is building in Peking a large medical school and hospital plant. A similar project will soon be under way in Shanghai. In both places the hospitals of two hundred and fifty beds will represent the highest standard of construction and equipment and will be in charge of full-time physicians and surgeons of modern scientific training.

These numerous models are having their influence upon the Chinese. The central and the provincial governments are establishing, often in connection with medical schools, hospitals which represent a marked advance over previous native standards. In Peking and Canton are two Chinese hospitals which, so far as buildings go, compare favorably with institutions of the better type in the United States. Even the private Chinese hospitals to be found in every city reflect—often pathetically, it is true—the influence of Western ideas.

Hospital standards are a significant index of the status of medical education. In the early days Protestant missionaries in need of assistants did their best in connection with their hospital duties to train a few young men and women. Gradually certain centers for medical education were established. Inadequate facilities and a small staff of overworked doctors could at best turn out, on the average, only intelligent subordinates. Further experience in hospitals under wise guidance enabled a few of these graduates to acquire considerable knowledge and skill. Certain of them after a period of further training abroad became valuable practitioners.

This system was a pioneer necessity, but it could not be a permanent policy. With the advent of the China Medical Board, and under the leadership of the China Medical Missionary Association, the need of concentrating upon a few centers and of raising these to a higher standard was recognized. It now seems fairly certain that medical education under American and British auspices will be localized in Peking, Tsinan-fu, Shanghai, Changsha, Canton, Hongkong and Cheng-tu. The plan of the China Medical Board is to establish in Peking and Shanghai medical schools of the best type which will train Chinese as general practitioners, offer to both Chinese and foreign doctors opportunities for graduate study and specialization, encourage research particularly with reference to diseases prevalent in the Far East, and promote an interest in public health and preventive medicine.

Another source of influence upon medical education is found in the body of Chinese doctors who have been trained in the United States, Europe, and Japan. In the last named country medical education of an excellent character is given in the best schools, such as that of the Imperial University in Tokio. Unfortunately, most of the Chinese who resort to Japan are graduated from the relatively low grade special schools which do not receive full recognition from the Japanese government. Nevertheless these Japanese-trained Chinese get the point of view of modern medicine and may be counted among the forces which are in some degree promoting it.

The effects of institutional and personal influence upon Chinese medical schools are to be noted everywhere. Governmental training centers, both civil and military, are better equipped and more adequately manned. Standards are being slowly but measurably raised. Modern medicine is officially accepted in theory and increasingly supported in practice. As better trained men gain positions of authority under a reformed system of civil service, there is every reason to ex-

pect further progress in both Chinese medical education and hospital administration.

The attempt to provide modern professional training for the Chinese raises a vital question: Is the native mind capable of acquiring the scientific point of view? There is much dogmatizing about the mental traits of the Chinese. The traditional theory is that he is slavishly imitative, capable of astonishing feats of memory, but that he is congenitally lacking in creative imagination, resourcefulness, ability to use his knowledge to solve new problems. The opinions of a score or more of American teachers who are giving instruction to Chinese pupils in missionary secondary schools and colleges may be generalized in some such fashion as this:

The old method of Chinese education which laid all the stress on memorizing the classics, the enormous imitative effort involved in mastering hundreds if not thousands of Chinese characters, the highly conventional nature of social life with its elaborate etiquette, the influence of ancestor worship and its reverence for tradition, undoubtedly tended to destroy initiative and to prevent independent thinking. But Chinese pupils who from early childhood have attended modernized schools which seek to develop these qualities, are not essentially different from American children. The instructors in the pre-medical school of the Peking Union Medical College regard the small and carefully selected group under their charge as perceptibly above the average of the American pupils whom they have taught. The note-books of the Chinese students disclose not only good hand-writing, neat and accurate drawing, creditable English, but close observation and discriminating reports in courses in physics, chemistry and biology.

Modern educational ideas are meeting a cordial reception in China. The Nankai School in Tientsin is a remarkable institution. It offers four years of "middle school" or secondary instruction and is introducing two years of college work. The curriculum includes—besides languages and Chinese classics—manual training, history, economics, science, and mathematics. Stress is laid on physical exercise and athletic competition. The head master, Dr. Chang Po Ling, is a man of vision, wisdom, and enthusiasm. He has made a study of Western educational methods. Only recently he spent some time in Teachers College of Columbia University. A majority of the Nankai instructors were trained in the United States. Peiyang University, also in Tientsin, provides technical courses in engineering. Peking University maintains an undergraduate curriculum and professional instruction. Tsinghua College —known as the "indemnity college" because it is maintained by the refunded American share of the Boxer indemnities—is housed in handsome buildings on a beautiful campus in the vicinity of the capital. The graduates



PEKING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE

(A side view of Anatomy Building, with Chemistry Building at the left. The picture affords a good idea of roof detail)

are sent for continued study to the United States, having been prepared by a modernized curriculum to enter American schools.

A large part of the credit for the educational progress in China is due to the example set by the system of schools and colleges established throughout the country by missonary societies. The graduates of these institutions, as well as Chinese who have completed their studies abroad, have taken a leading part in the notable increase of governmental primary and secondary schools since the establishment of the Republic. More than four million pupils are now enrolled in these schools. Teacher training centers are being organized and modernized curricula are being introduced. True, only a beginning has been made; but it is a beginning full of promise for a new China.

Other signs of a new China are not wanting. The cynical may smile at the mention of the Republic; they may deride the senate and the lower house. The fact remains that the Manchus rule no longer. The forms of republican government may for the moment seem somewhat to mock the Chinese people, but these very forms and names mark a sharp and dramatic break with the old order. They serve as symbols of a new regime, suggesting modern ideas, and inviting to a fuller realization of them. The Chinese are not to be hurried too rapidly. They must be gradually innoculated with novel theories. They are becoming accustomed to the language of popular government; in time they may demand not only the rhetoric but the reality of republican institutions.

As a matter of fact, the present government in Peking is by no means an irresponsible autocracy. Of late it has had to reckon with an organized and powerful public opinion, an unmistakable feeling of nationality. Under the leadership of the "students"—that is, not only school boys and girls, and college graduates, but alumni as well—and organizations of business men, a sense of national unity and of national danger has been astonishingly extended and deepened. A jealousy of encroachments from without, a suspicion that men in authority are disloyal to the country, a demand for international justice, a program of industrial autonomy have manifested themselves in striking ways. This national consciousness seems to have penetrated the remotest parts of the Republic. The "wiseacres" of the Treaty Ports admit that this is a novel phenomenon. There may be something in the awaking-giant idea after all.

In the new China women seem likely to have a larger share. School girls and young women students have played a recognized part in the popular movement of the last few months. In the medical profession opportunities have long been offered to women. The new medical schools in Peking and Shanghai will be accessible to them on equal terms with men. The government schools open to them on a large scale the career of teaching. The missionary schools have rendered no greater service than in providing a modern and idealistic education for the daughters of influential Chinese families. It will be many a year, however, before the condition of the mass of Chinese women will be greatly changed. Outside the cities and the larger towns foot-binding is said to be still practiced.

Of the friendship of China for America to-day there can be no question. The Chinese look to the United States as a relatively disinterested nation that has the desire and the power to secure for them freedom and fairplay. There is something pathetic in this faith. Surely, they say, the country that declined to accept an indemnity, that never seized any Chinese territory, that has sent thousands of men and women to do unselfish deeds of mercy and benevolence, that has fought in a world war in behalf of self-government and of justice among nations, will not fail a people who are seeking to realize for themselves American ideals of representative government and of national independence and dignity.

The embarrassment which such an appeal involves is obvious. The situation in the Far East is complex, difficult, almost baffling. It contains perhaps the germs of another mighty conflict. To fix sole responsibility upon any one nation is unfair and futile. It is a world problem the solution of which demands magnanimity and sacrifice by all the interests concerned. The Chinese look to the United States as the one power that can assume the leadership in a statesmanlike attempt to find a solution which will substitute for independent aggressions and dangerous rivalries a coöperation in guaranteeing the integrity of the Republic, and in helping to develop its resources, physical and social, for its sake and the welfare of the world. In all this China awake or only dreaming?

BANK STOCKS AS POPULAR INVESTMENTS

BY DEAN MATHEY

THIS era of investments, while much as been said and written about the possi- s of all classes of securities, little atten- has been paid the investment opportuni- btained by the purchase of sound bank s.

erature has extensively circulated from ng houses and institutions having pub- ility bonds and industrial stocks for sale, g the public's attention to the many ntages of those types of investment. many well-known financial writers and ticians, with apparently no axe to grind, held forth at length on the attractive- to the investing public of public utility s and industrial preferred stocks. But ve yet to come across any well-known cial writer or investment banking house g attention to the many and peculiar ntages in the purchase for investment of bank stocks.

venture to suggest that the absence of cial literature on this subject is due in to the fact that in spite of the large nt of capital invested in the many banks country, bank stocks do not have to be to the investment public but are quietly bed by a discriminating few.

hy has the average successful business not hesitated to purchase all types of in- ent securities, old and new, good and and not favored bank stocks—although are in the United States over 25,000 nal and State banks, representing an ted capital of many hundreds of million rs? The average security buyer looks the shares in a bank as something a bit erious, entirely too high in price, and an tment to be owned only by the very or by those who are "on the inside"; thing, in short, to be left alone by the aratively small successful business man.

How Does a Bank Make Money?

ne primary function of the typical Na- l or State bank is the lending of its t. A bank, because it is organized and safeguarded under governmental laws, is an institution whose credit is widely accepted; and it may lend its credit to the business man whose credit, although good, is not as acceptable or as negotiable to the general public. For example, let us take a bank operating in a fair-sized city with a capital of $100,000, against which it must maintain a cash reserve of 10 per cent. With this capital the bank can lend to its customers up to $1,000,000 and still maintain its 10 per cent. reserve. If the average interest rate obtained be 4½ per cent., it can be readily seen that the gross earnings from this operation alone will amount to $45,000, or 45 per cent. on the capital.

But the modern bank performs many more functions in serving its customers than merely lending its credit, most of which functions, though not necessarily all, are of the lucrative nature. Large earnings often accrue to banks from collections on out-of-town debtors, renting of safe-deposit vaults, dealings in foreign exchange and letters of credit. State banks, and also National banks under the new Reserve Act, may act as administrators, guardians and trustees, registrars of stocks, and trustees under mortgage of corporations; and when they do so they receive handsome fees for performing their duties. Recently the larger trust companies and National banks, either directly or indirectly through sudsidiary companies, have entered the investment-banking business from which large profits have accrued.

So we see the bank of the present day constantly broadening its field of action and service to its clients, rendering them a host of services for which a moderate though profitable charge is made. Against these items of profit must of course be charged the operating expenses of the bank, the occasional losses it has to take upon poor investments, etc., the amount of which naturally depends upon the efficiency with which each particular bank is operated. But all things considered, the "overhead" in the banking business is, in proportion to the busi-

ness done, I hazard saying, less than in any other business known to the commercial world.

Strength of Bank Stocks as Investments

Let us now consider a few special points about bank stocks which would tend to make them not only a lucrative but unusually safe form of investment. A bank's capital, surplus, and assets are invested in one way or another in *many* different forms. Its capital and surplus (irrespective of cash reserve) may be invested partly in government bonds, various high grade corporation securities, and perhaps the building in which the bank is located. Its assets are generally divided among a host of other business or personal risks of a more liquid character. Now, distribution of risk is an axiom of the wise investor, and the shares owned by an investor in a sound and well-managed bank represent as pretty a distribution of risk as one could hope to obtain in any available investment.

The stability of the business of a bank is another point to consider. Many industries are subject to periodic depressions resulting from varied causes such as over-production, falling-off in demand, labor troubles, etc., when failures are likely to occur. But consider the position of the bank having its business distributed, as it is, over so many different channels and having for its clients such a variety of customers. Surely its "eggs" are not all in one basket. The federal government and most State governments prevent this by prohibiting banks from lending more than 10 per cent. of their capital and surplus to any one person or corporation.

The liquid character of a bank's capital, surplus, and assets is another feature that is worthy of mention. How many prosperous industrial or public utility corporations could liquidate their property in case of necessity? How much a railroad's physical assets are actually worth under the hammer, sad investors have many times learned. What is the value under forced sale of the physical capital of an erstwhile prosperous industrial plant that has got into difficulties? Very little surely. But the capital, surplus, and assets of the well-managed bank—with a few minor exceptions such as, perhaps, the bank building, office furniture, etc.—consist of securities and obligations which are either marketable or have a definite and early maturity.

Another feature worthy of comment is the unusual opportunity [illegible]vestor in his local bank stock has of se[illegible] the corporation operate, or judging thr[illegible]h personal observation and contact the abilities of its officers, and actually to test for himself, by carrying his account in the bank, its methods of doing business. There are very few sound business enterprises to-day in which one can invest with such an opportunity afforded.

Furthermore, the safeguards afforded by the periodic government examinations carried on by a corps of efficient bank examiners (under the supervision of the Federal Reserve Board in the case of banks which belong to the Federal Reserve System) give to the investor the assurance that the corporation in which he is part owner is managing its affairs at least honestly. How many security owners in other types of business corporations have this assurance? To the average security owner an annual report (often covering a multitude of sins) is the only information available as to the management, operation, and earnings of the corporation.

The Strong Record of Bank Stocks

If anyone doubts the value of bank stocks, let him pick up the Bank and Quotation Supplement of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and see for himself the prices quoted for the stocks of not only the leading and largest banks but the smaller and less important ones. You will find about 2 per cent. of these stocks quoted below par, and very many around $400 or $500 a share, the original stock having been subscribed at par $100 plus a proportional share of the original surplus. When one sees the stocks of the First National Bank of New York selling above $1,000 a share after paying a 1900 per cent. stock dividend, the First National of Chicago around $500 after valuable subscription rights, the Union Trust of San Francisco at $2200, and the stocks of younger and less important banks in large and small cities alike selling relatively as high, is it not reasonable to conclude that original investors in bank stocks have found them considerably profitable and sufficiently safe?

If you inquire you will probably find that your local bank stock is selling well over par, perhaps 300 or 400 per cent. of par, and you will probably [illegible] that it is selling too high; that it [illegible] 5 per cent. or 4½ per cent., or [illegible]; and that even though bank [illegible]s [illegible]roved a profitable

and safe form of investment to those lucky enough to own them, they are too high for you and you cannot afford to buy them. And if you follow this line of reasoning you will be guilty, along with a legion of other investors, of a great fallacy—the insidious fallacy of thinking a stock, or anything else for that matter, is a bargain because it is cheap. There is but one factor to consider in purchasing a security, and that is its true value. One must look further than par values and market prices if one is to survive as an investor these days; and strange as it may seem, an investor will more often find the most relative value in the highest priced stocks. Many people refused to buy old Standard Oil Company of New Jersey shares before the split, when they were selling around $400 per share, because they were *too high.* But the discriminating few who believed in the oil business, and who looked more to the actual value behind Standard Oil stock than the price at which it was selling are much better off to-day, with their stock worth $2000 or $3000 a share, than those who bought something else because it was cheaper.

Objections Sometimes Raised

There are three objections which are generally offered by the investing business man to the purchase of bank stocks, which offhand might seem to be real objections. These are: (1) The double liability attached to most bank stocks in the United States; (2) the limited market for their purchase and sale; and (3) their low *apparent* income yield.

In regard to double liability, the instances where the bank stockholders have actually been called upon to pay any of this double liability, after liquidation of a bank through failure, are very few and almost negligible, relative to the amount of capital invested in bank stocks. Since the panic of 1907, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company of New York went under, practically no failures of importance have occurred in the United States except the First-Second National Bank of Pittsburgh. Instances of bank failures are becoming less and less, due to the growing stability of our banks themselves and the constant supervision of these institutions by the Government.

The Federal Reserve System with its periodic examinations of member banks, both State and National, and its facilities for rendering aid by extending credit to its member banks in periods of stress and strain, has placed all banking institutions in the United States in a much stronger position than they have hitherto enjoyed, and has practically precluded, as every well-informed banker knows, the danger of another financial crisis such as we had in 1907 with its attendant bank failures.

While it would be putting it too strongly, perhaps, to say that no bank failures can occur in the future under our new banking system, we may say that since the inauguration of the Federal Reserve System in 1914 no bank belonging to this system has failed, and we can be safe in predicting that there will be fewer bank failures under the new system than there were under our former unscientific banking laws.

Most bank stocks are not a particularly liquid asset. A bank stock, in fact, should be essentially a "long pull" investment and not one to be "bought for a turn" by the average investor. It should be purchased primarily as a permanent investment. However, if you needed to sell your bank stocks there are several markets open to you.

First, you may go to the bank itself, see the president or some other officer, whom perhaps you may know, and advise him of the amount of stock for sale. The officers of the bank would probably be interested in seeing that your stock was purchased by friendly parties, and would more than likely have a place for it at a reasonable figure based upon its book value, which, though often conservatively misleading, represents the "liquidation value" of your stock. This is determined by dividing the number of shares of capital stock into the capital liabilities—which include capital, surplus, and undivided profits.

If you fail to obtain a satisfactory market for your stock by approaching an officer of the bank, you may place your stock in the hands of a brokerage firm which handles bank stocks in one of the large cities. While these specialists have a reputation for knocking-off generous commissions on their orders, nevertheless the fact that the definite book value of a bank stock can generally be easily and quite definitely determined at any time helps to give it reasonable marketability.

The low income yield, in spite of large dividends resulting from the high price at which most bank stocks sell, is misleading. Why do the stocks in all our leading banks

in America sell anywhere from 200 to 1000 per cent. of their par value, in spite of past distributions of stock dividends in many cases? Why does this also hold true in the leading banks of Canada, England, and France? It is because a good bank takes more pride in its surplus than in its dividends. It is because the excellent earnings of the past have not been paid out in dividends, but have been added to a surplus which is generally invested in interest-bearing securities or held as a cash reserve as a basis for further loans, thereby increasing the earning capacity of the institution.

Some financial sage once said that the only place one dollar was worth two dollars was when it was invested in a good paying business; and this holds particularly true of the excess earnings over dividends placed to surplus account each year in a bank.

Where the Real Profit Lies

We might look at this in another way: Supposing a bank with a capital of $100,000 and surplus and undivided profits of $150,000 earns 20 per cent. and in dividends pays only 10 per cent., and sells for $250 per share (its exact book value). The net income yield is apparently only 4 per cent. but practically it is 8 per cent., for by adding the balance of the earnings over dividends to surplus, the actual book value of the stock becomes $260 instead of $250, or 4 per cent. more. This addition to the book value of the stock each year might be termed the "hidden income" and is peculiar to bank stocks, for one should never forget that the surplus of a bank is a *real surplus* in cash, as a basis for further loans, or invested either in marketable interest-bearing obligations with definite maturities or stocks purchased by its officers who know, or should know with the facilities open to them, the proper investments to make.

Bank surpluses are not "book-keeping items" as is often the case with the surpluses on the balance sheets of railroads, public utilities, and industrial companies, which surpluses, if one tried to liquidate, would often quickly vanish into thin air. When earnings are "put back" in a railroad, a public utility or an industrial business, they are used generally in buying raw material or extending the plant—items which always tend to depreciate. The point to be emphasized is that there is practically no item of maintenance in the operation of a bank; capital and su[illegible]e either in cash or invested in [illegible]est or dividend bearing securities [illegible] a *certain definite and tangible* value to the stock.

Therefore, when one sees the book value and actual market value of most all the older bank shares in America selling so consistently high in spite of stock dividends in many cases, one should realize that the apparent low income yield based on dividends and market price is apt to be misleading, and one should look further for the actual and definite "hidden income" added each year to surplus.

Some Notable Instances

A very good example of what this hidden income can mean to the owner of bank shares is afforded by the book value and market price of the stock of the Fifth Avenue Bank of New York which is around $1,000 a share in spite of a recent stock dividend and valuable subscription rights. With an original par value of $100 per share, the large percentage of earnings placed to surplus account year after year has so strengthened the resources of this bank that its shares have been a veritable gold mine to the original owners who understood the ever-increasing value of the stock and were not misguided by the apparently low income resulting from a relatively small dividend distribution and a high market price for the stock. The stock of the Chemical National Bank of New York which is selling at $550 per share after total stock dividends of 1900 per cent., and many others, could be cited as instances showing the enormous value of what I am terming "hidden income."

The Strategic Value of Bank Stocks to the Business Man

There is a phase of investment in bank stocks that perhaps has not occurred to many. I refer to the buying of shares in the bank or banks with which you do your banking business. Is it not sound business policy for the merchant, manufacturer, or financier who is a constant borrower at the banks, and so often dependent on them to tide him over a crucial period, to be a *part owner* in the institution, the good will of which might in a tight place mean success or failure to him? How many merchants or [illegible]anufacturers doing a profitable and h[illegible]t business have failed because they have [illegible] had the banking support of which they [illegible] worthy? How

many have been handicapped in extending a sound profitable business for lack of the proper banking or credit facilities? If you were in a tight pinch for credit, and if it were absolutely necessary for you to secure a loan or renew an old one falling due, would you not feel a little more confident and at ease in asking for your accommodation at a bank in which you were a part owner? And because you were a part owner of the bank, do you think the president or other officers would be any less likely to accommodate you?

Then again, if you do not happen to be a merchant, manufacturer, or financier dependent to such an important extent upon your credit at the bank, but merely an ordinary depositor using its many and ever broadening facilities, would you not feel a little more at home in *your* bank if you owned a few shares of stock in it? And would not the little proprietary interest resulting from the ownership of a few shares tend to stimulate some worth while habits of saving and thrift?

There is another point worth considering which perhaps will apply more particularly to those substantial people living in our smaller towns throughout the country. I refer to the increased prestige one generally enjoys by being associated in a proprietary way with one's local bank. For it is to the small, independent country banks, State or National, peculiar to the United States alone, that so much is owed in the development of the commercial resources of this country and also to the development of the business brains and initiative of many of our big business men. And it is the local country bank that is, or should be to justify its existence, the general headquarters and clearing-house, directly or indirectly, for all important business transactions in the town. This necessarily results in a sort of confidential relation between the bank and the business public of the locality.

Therefore a bank, and particularly the small country bank in its *institutional* capacity, should enjoy the same respect and confidence as the business head of the community in which it is situated as the church enjoys as its spiritual head. This being the case, a good citizen, as soon as he is financially able, should look upon the ownership of a few shares in his local bank with pride and with a certain responsibility in being associated with the institution, purely aside from the investment value of the stock itself.

A Democratic Banking System

Those who like to talk of a "Money Trust" and Wall Street control will perhaps not agree with the statement that our banking system is to-day the most democratic system in the world—and yet this is so. There is no field of commercial activity in America more open to competition and more imbued with its spirit than the banking business; and it is, I believe, in a great measure this spirit of competition which has made the modern American bank (whether it has a capital of $10,000 and be located in the Middle West, or $25,000,000 and be located in New York City), the most serviceable and up-to-date banking medium in the world. And, furthermore, the many small but *independent* banks spread over our great country, act as a training school for our young bankers, and give us a potential supply of trained banking executives who are constantly being called from the smaller banks in the West, Middle West, and South, where they have made good, to the larger banks in the more important cities where there are broader fields for their particular talents. It is no secret that the largest banks in New York are constantly calling such men to them, conferring on them often the most responsible position in the bank.

It is a more wholesome condition to have the shares representing ownership in National and State banks in the hands of a greater proportion of enterprising business men who have funds for investment, rather than to have them concentrated in the strong boxes of the discriminating few. The past would indicate that the growth in the resources and prosperity of banks follows closely the growth and development of the towns or cities in which the banks are located. Therefore, are not the shares of the thousands of banks situated in our small but substantial and growing towns of the West, Middle West, and South, as well as those in our larger cities, worthy of the consideration of more American investors?

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

MR. HOOVER'S ANALYSIS OF EUROPE'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

"DEMORALIZED productivity" is the phrase employed by Mr. Herbert Hoover to summarize the economic difficulties of Europe, as a whole, at the present time. In a memorandum published under the authority of the British Food Controller in the *National Food Journal* and also in the *World's Work* for November, Mr. Hoover shows that the production of necessaries for Europe's 450,000,000 (including Russia) has never been at so low an ebb.

Unemployment allowances in one form or another are now being paid to 15,000,000 families, and this payment is accomplished in the main by constant inflation of currency. Mr. Hoover estimates that the population of Europe is at least 100,000,000 greater than can be supported without imports. It must live by production and distribution of exports. Not only is there sad lack of raw materials and imports, but the production of European raw materials is far below the normal standard. Europe is to-day importing vast quantities of certain commodities which she formerly produced for herself and can again produce. "Generally in production she is not only far below even the level of the time of the signing of the armistice, but far below the maintenance of life and health without an unparalleled rate of import."

Mr. Hoover outlines the causes of this:

> The industrial and commercial demoralization arising originally out of the war, but continued out of the struggle for political rearrangements during the Armistice, the creation of new governments, their inexperience, and friction between these governments in the readjustment of economic relations.
>
> The proper and insistent demand of labor for higher standards of living and a voice in administration of their effort has unfortunately become impregnated with the theory that the limitation of effort below physical necessity will increase the total employment or improve their condition.
>
> There is a great relaxation of effort as the reflex of physical exhaustion of large sections of the population from privation and from the mental and physical strain of the war.

After a survey of the various conditions and causes working with different intensity in different localities, Mr. Hoover comes to the essential, outstanding fact that "unless productivity can be rapidly increased, there can be nothing but political, moral and economic chaos, finally interpreting itself in a loss of life hitherto undreamed of."

Mr. Hoover is willing to admit that during a brief period it may be possible for the Western Hemisphere to supply the deficiencies of Europe. This would have to be done largely upon credits, but he concludes that the entire surplus productivity of the Western Hemisphere is totally incapable of meeting the present deficiency in European production if it is long continued. Furthermore, credits could not be mobilized for this purpose for more than a short period, for when the return of commodities becomes improbable, credits necessarily break down.

The question of assistance from the Western Hemisphere during a certain temporary period and the devotion of its surplus productivity to Europe, is regarded by Mr. Hoover as dependent in a great degree upon the solution of the factors already noted:

> It is a service that the Western Hemisphere must approach with a high sense of human duty and sympathy. This sense will, however, be best performed by the insistence that its aid would not be forthcoming to any country that did not resolutely set in order its internal financial and political situations, that did not devote itself to the increase of productivity, that did not curtail consumption of luxuries and the expenditure upon armaments, and did not cease hostilities, and treat its neighbors fairly.
>
> If these conditions were complied with it is the duty of the West to put forth every possible effort to tide Europe over the period of temporary economic difficulties. But the fulfilment of these conditions, the [illegible] hopeless.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROFITEERS

THE unlovely riots in Europe and the bellowings of the Bolshevist in America have drawn the fire of serious-minded men, and they are resorting to history in a flank attack on the agitators. The cry of profiteering is the most effective rally call of riot, according to Mr. F. Britten Austin, and he says in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) that we can only reach a solution of the difficulties by calm investigation. High prices are a result of war, not profiteering; and profiteers are merely taking advantage of a situation that would exist without them, not causing the general world-wide rise of prices. Destruction of stocks and inflation of currency, with insufficient means of production, have caused high prices. And mob passion will only increase destruction and make the situation worse.

So, taking the view that we should go about the problem much as a successful military leader does in planning a campaign, he tells us to take historical parallels and study them as a general studies a battle on the same terrain.

Take, for instance, the period in England when the Black Death reduced the population from 4,000,000 to 2,000,000 and disrupted industry to an even greater extent than the Great War. It seems a far cry from 1919 to 1350, but wages and prices both rose like skyrockets then as now; and for the first time in English history the cry of profiteering rang out from the only articulate class—the lords of the soil. In an agricultural civilization such as prevailed in that day, the protest was against the tiller of the soil rather than against "the trusts" and the free laborer was denounced with vituperative thoroughness for his rapacity until the pot boiled over and the Statute of Laborers was passed providing that:

> Every man or woman of whatsoever condition, free or bond, able in body, and within the age of threescore years . . . not having of his own whereof he may live . . . and not serving any other, shall be bound to serve the employer who shall require him to do so, and shall take only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the neighborhood where he is bound to serve two years before the plague began.

Price regulation, or rather wage regulation such as this, was expected to end the trouble, but the resultant anarchy was not quelled until the next generation of manorial landowners, who could not cultivate their lands themselves, rented it out on short leases and supplied the necessary capital to their erstwhile laborers. The price-fixing statute became a dead letter; the yeomen farmers became the backbone of England; and as the historian says, "a hundred years later the wages of an English laborer could purchase twice the amount of the necessities of life which could have been obtained for the wages paid under Edward the Third."

The next upheaval came in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the increased amount of gold and silver imports, together with debasement of currency, brought about the same conditions as we face to-day. First, paper money is far greater than the gold reserves of every belligerent; second, there is far more money increase than increase of production. Then gold was more abundant than goods, and the debased currency stood in relation to the standard metal just as our paper currency stands to the gold reserves. Wheat jumped from less than a dollar in 1495 to nearly two dollars in 1533, and the weekly wage of about a dollar went up twelve cents! For half a century there was chaos, cured only by the gradual increase in volume of commodities from commercial expansion.

In 1772 a number of laws which had proved futile in curbing "regraters," "forestallers," and middlemen were repealed as ineffective, only to be passed again in 1880 when the price of corn soared. In France, foreign and domestic wars took away most of the laborers, stopped foreign trade, and flooded the currency with assignats; and resultant high prices and discontent nearly overturned the revolution itself. The Girondists established a bread subsidy in September, 1792, which cost nearly $10,000 a day at present values; and yet the comparatively small city of Paris was starving. In May, 1793, the Jacobins established a maximum price for corn, which price was reduced by successive stages, with the help of the guillotine; but—no corn came to market except under compulsion of the national guards, and farmers and villagers armed themselves for protection the same as they are doing in Russia to-day.

In July, 1794, the Terror fell with Robespierre and a reaction set in which finally resulted in the repeal of the "maximum" after

months of misery in spite of excellent harvests. Under Napoleon, confidence was restored; the farmer and the merchant were unfettered and without fear; national debt was reduced; currency stabilized and kept on a sound basis; and, notwithstanding the wars, the people found it produced a condition of economic comfort that was heaven compared to the false millennium of the Bolshevists of that day. Mr. Austin says:

Prior to the war London was the world's market for gold—and to bring a golden pound sterling to that market cost, in the value of the loaves of bread consumed by those who extracted the ore, refined it, transported it, provided the machinery and put it on the market, and by those who supplied the clothing and other necessaries of the gold producers, very nearly one pound sterling. The piece of cotton goods on the market which was valued at a pound sterling cost, also, from first to last, very nearly one pound to get it there, in the same way. The piece of cotton goods is a symbol for any other commodity. It costs to print a currency note of one pound sterling but a minute fraction of one pound sterling's worth of bread consumed, directly or indirectly, by the paper makers and the printers.

All is well—paper [illegible] very convenient—so long as there is an [illegible]ately proportioned amount of gold or any other genuinely costly and readily exchanged c[illegible]y brought to the market and held as a backing for those notes. So long as the piece of paper is merely a symbol for the real thing, there and forthcoming whenever required, its value is maintained. The moment there are two notes of a dollar each in the market against the commodity which costs practically a dollar to get there, the value of those notes falls by one-half. As the price is still measured in terms of the currency the price is automatically called two dollars. . . .

There is only one remedy—increased production. With one dollar on the market—and two commodities there, each of which was valued at a dollar—the price of those commodities falls to half a dollar. There is only one dollar to go round, and the merchant is ultimately forced to sell. He does not want to keep his goods as souvenirs. He must realize them at some price or other—even at a loss, for he has financial commitments which he can meet only by realizing his article into money.

What we need, then, is to overtake the amount of inflated currency with a sufficient increase of commodities—"Raise less Cain and more corn!"

THE FARMER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

WRITING in *Collier's* for October 4th, Mr. George Martin, who as editor of a farm paper believes that modern farming is an industry and should be run on an exact cost-finding basis, sets forth in summarized terms the demands that the American farmer is now making:

1. Subsidization of country schools by county, State, and nation, so farm children can live on the farm and still get a preparatory education admitting to college. As it is now, the children usually go to town to school and never come back.

2. Public recognition of the fact that the farmer is neither a capitalist nor a laborer, as we understand the terms, but the managing operator of a small business of which the home and family are integral parts.

3. Recognition of the fact that the American farmer, representing our largest and most fundamental industry, and as our greatest home builder, is entitled to an income comparable with his labor, his investment, and his managerial skill.

4. The assurance of this income, not by arbitrary price fixing nor by force, but by conference between producer, distributor, and consumer.

5. Requirement by law of minimum housing conditions on rented farms, maintained under a system of adequate inspection. This because, through lack of adequate finances, about half the acreage of our better lands is owned by "investors" and operated by "tenant-farmers." These tenant-farmers want to own their farms. They deserve to. And they will. But meantime they want better living conditions as renters.

(In one county in Illinois 20 per cent of the farm lands are said to be owned by men who have never seen them, and who live on the Atlantic seaboard, collecting their rents through agents. A large "rental" estate in the Middle West recently raised the rents on some hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile prairie land to $10 an acre, or about 2,000 per cent. annually of the original cost. But the agent is instructed that if the renter wants any improvements, a house or a pigpen, he must build it.)

6. The obligation to maintain and increase soil fertility, this obligation to be equally binding on landlord and tenant, and enforced by public license.

7. As between owner and operator, public support and sympathy be with the operator.

8. As between owner-operator, tenant, or speculator, public support and sympathy be with the owner-operator as the typical producer.

9. Elimination from the public mind of the feeling that tenantry is the ideal road to ownership.

10. Appropriation of public funds to finance young men in prospective ownership as soon as by thrift they have accumulated 10 per cent of the purchase price of productive lands.

11. The establishment of interest rates on funds loaned on land for home-building purposes that shall be based on those of the most favorable bond issues, not on curr[illegible] banking rates for short-term loans.

12. Discouragement of sp[illegible]ulation in lands by means of graduated tax[illegible] and, if necessary,

the absolute prohibition of the individual accumulation of large numbers of farms. Real-estate speculation to be entirely disassociated from the production of the food of the people.

13. Recognition of agriculture as a matter of deep public concern, whether regarded as the machinery of the production of the people's food, or as the means of providing good conditions for the rearing of children.

14. The determination to maintain upon the land the same class of people as are those who constitute the prevailing type among the mass of American citizens.

To make plain the real basis of the farmer's unrest, Mr. Martin refers to a recent investigation made by the Niagara County fruit-growers, who discovered that their average labor income per man was only $184 per year.

Take a typical case in Niagara County, which is a fair average for the country. A man has a farm valued at $18,000. His expenses for the year are $2900. His receipts are $4000. He figures that he has made $1100 during the year, and that this is not so bad. But he has not taken into account the capital invested. If he invested that $18,000 elsewhere, he could easily get 4 per cent interest. If he borrowed it, he would probably pay 6 per cent. So take an average and say his invested capital earns 5 per cent. Five per cent of $18,000 would be $900. So his capital "earned" $900 of that $1100, and the man, working hard all year, earned only $200. But, as I said, the average in Niagara County was only $184. Applied to a group of farmers who are doing $50,000,000 worth of business a year, as these men are, it is worthy of serious thought.

WHY THE GENERAL STRIKE FAILED IN ITALY

THE lessons to be learned from the failure of the recently attempted general strike in Italy are the theme of an article in *Rassegna Nazionale* by Signor R. Palmarocchi. At the outset, he notes that the enterprise was doomed to failure because of the unsympathetic attitude of the English and French workers, who disappointed the hopes and expectations of their Italian brethren.

The writer finds their inaction entirely justifiable, for the aim of the extremists who urged French participation in the Italian movement was to precipitate, in conjunction with the Russian and Hungarian radicals, first a general strike, and then a revolution leading to a dictatorship of the proletariat, such as had been established in Russia and Hungary.

While the Italian writer's sympathies are strongly with the proletariat, he nevertheless emphatically declares that the great mass of the workers were altogether in the right in refusing to pursue such a policy, for even the best Russian and Hungarian opinion sustains the view that nothing is better calculated to delay, or nullify, the realization of progressive reforms than is the employment of violent means for their attainment.

Moreover, apart from the theoretical merits of the case, Signor Palmarocchi does not believe that it would be possible to transplant Soviet government to Italian soil. The Italian soul differs too radically from the Russian soul, and there is no resemblance between the Russian *moujik* and the Italian *contadino*. This difference extends to all the strata of society.

It would indeed be possible to realize one phase of the Russian movement, namely a dictatorship of the proletariat, which the Russians seek to justify by declaring it to be merely a transitory phase, a means and not an evil. But this is a delusion. All dictatorships begin in this way, but in a brief time they proclaim themselves to be finalities, and although it is quite true that a reaction is sure to set in before long, hardly anyone would be bold enough to favor a new form of government simply because it was sure to eventuate in a successful counter-revolution.

How inconsistent the performances of the Bolshevist rulers in Russia are with their professions is shown by the fact that as soon as their rule was fairly established they revived, with but slight modifications, most of the institutions of the old régime. The same thing would occur elsewhere, for any party which gains control of a nation becomes the inheritor of the century-old traditions of that nation. This constitutes a dilemma that the occidental socialists apparently fail to grasp. If the principle of authority is always wrong, whatever government may invoke it, and we are to expect the advent of an ideal political régime that has never yet been founded, then

this ideal régime should oppose the absolutism of the working class just as energetically as it does the domination of the capitalistic class.

If, on the other hand, it is just and proper that the state should be an incorporation of force, before it can become an incorporation of justice and liberty, then Lenine's experiment does not deserve condemnation, but at the same time his followers have no right to condemn the other European governments in his name.

The writer suggests that this dilemma can only be escaped by a frank declaration on the part of the extremists that their aim is to secure for their class the possession and management of the national wealth that is now held by another class. But in this case the proletariat simply appeals to the principle of force and the opposing classes have a right to make the same appeal. It would be idle to invoke justice and right when the struggle is merely one between opposing interests.

All these contradictions arise from an abandonment of the principles of Christianity, from supplanting it by a creed that teaches only the satisfaction of material cravings. All governments that are founded in self-interest alone and not in justice, on utilitarianism and not on moral principles, are sure to degenerate into absolutism, whether aristocratic, capitalistic or proletarian. We are still too much under the influence of the war spirit, and just as we yielded a short time since to the illusion that all the national problems could be solved by a military victory, so we now think that social questions can be solved by the violent substitution of the rule of one class for that of another.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION LABOR UNION

A REPORT of the proceedings of the conference held at Amsterdam, Holland, from July 28th to August 2nd, to form a new International Federation of Trade Unions, is presented in the *American Federatonist* (Washington, D. C.) for October. The president of the Dutch Federation of Labor in his address of welcome to the conference declared that the war was prepared for and caused by the capitalistic class, as such. Mr. Tobin, speaking for the American delegation, objected to this statement. He said:

> We contend and we believe that the war was absolutely caused by the monarchial, militaristic system of Germany and Austria and will not subscribe to any other declaration made by the chairman of this convention. The United States forces, the British forces and the allies all combined have forever destroyed the systems that were responsible for that awful destruction of life and property and happiness.

The secretary's list showed fourteen countries, with ninety-two delegates, representing 17,740,000 members.

The question most bitterly contested before the conference was that of the voting power of the national trade-union centers. After a lengthy debate the following basis was adopted:

> Each national trade-union center is entitled to one vote for 250,000 members or less.
> Two votes from 250,000 to 500,000.
> Three votes from 500,000 to 1,000,000.
> And one vote for every 500,000, or fraction thereof, over and above 1,000,000.

The American delegation then insisted that this voting power should be applied immediately to the conference. This plan having been adopted, the voting strength of the conference was shown to be as follows:

Country	Membership	Votes		
America	3,600,000	9		
Great Britain	4,750,000	11	20	
France	1,500,000	4		27
Belgium	450,000	2	7	
Luxemburg	21,000	1		
Germany	5,400,000	12		
	60,000	1	15	
Austria	500,000	2		
Holland	223,000	1		22
	45,000	1		
Switzerland	200,000	1		
Sweden	235,000	1	7	
Norway	122,000	1		
Denmark	255,000	2		
Spain	150,000	1		
Czechoslovaks	230,000	1		
Total		52		

It was decided that a per capita tax of



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THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM

one-half of one cent per member per annum should be assessed on the membership of the federation. This would make the American contribution, basing the tax on 4,000,000 members, $20,000 per annum. The three American delegates to the Amsterdam conference, were Samuel Gompers, Daniel J. Tobin and John J. Hynes.

THE NEW MOROCCO

NO REGION of the world has been the scene of more remarkable economic transformations within the past few years than Morocco—the land which Pierre Loti once described as "impenetrable to things that are new." The war diverted the attention of the world at large from the beneficent changes in progress there under the French administration, but did not seriously interrupt the changes themselves. The story of "The Work of France in Morocco" is told in the *Geographical Review* (New York) by M. Alfred de Tarde, editor of *France-Maroc,* while elsewhere in the same journal we find a brief history of the succesive stages of French penetration of the country. Both articles attest the fact that the thriving and progressive Morocco of to-day is mainly the work of one man, General Lyautey, who has held the office of resident general ever since the signing of the French protectorate treaty in 1912, except for four months, from December, 1916, to April, 1917, when he was on duty at the Ministry of War in Paris.

M. de Tarde says:

At the time when France took up the work of political and economic organization everything remained to be done—restoration of the disordered administration; establishment of the bases of economic development; installation of medical, educational, and other service; reform of the land system. At the same time peace had to be assured and a rebellious population pacified by the combined application of force and persuasion.

The task was immense in itself. It was rendered still more difficult by the course of external events. Two years after France had taken up her task the European war broke out. Should the work in Morocco be suspended? So some thought in the stress of the first days. There was a call for immediate abandonment of all the country except the coasts. But General Lyautey, with a clear outlook on the future, answered differently. He despatched to France the forces summoned for national defense, guaranteeing to hold Morocco with the remainder. As a protective shield he flung the last of these active troops to the borders of the pacified territory, trusting the peace of the interior to a policy of public works and general development.

This policy he has applied without relaxation since August, 1914. Its success is patent, for not only has Morocco remained peaceable during the war despite the efforts of German propaganda but the zone of pacification has been extended. Today the occupied area exceeds 250,000 square kilo-



From the *Geographical Review*, American Geographical Society, New York

meters where at the outbreak of the war it was 180,000 square kilometers.

That a conquering army may come as a blessing to an invaded country and not as a scourge is strikingly proved by the history of French military operations in Morocco. Step by step the borders of the "pacified" area have been pushed forward by troops which build roads and bridges, railways and telephone lines for the benefit of the native population, and which include in their ranks masons, carpenters, laborers, farmers, teachers and doctors.

One of the first tasks of the French was to build a main seaport at Casablanca and minor ports elsewhere. The former place is now provided with a fine, commodious harbor and its traffic is growing rapidly. When Casablanca is joined by rail with Oran and Tangier it will afford European travelers the means of shortening by several days the journey between the Old World and Central and South America. The construction of railways was at first hampered by certain treaty provisions, and at present most of the lines are narrow-gauge and intended primarily for military use; but a system of standard-gauge commercial lines has now been fully planned. Meanwhile great progress has been made in the construction of highways, which, with the introduction of automobiles, have been one of the chief factors in opening up the country. The French authorities have devoted much attention to town-planning, and have engaged for this work the services of an expert, M. Prost, who lately drew up plans for the extension of the city of Antwerp.

The unrestrained tendency of the European town growing up beside the native town is to overshadow, to suffocate, and finally to replace its victim. To avoid this unfortunate sequence General Lyautey has laid down an absolute rule that the native and the European towns shall be separated, a plan adopted by the English in India. The policy is in accord with moral and hygienic principles. In an intimate mixture of two such dissimilar civilizations it is rather the vices than the virtues that flourish. On hygienic grounds the European should take up his residence away from those centers of infection, the Moroccan towns, with their narrow, dirty, ill-ventilated streets. In the town plans of the future the first care will be to set aside a strip of ground separating the European and native sections, and on this strip all building will be prohibited.

The author tells us that, with the example of European colonists before their eyes, the natives are rapidly adopting modern agricultural methods and machinery; that agricultural experiment stations and other agencies are introducing new crops, better adapted to the soil and climate than the old; that stock-breeding is being encouraged,

SANITATION AND WELFARE WORK AMONG STEEL EMPLOYEES

FOR several years the American Iron and Steel Institute has given special attention to matters of sanitation and hygiene among the workers in the steel industry throughout the country. The Institute is interested particularly in the prevention of accidents among the workers, in providing hospital and nursing facilities, in training for first aid to the injured, in the physical examination of employees, in the improvement of water supplies, washing facilities, toilet arrangements, drainage and sewerage disposal, in securing better housing and rest and recreation for the families of the steel workers, as well as for the men themselves, in securing warmer work places in winter and cooler in summer, and in various other measures designed to make the lot of the factory operative and his family more endurable.

Some of the accomplishments have been briefly sketched by Dr. Thomas Darlington, former Health Commissioner of New York City, who is now secretary of the Institute's Welfare Committee. He calls attention particularly to improved methods in the disposal of garbage and sewage, the abolition of steam pollution, and the drainage of back alleys and streets in workingmens' communities. Many steel plants have introduced systems for cooling the air in summer with a view to the prevention of heat stroke. Some of the steel mills have succeeded in eliminating dust, which was formerly a fruitful source of tuberculosis germs. Gases produced by open fires where combustion is incomplete are now carried to the outside of the building. Many plants are now heated in winter by fresh air brought from the outside, filtered, warmed and distributed through the various parts of the building, free from dust and gases.

In the matter of first aid it is said that the steel industry leads all others for organized effort. Some years ago the surgeon of one of the largest companies reported a reduction of septic cases from 50 per cent. to one-tenth of one per cent.

The American steel industry also leads the world in the provision for the care of injured employees. The emergency hospitals erected near mines and mills have materially aided in reducing human suffering. Many lives have been saved by prompt care and the injured workman has full assurance that such care is the best that can be obtained. The industry also maintains a rest farm for the wives of employees who are in poor health. This farm is under the charge of a physician and a nurse. At settlement houses, supported by the industry, much attention is given to the women and children, particularly the babies. At these houses boys and girls are taught useful trades.

THE LYNCHING EVIL FROM A SOUTHERN STANDPOINT

BEGINNING with the assumption that lynching is a national evil, not confined to any one section of the country, but maintaining at the same time that this evil more vitally concerns the South than it does other parts of the country, because the greater number of lynchings occur there, Principal Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, sets forth in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, a representative Southern review, his views concerning the program that should be adopted to do away with the lynching evil throughout the South.

Having shown from official records that the South, with about one-half the population of the North and West, had during the past thirty years more than seven times as many lynchings as the North and West combined, and also that the decrease of lynchings has been more rapid in other parts of the country than in the South, Major Moton expresses the opinion that lynching is the chief cause of unrest among negroes. Although white persons are often put to death by mobs, lynching is proved by the statistics to be more and more confined to negroes. In the recent extensive migrations of negroes from South to North lynching was the cause

most frequently stated. Beyond question it is one of the chief factors in making Southern negro labor unstable. Furthermore, it causes unrest among business, professional and property owning negroes who would naturally form the stabilizing forces in negro communities.

Major Moton concludes as the result of his own observations that this unstability and unrest are tending to increase rather than to decrease, thereby greatly retarding the industrial and economic development of the South. While he believes that the South is going to need the negro as a laborer, even more in the future than she has in the past, there will be a greater demand for the negro in the North than there has been heretofore, because of the stoppage of immigration from Europe and the revival in the building industries and other lines that will follow the establishment of peace.

Major Moton notes with satisfaction the growth of sentiment in the South against lynching and the strong stand taken by such influential newspapers as the Montgomery *Advertiser,* the Atlanta *Constitution,* the Houston *Post,* the Charlotte *Observer,* the Columbia *State,* the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune.* Southern white people in growing numbers are setting their faces against the evil, speaking out and o ly opposing it. A recent meeting of the ern Sociological Congress, after str y c ndemning mob rule as un-American and subversive of law and order, formulated the following program:

> First, to carry on a ceaseless campaign of publicity through the public press;
> Second, to send speakers to address conventions on this subject in order to enlist active support of religious, educational and other leaders;
> Third, to carry on a thorough-going investigation of the causes of lynching upon the results of which will be worked out for the future a constructive program of education, legislation, and law enforcement.

Major Moton further reminds us that lynchings are now occurring for almost any cause, however trivial, that five women were lynched in 1918, and that only a small proportion of lynchings are for the "unmentionable crime." Only 25 per cent. of the persons put to death in 1918 were charged with that crime.

Believing that an important part of after-war reconstruction is to endeavor to reduce, and as far as possible to abolish every form of lawlessness, Major Moton holds that this is the most opportune time for a campaign to abolish an evil that is doing so much to hinder just and harmonious relations between the races.

THE REDEMPTION OF RUSSIA

IN the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* for September, M. Ph. Jeanneret handles with extreme frankness and vigor "The Bolshevik Army."

The description of the capture and defense of Kazan and the reluctant retreat from that city are described in terms which seem to indicate the writer's presence there:

> Less than a year ago, this self-styled power was on the point of vanishing. Three thousand Czecs and Serbs, with 3000 Russians, rolled back the Red army. A few thousand more men could have captured it entire. Alas! Neither the French and English expected from the North, nor the Japanese heralded from the South, answered our call. What should have been the tomb and final death of Bolshevism proved its resurrection.

The whole movement is described as unnational, essentially foreign. As the chief leaders are named "the Jews, traditional sworn foes of Russian nationalism, and their German allies." The criminal and potentially criminal city elements were their first followers. A radical agrarian reform was in any case due. The abolition of serfdom, a half-way measure, had left behind the communistic, or rather communal village unit, within which no tiller acquired full permanent ownership of soil. A rigid uniformity was everywhere compulsory. A man who planted a new fruit tree was a foe of social equality. But the reform, even the revolution, need not have been a bloody one. The peasants were incited to wholesale murder, that they might, as fellow-criminals, be securely chained to the Bolshevik Juggernaut.

All classes of real Russians—the peasants, with their dream of " Republic with a Czar," the loyal Mo ts, the intelligent democrats, or more extr radicals—could be united, to destroy evism and revive Russia; but a leader n be found whose

name stands inspiringly for that broadest patriotic purpose.

This fast-growing, diabolical newcomer, "who hides his gory hands in pockets stuffed by robbery," who "to keep his bark afloat on the floods of blood he has shed, calls on those he has helped to ruin to recognize him among the legitimate powers," must be destroyed, if there is ever to be peace on earth.

The anti-Bolshevist army must have three supreme, immediate, constructive aims:

(1) To set up a single leader representative of all forms of true Russian nationality.

(2) To assure to the peasants a land-tenure which will set them fully at work to feed the starving nation, and

(3) To restore religious freedom.

Only less immediate and vital is it

(1) To introduce real money, instead of the hopelessly debased and irredeemable paper.

(2) To open up to commerce the railroads and other highways, now useful only to troops.

(3) To obtain adequate food supplies for the nation. But the necessity is quite as urgent for the European victors in the war as for Russia herself.

Not to take to heart to-day the fate of Russia is to hand her over, bound hand and foot, to Germany, that, having infused the poison, wishes to reap her reward. Germany has lost her colonies; Russia would offset them. She has no empire on the seas; Russia will make an adequate one on the land. If Europe closes her own gates, Russia opens the portal of Asia.

The task will not be easy. "The giant should have been throttled in his childhood; but now he *must* be destroyed, before he becomes a Titan, a demon raging over all the earth."

When it comes to planning an actual campaign, all attacks from north or south are regarded as mere subsidiary flanking movements. The real base of attack must be in Siberia. A well-equipped army of a million and a half, with aeroplanes, tanks, high explosives, all the latest means of offensive action, must be created.

Rather curiously, this army is not, after all, described as primarily either Russian in race or made up of troops regularly drawn from the chief European allies!

Where shall the men be found to form the army to restore Russia?

1st, Japan, which will receive its compensations in Siberia.

2nd, America, which has every interest in taking a high hand in Russia.

3rd, Volunteers from all countries, who would receive a bit of land apiece, if they wished to settle on it.

4th, The Cossacks, who are still struggling for independence.

5th, The ex-officers of the Russian armies, formed in legions of their own.

6th, The Czecs.

7th, Volunteers from each province as it is liberated.

It will doubtless be agreed, by nearly all readers, that the very simplicity and vividness of this ideal program suggests that many problems, debatable questions, troublesome details, are kept out of view.

At the close, there recurs the question of the ideal leader. There still appears no doubt that he will be a Russian, who will bring in the happy day when "Russia, liberated from Bolshevism, grateful for her salvation, shall become the friend of the nations which Germany had desired to supplant."

The writer neither names nor points toward this glorious leader. Perhaps it would be difficult to do so.

THE RUMANIAN PRESS ON RUMANIA'S INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY

ACCORDING to Rumanian newspapers recently received, the administration of Premier I. I. C. Bratianu seemed to have enjoyed the confidence of the entire nation during the military operations in Hungary and the occupation of Budapest by the Rumanian troops.

The *Universul* (the "Universe", of Bucharest), the most popular and independent Rumanian newspaper, remarks editorially that "the entrance of the Rumanian army in Budapest marks the triumph of organized statesmanship against chaotic Bolshevism," and that "Rumania has performed not only a national duty in conquering the Hungarian army of Bela Kun, but also an

international service in warding-off the danger of Bolshevism in Central Europe".

The *Viitorul* (the "Future"), organ of the Liberal party (governmental), makes the following statements in an editorial entitled "Rumania's Policy—A Resolute Policy":

The foreign policy of Rumania, which had taken a new direction since the crown council held at Sinaia in summer 1914, when the European war broke out, has been in all its manifestations from that time to the present day a frank, loyal, and resolute policy toward the Allies. Our entrance into the war on August 27, 1916, on the side of the Allies, has proved indeed the loyalty of the Rumanian policy, so that thereafter every gesture and action confirmed the fact that we have followed that direction, however great and hard were the sacrifices which multiplied themselves gradually.

And further, the same paper remarks:

Our policy has been resolute as regards all sacrifices, especially when, coming into the war, we first put the problem of the dismemberment of Austria of which the Allies had not then thought. Again, this policy had been resolute in the spring of 1917, when we knew how to resist alone, after the Russian treachery and defection, against the invading waves of the enemy. It had been also a resolute policy in the autumn of 1918, when we again took up arms against the common enemy.

Upon the receipt of the note of the Supreme Council regarding requisitions made by the Rumanian military command at Budapest (in August 27), the Rumanian Press Bureau issued the following statement of facts: "The German-Hungarian army of occupation exported from Rumania between December 1, 1916, and October 10, 1918, 3,705,148 tons of merchandise. This represented 2,161,905 tons of foodstuffs and forage, 1,140,809 tons of petroleum and mineral oil and 433,434 tons of raw material."

This statement, based upon figures computed from German and Austro-Hungarian documents, has been reproduced by all Rumanian newspapers, including those of the opposition (the Conservative and the Democratic parties). To this has been added the statement made by Count Czernin, the former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, at the time of the Peace of Bucharest, the treaty forced upon Rumania by the Germans in April, 1918: "I have obtained from Rumania on the harvest of the last year over 70,000 tons of cereals. The surplus of the new harvest, which will be divided between us and Germany, will procure us probably



THE RUMANIAN CHAMPION CUTTING OFF THE THREE HEADS OF THE DRAGON TO FREE EUROPE
From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona, Spain)

40,000 tons more of cereals, vegetables, and forage. Moreover, Rumania cedes us 300,000 muttons and 100,000 hogs which will be delivered now."

The *Dacia,* an independent newspaper edited by two well known literary men, comments as follows on the Allies' note:

Reading with attention the last note of the Allies—which does not differ at all from the preceding notes as regards requisitions in Hungary and the "common pledge" of the Allies concerning the goods of the enemy—it is impossible not to feel a deep deception about all the generous formulas that have been agitated over the battlefields. One has a feeling that the anger of the great Allies has come only from the fear that the "common pledge" in Hungary might be swallowed up by the Rumanians. Otherwise the tone of the preceding notes has disappeared from that of yesterday. This time one speaks in pure commercial terms; it is demanded the establishment of the balance of all indemnities and requisitions effected on Magyar territory, which will be taken into account afterward at the treaty of peace with Hungary. From the general and generous formulas, from the first note of indignation and violence toward us, we [illegible] arrived at a bill which is presented to [illegible] cold business manner, after having de[illegible]hat we shall pay. While we seek in [illegible]tion for the sufferings of the old war, an[illegible]he new one which has been forced upon [illegible]e Bolshevik régime

at Budapest, the Allies seek everywhere the realization of the "common pledge."

Although the public opinion in Rumania was unanimous as regards military intervention against the Hungarian Bolsheviki who had invaded Rumanian territory, there are, however, a few notes of disapproval to be found in a part of the Rumanian press concerning the conditions under which such an intervention has taken place. Thus the *Adeverul* (the "Truth")—independent but openly opposed to the Liberal party of Mr. Bratianu—remarks that "the Rumanian government has made a mistake in embarking upon a policy which has not the full approval of the great powers." The Democratic party, under the leadership of Mr. Take Ionescu, has taken also a critical attitude toward the actions of the government.

FRANCE'S NEW ELECTORAL LAW

IT IS planned to hold general elections in France within the next few months, although Premier Clemenceau had refused to fix a precise date until after ratification of the Peace Treaty by the Chamber of Deputies. It will be remembered that the members now serving were elected in May, 1914, for four years only; and that their terms of office have been prolonged through the exigencies of war. One of the first duties of the new Chamber—in which the Senate will share—will be the selection of a successor to President Poincare, whose seven-year term expires in January.

While Clemenceau was presiding at the Peace Conference, the Deputies framed and adopted an electoral reform bill (becoming a law on July 12, 1919) modifying a system which dated back to 1885. The periodical *La France,* (New York) undertakes to explain for Americans the significance of the changes, in an article by its Paris correspondent.

We are reminded first of the old system, the so-called "single name" or "district" ballot, which had in turn—thirty years ago—displaced a system under which each elector voted for as many Deputies as the entire Department was to elect.

The writer in *La France* asks and answers the question, Why was electoral reform necessary? He states two reasons—the first, gradual abuse of the "district" ballot; the second, a new conception of the rights of the minority.

Under abuses the writer mentions: improper pressure by wealthy or influential candidates; a subordination of national interests to those of small districts; and the breaking-up of parties, which has rendered French ministries notoriously unstable, dependent as they are upon the confidence of the Chamber.

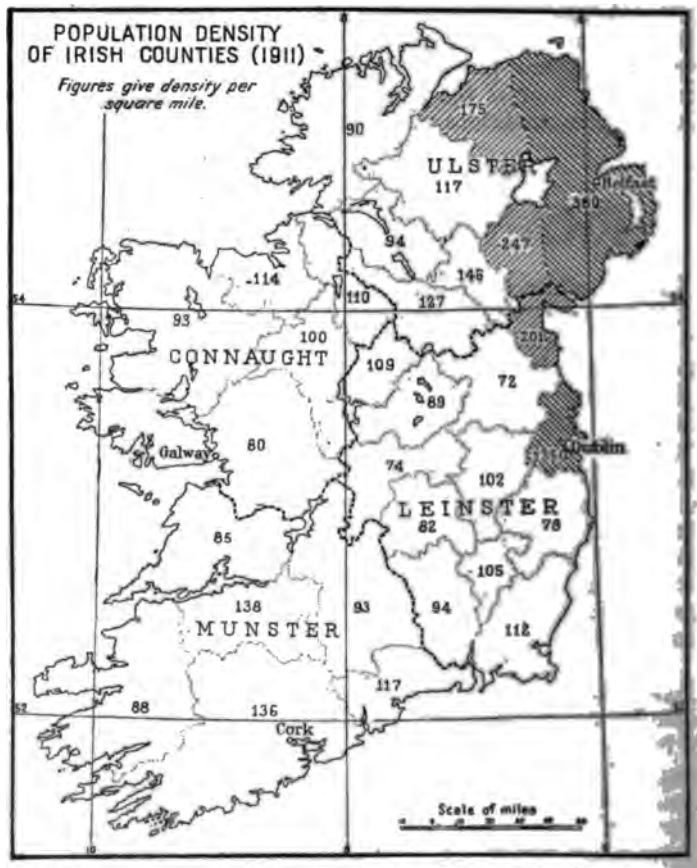
The second reason for change had been to guard the rights of minorities. Under the old system, in a close electoral district a majority of one vote was sufficient to elect—10,000 voters, for example, might be represented and 9,999 who favored a losing candidate might be without representation at all. The new system includes proportional representation, based upon larger voting districts. We quote the French author's suppositious case:

> Suppose that we take an electoral district representing 100,000 voters, having to elect ten deputies and suppose that 50,000 votes would be for A, 30,000 votes for B and 20,000 votes for C; how would this electoral district be represented under the system of proportional representation? The number of voters would be divided by the number of deputies to be chosen. The quotient of this division would be 10,000; therefore, to each list would be given as many deputies as it is contained in the electoral quotient; that is to say: Party A would have 5 deputies, party B, 3 deputies, and party C, 2 deputies. All the parties are thus represented in proportion to their numerical strength.
>
> Suppose, on the other hand, that the elections would be held according to the "majority" ballot; Party A would have elected 10 deputies; Party B and Party C would not have been represented at all. It can thus be seen that a proportional representation tends to bring mathematically exact justice into the elections.

Through the application of these changes in the French electoral system, it is hoped that the power of one man over an electoral district will cease; that voters will be forced to declare themselves on political programs and not on individuals; that the right of minorities will be exercised; and that the party obtaining the absolute majority of votes will likewise obtain the absolute majority of all representatives.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE IRISH QUESTION

PROFESSOR W. R. McCONNELL, who occupies the chair of geography at Miami University, conducts at that institution a class in political geography in which a part of the students' time is devoted to working out the geographic factors involved in current internationl questions. As an example of this type of work, he presents in the *Journal of Geography* (New York) a paper dealing with the Irish Question from the geographical point of view. The geographic factor in such a question is not, of course, easily separable from economic, historical and other factors, and Professor McConnell has not attempted to draw any sharp line between them. He begins with the all-important subject of population:



Population has been on the decline and economic conditions have been decadent in Ireland since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1845 over 8,000,000 people lived in Ireland. This was an overpopulation for a nonindustrial people employing such **methods and type of tillage as obtained.** Extreme **dependence on the potato caused** a cataclysm when the potato harvests failed. Famine, eviction, emigration **was the tragic** sequence to the **failure of 1845-47. The population** has dwindled since then until today it is but little over 4,000,000. **England has eight times as many** people as Ireland and is over **six times as densely** populated.

Ireland, it is said, is separated from Great Britain by a "sundering strait"; Ireland, it is further said, faces the Atlantic Ocean. Let us look further into these statements. In no place is the shallow Irish Sea which separates Ireland from Great Britain more than 140 miles wide, and in the narrowest part it is only 13 miles. The nearness of Ireland to Great Britain as compared with its nearness to any other market or source of raw material or power makes it inevitable that its life and development be intimately related to the country which it feels to be the cause of its economic backwardness.

The population map of Ireland shows that the densely populated portion of the island is the side nearest to England. This is by far the less endowed part of the country. The central lowland borders the Irish Sea on the east while westward the mountains of Connaught practically cut it off from the Atlantic. This central plain with its limestone soil and fertile glacial clay, comprising the richest agricultural section of Ireland, thus has its outlet not on the Atlantic but on the Irish sea, towards England. Furthermore this sea border of the lowland faces the Lancashire-Cheshire plain: Dublin is in direct line with the Cheshire Gap.

Eastern Ireland has much level land suited to agriculture and a rainfall favorable for the growth of cereals. The coast line of the Irish Sea has good natural harbors on which are built Ireland's large cities. Western Ireland, on the other hand, has much rough land, poor soil, and too much rainfall for successful agriculture. In many places the rugged land borders the Atlantic with perpendicular cliffs. And there is a dearth of good harbors. For these reasons western Ireland is much less p than the side bordering the Irish Sea. Count contains more wast

land than any other province. Thus the economic life of Ireland leads toward England and through England.

The unity of Great Britain is in no wise built on uniformity. The different physical units, such as the highlands of northern Scotland, the lowlands of south-central Scotland, the highlands of Wales, and the plains of England, have served as more or less well-defined units for the development of people with different ideas and ideals, of different racial origins and different languages, and of different modes of life.

Lastly, it is pointed out that Ireland occupies a strategic position with respect to England, the defense of which is vital to British interests. Napoleon planned to attack England by way of Ireland, and Germany entertained similar projects in the late war. Moreover, "an independent Ireland would need forts and navy yards and a strong land and sea force—defensive measures that she lacks the wealth and man power to provide."

SIGN-POSTS FOR DESERT TRAVELERS

THE vast tract of arid plains, once known as the "Great American Desert," which opposed so formidable a barrier to transcontinental voyagers in the days of the "prairie schooner," is still an economic handicap to the nation and the scene of tragic adventures. With the advent of automobiles in the Far West history is, to a certain extent, repeating itself. The situation is described by Mr. H. C. Hardy in the *Scientific American:*

Just as it did decades ago, when the tide of our fearless pioneers moved persistently westward, this expanse of desert still stands directly athwart the lines of railways and the roads of motor vehicles feeding northward and eastward for hundreds of miles from the land of plenty to the far less favored sections in sister States. Now, more than ever, is it essential that the crossing of this inhospitable tract, this realm of awful dryness, be robbed as much as possible of its menacing nature. The motor truck as an aid to intercommunication, as a medium in lessening the cost of living, must, more and more, traverse the interposed desert sweep; and this the power vehicle cannot do unless water be available at convenient points en route. Not only that, but the welfare of passengers and those in charge of this service is equally dependent upon the certainty of finding a sufficiency of water along these highways.

Just as in the Sahara there are oases, with their springs and wells, so in the arid regions of our Southwestern States there are numerous spots that yield enough water for the traveler's needs, once he succeeds in finding them. But unfortunately these places are not so conspicuous as the palm-studded oases of the African wastes. Many a wayfarer has died of thirst within a few hundred yards of a spring or a water-hole, hidden in the scanty growth of desert vegetation or concealed in a dip of the land. Moreover, little attention has heretofore been paid to keeping these watering-places in serviceable condition. The pioneer in remedying this state of affairs was Mr. George W. Parsons, of Los Angeles, who bestirred the lawmakers of California to plant sign-posts in the deserts of that state.

Carrying his humane propaganda farther, he finally induced Congress three years ago to make a modest appropriation looking to still wider work in surveying and marking desert watering places throughout the entire tract, which also concerns Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. Mr. Parsons had previously learned by his own experience what it meant to put up with a lack of water in those parched lands; and as a qualified prospector he was keenly alive to the potential value of the mineral wealth located in that vast area. So long as the available water holes were allowed to be contaminated by the heedless or their whereabouts were known to but a comparatively few persons, Mr. Parsons was conscious of the fact that every stranger courted death when he ventured afar into that austere domain.

By act of Congress, approved August 21, 1916, $10,000 was appropriated and the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to use that sum as far as it would permit in discovering, protecting, and rendering more accessible to the traveler the water to be found on the arid public lands of the United States; and, after doing this, to erect and to maintain suitable and durable monuments and signboards, placed at intervals along and near the accustomed lines of travel over the desert, so that persons traversing the territory should be able to reach by the shortest routes the nearest springs, streams or water holes.

As far as that modest grant permitted, the field parties of the United States Geological Survey did their share, and, in addition, used some of the regular allotment made to the survey for the purpose of investigating ground water conditions. The region surveyed last year occupied about 60,000 square miles in southern California and southwestern Arizona, representing only a small percentage of the entire area that should be covered in this manner. In California, the section embraces the southern part of Death Valley and the country between this valley and the Mexican border; while the desert area so dealt with in Arizona includes the portion west of Tucson and Phoenix and south of Wickenburg and Parker. This district was purposely selected because it is

said to be the driest, the hottest, and the least explored tract of the desert realm, and also because of the strategic importance of obtaining information about the possible water supplies along a stretch of 350 miles of the national frontier adjacent to Mexico.

As a result of these activities, signs directing travelers to water were erected at 167 localities in California and at 138 in Arizona.

The signposts that now serve as heartening guides to water along the arid highways, over which the volume of traffic is steadily increasing, stand 12 feet high and are painted white so that they may be seen from afar. The uprights are of galvanized iron 1.9 inches in outside diameter, and the signboards, of 18-gage steel, galvanized, have their lettering marked upon them in dark blue. These boards are of two sizes, 18 x 20 inches and 9 x 20 inches, depending upon whether they bear directions to two or four watering places. Each post is anchored in the ground by means of two redwood blocks. The task so far completed is merely a part of a comprehensive plan which calls for the mapping and marking of the watering places in the entire arid region lying east of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains and west of a line running approximately from eastern Oregon through Salt Lake City and Santa Fe down to the mouth of the Pecos River.

The U. S. Geological Survey estimates that the cost of carrying out similar work over the remainder of the desert area of 570,000 square miles will not exceed $100,000, which works out only about $8 per township. This will be a trifling expenditure compared with the benefits which the undertaking is expected to confer.

THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR

AN interesting sketch of Viscount Grey of Fallodon, the new British Ambassador to the United States, from the pen of Willis J. Abbot, appears in *Collier's* for October 4.

The new Ambassador has been characterized as "the most English Englishman in all England," and certain of the qualities described by Mr. Abbot—notably his liking for an outdoor life, his reticence and self-repression—seem to go far to justify such a characterization.

For instance, the autobiographical sketch contributed to the English "Who's Who?" says nothing about his achievements during his long direction of the British Foreign Office, but gravely records as personal matters of importance the facts that he owns 2000 acres of land, that he once won a prize in a national tennis tournament, and that he has written a book on fly-fishing.

Mr. Abbot reminds us that in 1910 Viscount Grey and Colonel Roosevelt spent a day of ardent nature worship and the study of English birds in the New Forest. Colonel Roosevelt wrote of this occasion later:

> As I could snatch but a few hours from a very exacting round of pleasures and duties, it was necessary for me to be with some companion who could identify both song and singers. In Sir Edward Grey, a keen lover of outdoor life in all its phases, and a delightful companion, who knows the songs and ways of English birds as few do, I found the best possible guide.

To a correspondent who had asked him concerning his companion's knowledge of bird lore Sir Edward repli[illegible]hat he (Colonel Roosevelt) recognized [illegible] British birds by their note with extraor[illegible]y accuracy.



LORD GREY OF FALLODON
By Bert Thomas in the *World* (London)

Mr. Abbot notes the fact that this intimate excursion of the two statesmen took place only a day or two after Colonel Roosevelt's delivery of his Guild Hall speech, which was supposed to have shocked the British Government by its references to Egypt. It has since developed, however, that the speech had been shown to Kitchener, Balfour, Cromer, and probably to Sir Edward Grey himself in advance of its delivery.

It may be safely assumed that one of the chief reasons for Viscount Grey's appointment to the Washington Embassy was his sturdy and long-continued advocacy of the League of Nations. At an earlier date he had been strongly in favor of an Anglo-American understanding and is said to have been the first public man in England to extend a hearty approval to President Taft's suggestion of an arbitration treaty between the two nations. He ranks as the leading diplomat of Europe to-day, both in duration of service and in actual attainments. Among Englishmen only Arthur J. Balfour may be said to hold equal diplomatic rank. Great Britain has paid this country the highest possible compliment by the selection of Viscount Grey as her Ambassador to Washington.

CINEMA-MICROSCOPY: AN ADJUNCT OF THE CLASSROOM



American Museum Journal

CINEMAPHOTOGRAPHS OF THE LIVING CHICK EMBRYO

(Microcinematograph of a forty-eight-hour-old chick embryo, together with its vascular area dissected from the egg yolk. The embryo has been placed in a culture medium where it is kept alive for many hours while the rhythmical action of the heart and the circulation of the blood are photographed. This illustrates the possibilities of the motion-picture machine in reproducing physiological processes for educational purposes. The heart is seen in the embryo as an external bulblike organ near the center of the animal. The dark vessels are the vitelline arteries and their branches, while the lighter are the various branches of the venous system. Magnification 120 diameters)

STEP by step the beneficent possibilities of the cinematograph are revealing themselves. Motion pictures of many kinds are already well known in the classroom, but moving microphotographs appear to be a new departure, only now in process of realization. The pedagogic value of such pictures is obvious. In discussing this subject in *Natural History* (New York), Mr. Charles F. Herm, a physiologist attached to the American Museum of Natural History, says:

Cinema-microscopy is a great need of the future; many colleges and schools are eager to introduce its results in their class rooms because they realize that no other device equals it for conveying a lecture or experiment. But at present where and how are schools to get films of such a character—films on microscopical subjects, strictly educational, having technical qualities, and produced by specialists just as textbooks are written and edited by specialists?

The production of a film textbook of zoölogy, physiology, or botany which contains hundreds of short reels or subjects, scientifically correct, up to the highest standard of learning, correlating with the approved textbooks, has so far not been a commercial success, owing perhaps to the lack of specialists, the large expense involved, and certain limitations of the subject. The public undoubtedly is interested; the secondary schools and colleges would welcome aid of this kind and it remains for some large educational institutions to establish a micro-cinema laboratory for the production of such negatives.

In many colleges, in medical schools, and even in certain classes of high schools, it is important to demonstrate the living phenomena as closely as possible; sketches, wall charts, or still photographs do not show the different movements and the results of experiments; they do not show the technique of the experimenter or the accompanying reactions of the organism such as the beating of the heart, the circulation of the blood, and the acceleration of respiration.

But by means of the cinematograph the most

delicate operation can be recorded and all its details reproduced with the utmost precision. At the same time this wonderful instrument will save many hours of tedious laboratory routine which could be used to far greater advantage in original research. On the other hand, cinematography will widen the teaching power of any single experiment or demonstration, and become the greatest of all teachers.

A film illustrating some important biological process can be reproduced in any desired number of copies for use in different institutions. It can be displayed at any desired speed before any number of pupils, enabling the teacher to demonstrate each fact deliberately and repeatedly.

The author thus describes his own experiments in cinema-microscopy:

My interest in this work has arisen through laboratory researches on living tissue in the department of physiology at the American Museum of Natural History. In collaboration with Mr. Alessandro Fabbri, research associate in physiology in the American Museum, who is much interested in biological cinematography, there has been prepared a microscopical film 1200 feet long, on the physiology of the heart and the circulation of the blood in the chick embryo. This work was done in the private laboratory of Mr. Fabbri,—a laboratory completely equipped with all facilities for the highest grade of cinematography.

The physiology of the heart and the circulation of the blood have attracted the attention of investigators from very early times. Far back in 1616 scientists studied them. William Harvey was the first to grasp the fact that the heart acted as a force pump to drive the blood in a circle through the blood vessels and back. Since the time of Harvey, however, physiological technique has been remarkably improved. Many methods have been discovered to demonstrate the general function of the heart and vascular system. But not until cinema-microscopy attracted the attention of modern physiologists, has it been possible publicly to demonstrate the finer details of this phenomenon.

In the film which has been made, the first scene demonstrates the necessity of carefully marking on the shell of the egg the date and hour when it is placed in the laboratory incubator, in order to obtain an embryo of known age. A constant temperature of 103 degrees Fahrenheit is maintained.

The second illustrates how, after forty-eight hours, the egg is removed from the incubator and, after being carefully opened, is placed in a glass dish, embryo and vascular area uppermost. The vascular area, with its embryo, is now dissected from the yolk and transferred to a large culture chamber, which is sealed with a cover glass by means of hot paraffin and placed under the microcinematographic apparatus.

We see the entire living embryo, forty-eight hours old, demonstrating the circulation in the vascular area. The circulatory system of the young chick consists of branching tubes, the arteries coming from the heart, which is now outside of the body. Dividing into a fine network of capillaries in the vascular area, these vessels reunite into a large vein which carries the blood back to the heart at the opposite side.

The picture shows the heart as a muscular organ which rhythmically contracts, decreasing its volume, and thereby driving out the blood which has flowed into it during the period of relaxation.

The subject of the fourth scene is the heart of a living embryo thirty-three hours old, showing its first rhythmical activity and the course of the blood in the transparent heart cavity during contraction.

Another film has also been constructed in collaboration with Mr. Fabbri, emphasizing the behavior of transplanted heart muscle. Many experiments have been made in transplanting heart muscles into a tissue culture to determine the conditions which will prolong their life and function. The heart of a chick embryo will beat rhythmically from six to ten days after having been removed from the animal and transplanted in blood plasma. But if tissues are retransplanted from time to time into a fresh culture, it is known that the muscles will live for more than sixty days.

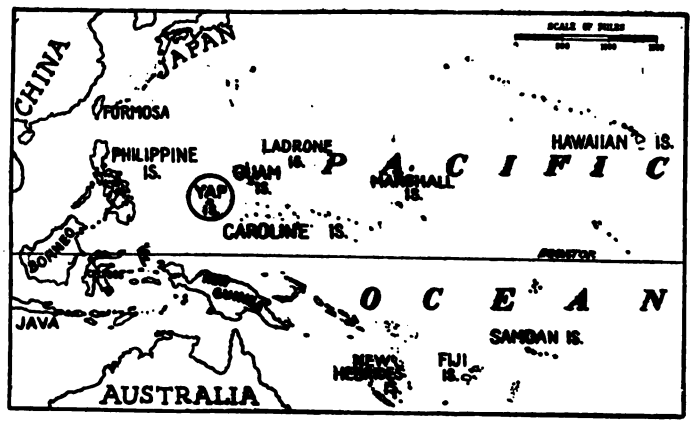
In the picture we see the transplanted heart of an embryo eight days old, which is still beating rhythmically after six days of transplantation; also a section of heart muscle fifty times magnified showing its rhythmical activity ten days after transplantation.

THE ISLAND OF YAP, AMERICA, AND THE FAR EAST

FOR the first time in its history the little island of Yap, in the Caroline group, formerly belonging to Germany, has emerged as a center of worldwide interest.

While the German islands north of the equator went to Japan under a mandatory, it appears that President Wilson had stipulated in framing the Peace Treaty for American control of Yap, in order to secure the maintenance there of a station of the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. From Shanghai the cable is laid direct to Yap, where it joins the main trunk line between San Francisco and Celebes. The [illegible] of Guam, also a cable station and an [illegible]can possession, is about 500 miles north [illegible]f Yap. Manila,

another American possession, is about 1200 miles northwest of Yap. *Millard's Review*, of Shanghai, for September 6, is interested in the final disposition of the cable station. This journal states that American business in China for the last two years has been sadly handicapped by the cable situation:



THE ISLAND OF YAP IN RELATION TO OTHER PACIFIC TERRITORY

In many cases it has been quicker to send cables by mail than by submarine wire. Now several months after the close of the war, the situation is still intolerable. Delays average from six to fifteen days. "Urgent" messages from which merchants have paid triple price (and are only allowed one a day) require two and three days. The wireless service is still new and uncertain and is congested with official government business. Managers of responsible American firms in Shanghai maintain that their businesses last year would have been at least a third larger in volume had the cables been up to pre-war strength. At least a half dozen American firms claim that they have lost business running from one to three million dollars in the last six months because of the cable delays.

The cable delay is not the worst of the trouble. The cable is often out of business because of breakage. Sometimes the break is "just off" the China coast and has been charged to Chinese pirates. "Who instigates these pirates?" At other times the breaks occur in deep sea near Guam. This trouble did not prevail before the war. Now it is the regular thing. Japanese merchants in Shanghai benefit in almost equal proportion to the discomfiture of American firms. They have good cable service between China and Japan and use their wireless between Japan and the Pacific Coast. They also use their ship wireless in getting their business across to their American connections.

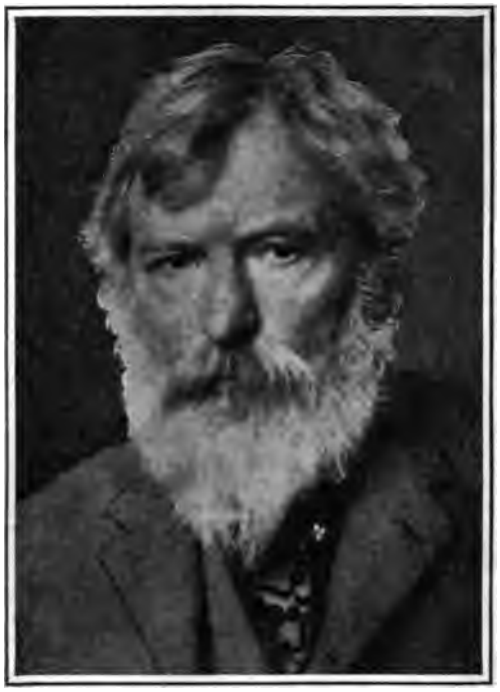
MEDICAL EDUCATION IN CHINA

A GROUP of green-roofed buildings now in course of erection in the city of Peking will shelter modern aparatus to be used for the promotion of a comprehensive system of medical education in China. These buildings are to be occupied on completion by the Union Medical College, maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation. As described in the *Trans-Pacific* (Tokio, Japan) by Elizabeth S. Allen, these college buildings are of Chinese design, built largely of Chinese materials by Chinese workmen. The style of architecture adopted is pleasing to Chinese and Western taste alike.

The main building contains the administration offices and the chemistry departments. The walls of this and similar buildings are grey brick, with green window frames, carrying out the color of the roofs, and are decorated along the eaves with harmonious painted designs. On either side facing in on the court are two similar buildings devoted to anatomy and physiology, respectively. These three buildings will be ready for use in the fall. Covered galleries connect these halls, while a third passage leads back across the compound to the second group, which centers round a four-story edifice of similar design, the outpatients' building. Its wings, the surgical and medical wards, contain 75 beds each. Through another passage to the east one enters the pathology building. In the basement is located a refrigerating plant capable of holding six months' supplies. Back of these buildings stand the animal storage house for research work and the power house, containing central heating and electric plants, ice plant and a modern steam laundry. On the west leading into the outpatients' building opens the hospital entrance gate, with a large circular court, through which ambulance patients will be brought on the basement level into the admittance rooms, where they will be examined and sent up by elevators to the east or the west wing. On the south of the hospital court stands the hospital administration building, containing the gymnasium and hydro-therapeutic department. Through this building a passage leads to the private patients' building with accommodations for about thirty. To the north of the hospital compounds stands the nurses' home, containing rooms for seventy women nurses, dining-hall, diet laboratories and class rooms for the training school.

At some future date three more buildings will be added to those now under construction—a tuberculosis ward, an isolation building and a children's ward.

THE DEAN OF AMERICAN MAGAZINE EDITORS



THE LATE HENRY MILLS ALDEN

AFTER fifty years of continuous service as editor of *Harper's Magazine,* Mr. Henry Mills Alden died on October 7 last at the age of eighty-three.

Commenting on the fact that the veteran editor successfully conducted his magazine through a half-century of social changes and shiftings of literary tastes, a writer in the New York *Evening Post* recalls a letter written by Mr. Alden twenty-five years ago, in which he said:

"We who are growing older and whose taste was formed in another world may prefer our old models. But everything changes, and the new generation, if it is to be reached at all, must be reached just where it is, irrespective of the whereabouts and individual tastes of its venerable editor."

One of Mr. Alden's more recent associates in the editorial rooms, Mr. Thomas B. Wells, said in the *Brooklyn Eagle:*

He never seemed to lose his grip on things, said Mr. Wells, despite his age, he kept in touch with all new movements in literature up to the end. This was true from the time when I first met him—he was then 65—until his active service as editor ended. In his later years, though he would be reading a considerable volume of manuscripts for the magazine, he would still find time to read all the important new fiction and philosophy. If someone whose opinion he valued advised him to read a new book he would send for it at once. He never seemed to lose his freshness of vision and enthusiasm.

Mr. Wells was also impressed by his venerable chief's breadth of mind and scholarship:

Although his education was wholly classical and had touched but in the most elementary way on the sciences, he could write the most remarkably well-informed letters to the leading scientists of the period in regard to articles or matter they might be undertaking for the magazine. His letters to these men never failed to produce just the articles he wanted.

Regarding Mr. Alden's editorial methods, a colleague of twenty years ago, Mr. John Corbin, says in the New York *Times Book Review* for October 19:

Of all the thousands of manuscripts that flowed through his office, he was the first reader. I have never heard a more majestic scorn than he threw into the soft tones with which he spoke of editors who intrust the sifting of manuscripts to recent graduates and young women. He had Macaulay's faculty of reading a whole page at a glance; and he highly approved the saying that one taste of an egg is enough to show that it is bad. But for a new idea, the touch of a fresh and authentic temperament, he had a sense that seemed positively clairvoyant.

His final test of the value of an article or story was whether it was "vital"—whether it touched the few deep and permanent springs of human life and progress. The romance of young love, the perplexities of married life, incidents of fatherhood and motherhood, matters of business conduct, the manly strife for means and power, the affairs of state, and the instinct for the future of the nation—a magazine that deals with these has no need of "features." It will move the world quite quietly, but with the inevitability of all natural forces. "The seed of the pine is very small," he used to say, "and its growth is slow; but lodge it in the soil of a cliff, and it will rend the face of the cliff."

THE NEW BOOKS

THE EPIC OF ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children. Ill. Scribner's.

Nothing from Mr. Roosevelt's pen could possibly give so full a revelation of the man in his human relationships as these letters to his own family, written during a period of ten years. The revelation is all the more complete because it is unconscious. It was never imagined by the writer that they would some day be published. They were written in moments of a father's busy life simply to amuse, direct and inspire his children. There is nothing like them in print. Like their author they are unconventional, unaffected, and sincere. Moreover, they are infused with a great practical wisdom. Young and old alike may profit from them.

Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt. By Lawrence F. Abbott. Ill. Doubleday, Page & Co.

The list of Roosevelt books is growing rapidly and we cannot at this time do more than briefly indicate a few of the more important titles. In a subsequent number we shall treat them in greater detail. For more than a decade Mr. Abbott enjoyed the most intimate personal and business relations with the former President. In this volume he does more than the title of his book implies, for he not only states his own impressions, but he puts on record facts, many of which have not before been adequately presented and some of which have been distorted in one way or another by earlier publications. His account of Mr. Roosevelt's famous Guildhall speech is a significant chapter of rewritten history.

Bill Sewall's Story of T. R. Ill. Harper and Brothers.

Mr. Hermann Hagedorn (whose account of the Roosevelt Memorial Week appears elsewhere in this REVIEW) saw the value of the old Maine guide's recollections of his lifelong friend and induced him to give his simple narrative for publication. It is well that he did this for "Bill" Sewall, better than any other man living, knew the story of Mr. Roosevelt's early Western experiences and his testimony to his friend's hardihood and bravery bears every mark of earnestness and truth.

Theodore Roosevelt: an Intimate Biography. By William Roscoe Thayer. Ill. Houghton, Mifflin.

This volume forms perhaps the nearest approach to a biography among the books devoted to Roosevelt that have been published since his death. It is admirable in literary form and seeks to give proper perspective to the successive phases in the career of its subject. The author was college classmate of Mr. Roosevelt and in later years, while preparing the authorized biography of John Hay, he became familiar with the period during which the Roosevelt family occupied the White House.

OTHER BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral. By Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. The Century Company. 693 pp. Ill.

This autobiography of Rear-Admiral Fiske is doubly interesting to the American public because of the distinctive and distinguished naval career of its author. A record of forty-nine years in the American navy, culminating in such honors as have come to Admiral Fiske, could not fail to be worth reading. But in this case the story is not merely one of ordinary sea service with such limited opportunity for adventure as came to the American naval officer during the forty years preceding the outbreak of the Great War, but it includes achievements of a most unusual kind in the field of naval and military invention. Not only the United States Navy but the navy of every one of the great powers of the world is to-day a debtor to Admiral Fiske for marked increase in power and efficiency. Perhaps no other man in the world can be named to-day who has done so much to increase the power of navies. His range-finder and gun-director system are among the best known of these inventions, but numberless technical developments in naval warfare that were employed during the recent war were equally the product of Admiral Fiske's professional skill and initiative.

The Career of Leonard Wood. By Joseph Hamblen Sears. D. Appleton & Company. 272 pp. Ill.

This is a timely and useful sketch of the varied activities of General Wood as soldier, organizer, administrator, and exhorter to patriotic service. Twenty years ago General Wood made an excellent record as Governor of Cuba which the country has not yet forgotten, and as a military authority he has for years commanded the respect of the statesmen and soldiers of Europe. His efforts to awaken the country to the need of preparedness during years preceding our entry into the Great War are fresh in the memory of all.

My Generation. An Autobiographical Interpretation. By William Jewett Tucker. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 464 pp. Ill.

The title of this volume by Dartmouth's President Emeritus is peculiarly apt, for throughout the book Dr. Tucker interprets for the reader the motives and movements of his time. His autobiography is anything but controversial in tone, although he himself was for a considerable period of his life an active figure in the controversies involved in the progressive movement of theology that made New England its chief fighting ground. This, however, was succeeded by his presidency at Dartmouth, during which the college entered on a period of remarkable expansion. This portion of Dr. Tucker's book is a distinct contribution to modern educational history.

The Life and Letters of James Monroe Taylor. By Elizabeth Hazelton Haight. E. P. Dutton & Company. 391 pp. Ill.

One of Dr. Bartlett's contemporaries was the late President James Monroe Taylor, of Vassar College, who died in 1916 after a service of nearly thirty years. This b[illegible]hy has been writt[illegible] by Professor Elizab[illegible] Haight, who had co[illegible] laborated with Dr. Taylo[illegible] in the well-know[illegible] history of Vassar. A [illegible]re of the work is th[illegible] great number of Dr. Taylor's letters which ser[illegible] in their own way to reveal the writer's spirit an[illegible] purpose in his work.

A Labrador Doctor. The Autobiography [illegible] Wilfred Thomason Grenfell. Houghton, Mif[illegible] Company. 441 pp. Ill.

Thousands of Americans have been intereste[illegible] for years in the work of Labrador's famous mi[illegible] sionary doctor. Everything that Dr. Grenfell ha[illegible] written about his life with the fishermen of Labra[illegible] dor and Newfoundland has found a host of inte[illegible] ested readers in this country. He has felt im[illegible] pelled to write this autobiography in order to pa[illegible] on certain of his personal experiences that ma[illegible] be helpful to others. Everyone who has rea[illegible] about Dr. Grenfell's work knows the nature [illegible] the story that he has to tell—one of adventure an[illegible] conquest of the elements, mingled with self[illegible] sacrifice. The narrative is a cheerful and inspir[illegible] ing one.

FOUR TIMELY VOLUMES

The Army Behind the Army. By Major E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 470 pp. Ill.

At last we have the authentic story of what was done in the war by the men who wear silver chevrons—the men in all branches of the service who helped in the fight from this side of the ocean. In the writing of this book Major Powell has had the coöperation of the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Army. Every chapter is a revelation. The marvels disclosed by Major Powell's account of "The Gas Makers," "Fighters of the Sky" and "M. I." are hardly less thrilling in their way than the stories that came to us from the European front. No one can claim to have even a passable knowledge of America's part in the war who has not read the disclosures of Major Powell's book.

To Kiel in the "Hercules." By Lieut. Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead and Company. 297 pp. Ill.

That there may be no possible misunderstanding we may state here that Lieutenant Freeman, notwithstanding his "R. M. B. R.," is an American—a California Native Son, we believe—and in former years has contributed not a few important articles to this REVIEW. He was a member of the staff of the Allied Naval Armistice Commission which proceeded to Germany immediately after the signing of the armistice, and he was the only correspondent accompanying that expedition. Thus he was one of the first representatives of the Allies to see Northern Germany at the end of the war, and incidentally he obtained German views of the battle of Jutland, and other episodes of the war. Lieutenant Freeman writes in a vivid, nervous style, and makes an entertaining story of his experiences.

Aircraft. By Evan John David. Charles Scrib[illegible]ner's Sons. 307 pp.

Aeronautics develops so rapidly that its st[illegible] dents will do well to secure the latest and mo[illegible] authoritative works on the subject. In this cla[illegible] is the new volume by Evan John David, managi[illegible] editor of *Flying*. Mr. David traces the subje[illegible] in a non-technical way from its earliest beginnin[illegible] down through the military development of avi[illegible] tion during the war and including interesting a[illegible] counts of the three successful cross-Atlan[illegible] flights of this year. His chapters on learning t[illegible] fly, kinds of flying, the evolution of the Libert[illegible] and other airplane motors, the aero mail an[illegible] aerial navigation and regulation contain much up[illegible] to-date and important material, while his discu[illegible] sion of the commercial future of flying is pert[illegible] nent and valuable. Appendices to the volum[illegible] contain a glossary of aeronautic terms, record[illegible] of Allied and enemy "Aces," and official repor[illegible] of airplane and engine production in the Unite[illegible] States.

Books in the War. By Theodore Wesle[illegible] Koch. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 388 pp. Il[illegible]

One of the striking and largely unexpected de[illegible] velopments of the American war service was th[illegible] intelligent and well-directed effort to suppl[illegible] books and periodicals to the men at the front, i[illegible] the camps, and on the ships. One of the me[illegible] who has had best opportunities to know wha[illegible] this Library War Service really meant to th[illegible] soldiers and sailors was Mr. Theodore Wesle[illegible] Koch who contributed a partial account of th[illegible] work to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for Novembe[illegible] 1918. The present vol[illegible] is not merely a histor[illegible] or report of results bu[illegible] a real "human interes[illegible] story of how books helped to win the war.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

DECEMBER 1919

The Treaty, and the Reservations

By the Editor

Europe's First Year of Peace

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF YORKSHIP, THE NEW MODEL INDUSTRIAL TOWN BUILT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCOMMODATE THE WORKERS OF THE NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, NEAR CAMDEN, IN THE PHILADELPHIA DISTRICT

(This interesting experiment is described by the architect, Mr. Litchfield, in this number of the REVIEW—see page 599)

THE AMERICAN
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

"Let Us Have Peace!"

When these comments are in the hands of our readers early in December, Congress will be assembled again at Washington in the opening days of what must prove to be one of the busiest and most important sessions ever held by an American Congress in times of peace. We do not forget that technically these are *not* times of peace, because for certain legal purposes the war-time status continues until peace has been proclaimed as an official fact. But peace, for ordinary purposes, began with the proclamation of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Peace in the full legal sense is for many reasons greatly to be desired; and it must seem strange that the United States, having been less directly involved in the issues of the world war than any other great power, should be the only country among those of first or even of second rank to whom the boon of full and complete legal peace has thus far been denied.

How to Usher in a Better Year

The year 1919 is approaching its end. It has been a year of all kinds of social and political ferment, and, in parts of the world, a year of misery, horror and chaos. No other country has so little excuse as the United States for a continuance of disorder and inefficiency. The one great example should be set by Congress. When Congress gives the appearance of "striking on the job" there is the more excuse for turbulent industrial elements. The first thing needed, in a program to settle matters here at home, is the full adoption of the Peace Treaty. Party maneuvering has gone far enough at Washington, and the country expects and demands treaty ratification with a compromise on the reservations. The party that arrogantly forces a continuation of the present deadlock, with a view to mixing the treaty up in the campaign of 1920, will go down to the defeat that it will thus have merited. There was nothing in the treaty to hurt America; but, on the other hand, the treaty is not impaired by moderate reservations. The important thing is to ratify it; to declare peace; to do away with the war time legislation; and to start the year 1920 on the full peace basis.

Next Things on the Program

With the treaty settled, it will be comparatively easy to bring order into the industrial world, and it will be possible, let us hope, to do something with that most difficult of all our problems—the question of protecting the solvency of the nation's great transportation system. Let the unfinished business proceed rapidly this month. The approaching Christmas Day should be the best by far that the world has seen for many years. An overwhelming sentiment should demand that both White House and Senate accept the undoubted verdict of America's best opinion and ratify the treaty. This will help to give us a happy Christmas at home, and will contribute much towards the Christmas spirit of peace and good will throughout the earth. Since this question of peace is the overshadowing one, we are giving most of our editorial space this month to its discussion. At this point we may refer to the remarkable analysis of the European situation presented for our readers by Mr. Simonds in this issue of the REVIEW. Its logic is irresistible, and its regard for truth prevents indulgence in shallow optimism. It leads to the conclusion that we must coöperate with Europe, regardless of our natural preference for a policy of isolation.

The Armistice Fixed the Basis

As our readers are well aware, the Armistice itself was far more than a truce, or an indefinite suspension of hostilities. It was a very elaborate agreement upon the main terms of settlement with Germany; and if it had been only a little further worked out, it would have been entirely satisfactory as

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constituting not merely an Armistice but a definite Peace Treaty. It has always been our view that the Armistice itself should have been regarded as the treaty which established peace relations. There would have remained an immense amount of work to be done by joint international committees in the detailed execution of the general agreement and understanding of the Armistice document. It will be remembered that the Armistice itself recognized and accepted as the basis of peace terms the fourteen points of President Wilson. They had previously been officially accepted by the Governments of Great Britain, France and the other Allied powers. These conditions of permanent peace, as formulated by President Wilson, accepted by the Allied powers, and definitely adopted by Germany, specified the kind of world order that must exist in the future. They were the foundation stones upon which was set up that fabric of actual peace that emerged before the world's anxious vision, out of the din and smoke of battle, when the guns ceased firing on the 11th of November, 1918, a little more than a year ago. The last of these fourteen points read as follows:

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

Difficulties of the Situation

There is such a thing as honor and good faith in the world, and there is a public opinion that rises higher than the tide of merely local patriotism that rallies around the ambitions of a single nationality or race. It was no easy matter to work out the adjustments that were to be made after the war, in the face of so many conflicting interests. Let credit be given, therefore, to those who have held to the larger view. The smashing of the Romanoff Czardom had left a seething chaos all the way from the Baltic and the Black Sea, across Europe and Asia, to the Pacific Ocean. The downfall of the Hapsburg overlordship, and the self-assertion of numerous races and political entities formerly included within the bounds of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had produced political and economic difficulties that for the time being made the new order of things seem far worse than the old. The Balkan questions, and those affecting Turkey in Europe and in Asia—which had disturbed the general peace of all Europe for a long time, and especially for a century past—were all wide open again, with grave consequences sure to follow almost any of the solutions that were being most strenuously demanded. Certainly, the outlook for even a temporary period of peace—much less for that permanent condition of harmony that had been proclaimed as the ideal about to be realized—seemed altogether discouraging. The old imperialism, that had restricted the political liberty of individuals and of groups, had indeed been destroyed with the dissolution of the militaristic structures that ruled in the name of Hohenzollern or Romanoff or Hapsburg. But there had sprung up a new kind of nationalism in intense form that seemed, at least for the present, a more disturbing order of affairs in Europe than that which it had succeeded.

The Break-Up Was Necessary

That the new order of things was worse than the old, however, was not true. It merely seemed worse for the moment, because of the pains and discomforts of transition. It was only in a library, with professional experts sitting around a table supplied with maps, books and statistical data, that the new Europe could be happily reconstructed with justice for everybody in the political and also in the personal sense. When these solutions of age-long boundary questions and kindred problems were taken out of doors and exposed to the actual conditions, it was evident at once that the Armistice could not be applied without creating at least temporary convulsions. The remedies are necessary because the disease for which they were prescribed was fatal. The militaristic empires were a menace to mankind and had to be done away with. Something had to take their place, and this something under existing conditions could only be a series of national self-governing states like Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia), Poland, Finland, and so on, or else a series of temporarily protected regions under international guarantee such as parts of the Turkish Empire and parts of the former German colonies.

The "League" Essential to New Order

The earlier attempts to bring the world into accord, as exhibited at the Hague peace conference for example, were not successful because the great empires and the smaller sovereign states could not be brought together upon any international basis of relative equality. In order to federate the world for peace-keeping, and for the normal prog-

ress of civilization, it was necessary to dissolve the great empires and to have a larger number of states of more equal power. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to create one dominant empire and entrust to it the keeping of the world's peace, as in the palmy days of the old Roman Empire before its decline and fall. But the world was not willing to come under the paramountcy of a German Empire; nor was it willing to look forward to what the Germans thought to be the other alternative, namely a future paramountcy of the Russian Empire. The great decision that was arrived at will be found embodied in President Wilson's fourteen points as accepted by the Allied governments when the United States entered the war, and as adopted solemnly and definitely by Germany, on behalf of herself and her partners when the Armistice was signed. This basis of peace and a new world order, laying aside mere details, was quite simple. And, indeed, it was essential and could not be repudiated either with honor or with safety.

What Was This "New Order?"

It contemplated free governments in Europe in place of military autocracies. It looked forward to disarmament, and to a substitution of reason and law for force and violence. If what is now our American national republic had been crystallized into three or four sectional federations, it is not likely that we could have held the country together in the larger national grouping. With forty-eight States, joined together to form the Union, there is no single one that can assert itself to the serious detrimcnt of any of its neighbors. Each one of the forty-eight is dependent for its safety against foreign foes as well as for its security at home, upon the power of the Union as a whole. In like manner, there lay at the basis of the new European order of things the principle that there shall be a group of self-governing free nations, which will find it practically necessary to give up extreme militarism and to adopt some plan of a League of Nations which would avail to settle disputes and protect the rights of all nations. Thus it was not going to be left doubtful, under the new order, whether or not a Serbia or a Belgium should be permitted to be crushed by a more powerful neighbor for its own aggrandizement. It was perceived that almost any sort of an international League, if in existence in 1914, would have prevented the great war.



THE CHILD WHO WANTED TO PLAY BY HIMSELF

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now come along and enjoy yourself with the other children. I promised that you'd be the life and soul of the party."
From *Punch* (London)

What Everybody Understood

It requires none of that supposed knowledge which enables public men to make long speeches to understand the essential principles that were to control the new order of affairs in the world. Reverting to the mood of one year ago, we all believed that those principles of liberty, justice and reasonableness had won a great triumph in the defeat of German autocracy and in the acceptance of the points upon which peace terms were to be worked out. All the leading Allied nations had agreed in advance that there was to be a League of Nations for the further perfecting of international law, and for the application of international law to the practical business of mutual protection. The Allied countries had not desired war and had made terrible sacrifices to establish peace. They purposed to associate themselves in a League, and to coöperate in a spirit of friendship and upon principles of law and justice, in order to give permanence to the peace which their united war-power had achieved. It was their further purpose to admit the enemy nations to membership in their peace league whenever it might seem safe and desirable that Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria should be members of the society formed to promote peace as the supreme policy of civilized nations.

Some Delays to be Regretted

As we have said, these were the accepted principles upon which the war was ended more than a year ago. Several of the detailed questions as respects boundaries and the like which have so painfully disturbed Europe during the year 1919 might with advantage have been firmly and definitely settled at the moment of the Armistice. At that time there was more of gratitude and generosity, and less of grasping selfishness in the hearts alike of leaders and of people. Never in all history had there been anything so altruistic and large-minded in public action as the war-effort of America on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The average American thought that our sacrifices must certainly be appreciated, and that Europeans, in common parlance, would be glad enough to "settle down and behave decently." Then was the time to have secured the acceptance of obviously fair settlements for several of the questions that are still open, and that the lapse of time makes harder rather than easier to adjust. But, however that may be, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the war was ended in a common agreement and a solemn pledge to do away with autocracies, to destroy militarism in the hands of particular governments as a controlling principle, and to substitute a mechanism of international organization through which future disputes could be settled without war.

Wilson and American Policy

Following the Armistice, in due time the Peace Conference was assembled at Paris and President Wilson went abroad with high hopes and great prestige. The United States had for many years been the foremost champion in the world of what may be termed the legal and political remedies for war. We had offered all sorts of arbitration treaties to all sorts of governments, and had "signed up" a great many such conventions. We had labored in both Hague Conferences for real advances in international law and in tribunals for peace. Though better placed than any other country for self-defense, and though stronger in resources and in capacity for the creation of military and naval strength than any other country, we had shown ourselves peace-loving and unaggressive, and had remained comparatively unarmed. We had far less reason to seek the establishment of a League of Nations for our own safety than had any other nation, great or small. President Wilson's championship at Paris, therefore, of the idea of a League of Nations was as disinterested as it was sane and sensible. The old empires had maintained peace through considerable periods through their balanced alliances and through their natural dread of the risks and losses of war on a large scale. With the old empires broken down, and with a group of new countries emerging, it was absolutely necessary to have some kind of a League of Nations if there was to be any security for the future.

A Natural American Leadership

This was perfectly clear to all right-thinking minds, although it was emphasized more strongly in some countries than in others. Several countries, for example, were so intent upon making sure of their own particular gains in consequence of victory, that they were naturally less concerned at the moment about general organization for future peace. There was nobody so situated in the Conference at Paris that he could stand out quite as prominently as President Wilson on behalf of mature plans for keeping the world's peace in the years to come, and for giving some sense of security to smaller nations. Thus the leadership assumed by President Wilson for this general principle of world order would, in our opinion, have been taken in the very nature of the case by any other leading American; if, for instance, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Secretary Lane, Chief Justice White, President Eliot, Ambassador Davis, Secretary Lodge, or even Senator Hiram Johnson had gone to Paris as head of the American Peace Delegation. There is no question but what the general point of view championed by President Wilson was truly representative of American public opinion. It was the point of view that had been expressed significantly by Americans for more than one hundred years.

In Line with Our Statesmen

It is what we may call the constructive view of orderly democratic progress within nations, and of orderly proceedings within the family of nations. Washington, Franklin, and John Jay were of this way of thinking. Jefferson in his old age advocated standing side by side with Great Britain in order that such an association might, at the time we were supporting Latin-American independence, bring England's "mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate

at one stroke a whole continent." Undoubtedly Jefferson was looking forward to a later period when the despotic empires of Continental Europe would succumb before the march of democracy, and when the spirit of order following that of human liberty should give the world a reign of law. Webster and Clay, and Calhoun himself, had such conceptions of progress; and for more than half a century past we have given constant evidence of our desire to promote such methods as are understood by the phrase "League of Nations." Senator Lodge himself, for forty years, has represented such ideas. Presidents Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt typified this general American sentiment in official acts as well as in words. President Taft and Mr. Knox as his Secretary of State devoted themselves to plans for realizing new steps of advancement in the cause of peace through institutions for improving international law and for applying it through courts of judicature. It seems needful to state again this consistent atttitude of the United States towards world order, because the debate on the peace treaty in the Senate, and the failure of the treaty as the Senate adjourned on November 19, had created some confusion even in the public mind here at home, while evidently puzzling and baffling the anxious minds of millions of friends of freedom and peace across the seas.



THE OBSTRUCTION

THE SKIPPER: "Drat it! And just when it is of vital importance to reach port safely and quickly."
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

A Question on Every Tongue

What has happened, then, to bring about so anomalous a situation as that which existed when last month the Treaty was rejected? How does it happen that America—the only consistent champion through long decades of the principles embodied in the Versailles Treaty—stands alone in opposing that instrument? Germany, even though excluded for the present from the League of Nations, signed the treaty, ratified it, and gave it effect insofar as possible, many months ago and has thus had the advantage of being at peace. One after another, the great group of Allies —Britain, France, Italy, Japan—have ratified the treaty which their representatives at Paris and Versailles had formulated. The smaller nations in general have accepted it by ratification, after having helped in their measure to frame the document. But the Senate of the United States has refused to ratify the document as the President brought it back from the Peace Conference, and a puzzling situation has resulted. The action of the Senate has been accompanied by such torrential floods of oratory, and by such complicated parliamentary tactics in dealing with the proposed amendments and reservations, that with the news, on November 20, of the adjournment of the Senate and the defeat of the treaty it was hard for the average citizen to answer the questions of his family at home as to what had happened and why. And if the average American of intelligence could not easily analyze and explain, how could it be expected that the average citizen in England or France or Germany could understand, either the method or the motive of the American attitude toward a treaty that America had been so conspicuous in negotiating?

As to Congress Sessions

Many citizens, indeed, have followed the course of affairs so closely that they need no further explanation. But doubtless there are readers, even at this stage, who might like to have the situation reviewed as of the ending of the Senate's session November 19, and the opening of the new session beginning Monday, December 1. It will be borne in mind that Congress always meets on the first Monday of December in regular session because so required by the Constitution. The present Congress has a Republican majority in both Houses, and was elected in November 1918. The preceding Congress, which was Democratic in both Houses, came to an

end on the 4th day of March of the present year. When the late Congress thus dissolved on that date, it had not completed the work of passing the appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government. President Wilson had come home in February on a brief trip and had returned to his work as head of the American Peace Delegation in France. He was obliged to call the new Republican Congress into session, in order to transact urgent financial business. In any case, it would have been necessary to call the Senate together, in order to submit to it the Peace Treaty, which was signed at Versailles on June 28 and which was sent to the Senate for ratification on July 10. But for these urgent matters, requiring the convening of a special session of the new Congress (the call being made by President Wilson in a cable communication), the present session beginning December 1 would have been the first official gathering of the Sixty-sixth Congress. It will be remembered that the appropriation bills were duly passed by Congress in the early summer, and that many other matters of legislation have been before the House of Representatives while the Senate was chiefly occupied, especially in the later weeks of the session, with the peace treaty.

The "Treaty-Making Power"

The Constitution of the United States lodges the treaty-making power in the hands of the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Just how the Senate's partnership in the treaty-making power was to be exercised in a practical way was not stated in the Constitution. Evidently the Senate's part was to be a vital one, although it has generally been regarded as rather negative than positive. When President Wilson went abroad himself to negotiate the treaty, he informed the Senators that he expected to keep them in touch at all times with the course of the proceedings. He found in actual experience that this could not be done. It is true he had been the champion of "open diplomacy"; but that phrase could never mean that negotiations at all stages were to be conducted in loud tones of voice, in the presence of large audiences, so that each remark of every member of a committee or a conference should be megaphoned to the world. Open diplomacy means that the results when attained should be perfectly open; that there should be no hidden agreements or understandings; and that there should be a full and honest account given in due time of all business transacted and of the main courses of proceeding. We are not apologizing for the inconsistencies of the recent Conference.

Comparatively "Open" Diplomacy

As compared with all preceding world congresses and treaty negotiating bodies, the work of the negotiators at Paris and Versailles was openly conducted and was afterwards frankly explained. Agreements that had been made secretly among the Allies before the United States entered the war ought indeed to have been expressly abrogated. It was supposed in the United States that all such agreements had been superseded by the logic of facts, when Russia went out of the war and the United States came in. But more than one of the Allied powers insisted so strenuously at Paris upon keeping advantages guaranteed under earlier compacts that the final treaty was to some extent clouded in its provisions by the self-seeking spirit of these countries. The United States had made the mistake of assuming, when she went to the aid of Europe's liberties, that it was not necessary to obtain pledges in advance that Europe, when rescued, would behave handsomely. All such pledges could have been had for the mere asking, because Europe was in desperate plight and nothing but the rapidity and magnitude of American effort could have saved the Allied countries from overwhelming defeat. America had the best right in the world to insist in the Peace Conference that the nations whom she had helped to deliver should in good faith do their part to put down the spoils-grabbing spirit.

How Wilson Became Unpopular

President Wilson was received with plaudits in Europe because American intervention had ended the war and given the Allied powers more substantial results of victory than they had even hoped for. If his popularity waned, however, in one country and then in another, it was not because he was unfriendly or unjust to any nation, race or people; but because his position came to be somewhat like that of an umpire or a judge in a series of disputes, and he had the courage to try to perform this thankless role. It was impossible to give Czecho-Slovakia what seemed to be her rights on the Adriatic, without angering the hotbloods of Italy. It was impossible to have any part in the adjustment of problems along the Rhine, without mor-

tally offending the French and the Germans at the same time. No adjustment of boundaries for Roumania or for Poland or for Bulgaria could be made without giving bitter offense. It was impossible to arrange those parts of the treaty relating to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East without offending either China or Japan. President Wilson was undoubtedly so conscious of a broad and disinterested American rectitude in his endeavor to help find a good working solution of numerous problems, that he was content to leave both his motives and also his work itself to the verdict of history.

Grandeur of the Achievement

In the face of stupendous difficulties, a Conference in which he was the most prominent figure finally adopted a treaty. This finished work was more voluminous than any other compact that had ever before been negotiated in the world. A vast number of its chapters and clauses provided for just and sound settlements of particular and general problems. Even where selfish ambitions seemed hard to subdue, there was always the color of reasonableness in the solution that was obtained. If Italy's views about the Adriatic were tinged by too much of eagerness on behalf of Italian claims, they were not views urged in a spirit of dishonesty or of ruthlessness, but with sincerity and frankness. And so of many other complicated questions. When (1) the treaty was finally brought to completion; when (2) it was accepted and signed by Germany; when (3) it was given practical effect in many of its provisions, the world had good reason to be hopeful. With all its imperfections, this treaty marked an enormous advance. It was entitled to a fair trial. It found settlements for many broad questions, and it provided a way to deal with many others that required a longer period for adjustment. Compared with the methods and results of previous world congresses, this treaty of 1919 is an achievement of political progress and of moral grandeur.

Basis of the League

The Conference itself had assumed the character of an initial session of the great League of Nations. The immediate basis of this league was the good understanding and practical coöperation of France, Great Britain and the United States. It was plain that if these three countries, together with Italy and Japan, could act together in friendly accord, they could secure the peace of the world



RATIFY THE TREATY!
From the *Evening World* (New York) ©

while working out the plans for dealing with unfinished problems or with those that must arise in the future. It seemed to most enlightened minds that if America could afford to send vast armies to Europe, and could endure to sacrifice the lives of scores of thousands of our best sons, fighting for peace in the years 1917 and 1918, she could surely afford to promise her hearty good will and powerful influence for the keeping of future peace and the prevention of war. It is nothing at all but this guarantee of coöperation for peace-keeping that the Treaty of Versailles asks from the Government and the people of the United States. We had been foremost in demanding that the European countries pledge themselves to such an arrangement.

Suggestions Accepted Last Spring

When President Wilson had made his hasty visit to the United States in February, the plan for the League of Nations had already been tentatively agreed upon in Paris. Suggestions were made at that time by Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes and others for some slight modifications in order to adapt the plan to our American situation. It was felt that until the League had become a developed institution we should continue to think of Western Hemisphere matters in terms of the Monroe Doctrine. It was thought that there should be a provision by which a nation might honorably withdraw from the League. It was further considered that it would be well to make specific some

of the distinctions concerning matters of strictly domestic policy like immigration, which we should not turn over to an international agency. President Wilson went back to Paris and succeeded in having the Peace Conference accept various modifications of the League of Nations covenant that, in his judgment, met the suggestions of Mr. Root, Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes.

How McKinley Made Peace

When President McKinley sent American Commissioners to negotiate peace with Spain in 1898, he pursued a course quite different from that which was taken by President Wilson late in 1918. Perhaps the best way to make the difference clear is to state exactly what President McKinley did; and for our present purposes of comparison, no statement could be better than the one made a little more than twenty years ago by the present writer in the opening editorial paragraph of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1898. That paragraph reads as follows:

Peace-Making at Paris

The American peace commissioners sailed from New York on board the *Campania* on Saturday, September 17, in order to meet the Spanish commissioners at Paris on or before the date specified in the protocol, which was October 1. As finally constituted, the group of five American commissioners consisted of Judge Day, who resigned his office as Secretary of State on the day before he sailed; Senator Davis, of Minnesota, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Frye, of Maine, whose name stands second on that committee and who is also chairman of the Commerce Committee; Senator Gray, of Delaware, a prominent member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the only Democrat on the board; and Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune,* formerly minister to France by President Harrison's appointment, and more recently a special representative of the United States at the celebration of the Queen's diamond jubilee. The work of these commissioners is in no sense akin to that of a board of arbitration, but is strictly diplomatic in its nature. The board will act under instructions from the administration at Washington, exercising only so much of discretion as the administration may have chosen to accord to it. Before sailing the commissioners were in close and protracted conference with Mr. McKinley, while Cabinet members were recalled from their vacations in order that the President's constitutional advisers might be consulted on every point while the peace commissioners were still in Washington. The First Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Moore, accompanied the commission in the capacity of secretary. Mr. Moore's functions will be those of a secretary in the most important sense of the word; and by reason of his expert attainments in international law he will act as legal adviser of the commissioners. The board as constituted is entitled to the confidence of the country. Senators Davis and Gray are lawyers of eminence, ability, and remarkable attainments. Temperamentally they balance each other exceedingly well. Mr. Davis is what a few dozen persons in Boston and New York would stigmatize as an "imperialist" and a "jingo." Mr. Gray, thus far, has not been similarly labeled. It merely happens that Mr. Davis, as a Western man, knows the whole country better and reaches conclusions with more swiftness and certainty. Judge Day has had less public experience, but he has no lack of confidence in his country, and his mind works along logical lines in a clear and direct fashion. Mr. Whitelaw Reid has the adaptability and quick mind of a long journalistic career. The commissioners will, therefore, most certainly work together in harmony, and they may be expected to show good judgment at all points. It is understood that they will not be disposed to tolerate any needless quibbling or delay. The commissioners hope to finish their work within six weeks.

President and Senate in 1898

The peace negotiations at Paris twenty years ago had important results. We acquired Porto Rico, took over the sovereignty of the Philippines, made important arrangements regarding Spanish interests in Cuba and elsewhere, and assumed a place in the world that was challenged by the Democratic Party as a policy of "imperialism" and that formed the issue in Mr. Bryan's losing campaign against the McKinley-Roosevelt Presidential ticket of the year 1900. But our principal reason for quoting this paragraph about the commissioners who went to Paris in 1898 is to show how Mr. McKinley looked upon the relations of the United States Senate to the business of having an important treaty not only negotiated but also ratified and accepted. Of his five commissioners, three were the most influential members of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations. The Republicans being in large majority, naturally two of these Senators were Republican and one was a Democrat. Senator Gray was the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he would have been Chairman if the Democrats had been in majority. Judge Day resigned as Secretary of State to become a member of this commission and was promptly succeeded in the Cabinet by John Hay, who had been for some time our Ambassador at London. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, although a Republican, had the confidence of all the leading journalists of the country because of his eminent career in that profession; and his experience in politics and diplomacy had been life long. Professor John Bassett Moore was a Democrat, but he had the confidence of all lawyers and public men

as a distinguished authority on international law. President McKinley, in close accord with his Cabinet and with Senate leaders, kept in daily touch with the Conference in Paris by liberal use of the cable.

If Wilson had not Gone to Paris

If President Wilson had followed Mr. McKinley's method, he would have appointed Mr. Lansing and Col. House as members of the Commission, with Professor John Bassett Moore, who is still young and vigorous and more than ever eminent as an authority, to the position of Chief Secretary and legal expert. He would then have chosen three members of the Senate, for example, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox. Or else, in lieu of one of the Republican Senators, he would have appointed Mr. Root or Mr. Taft. It was not necessary, of course, for Mr. Wilson to follow the McKinley precedent in that particular way. He preferred to negotiate at close range; and the conditions were unprecedented. It is permissible, however, to express the opinion that the more usual methods would have obtained better results than those that Mr. Wilson chose to pursue. He could probably have gained essential points better if he had directed the Commissioners from the White House by cable. Mr. Wilson's personal triumph had already been gained when the Armistice was negotiated successfully upon the basis of his fourteen points. As regards everything that follows, it would seem to us that he could have done his work more powerfully and efficiently if he had remained at the helm of affairs in Washington. He could have viewed the work of the Conference in better perspective from Washington than when in the thick of things at Paris.

Some Consequences of His Method

He could have directed the American Commissioners by using the cable as McKinley did and could have avoided the peril of securing at one time undue approbation and influence, while at another time arousing undue antagonism. Of necessity, his going to the Peace Conference in person reduced the other members of the American delegation to an inferior rank, while at the same time compelling the three other principal Governments to carry on their negotiations personally through their Prime Ministers, thus giving us a Conference dominated by the so-called "Big Four." Undoubtedly Mr. Wilson believed that was the only way to secure results; but one may be justified in the opinion that he was mistaken and that the domination of the Conference by Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, with the occasional help of the Italian Premier, was not the best way either to secure immediate settlements nor yet the best way to usher in the periodical meetings of the future League of Nations. But even if the President's long sojourn in Europe, and his dominant place in the Conference had made for efficiency up to a certain point, it involved the great risk of detaching Mr. Wilson from the country that he represented.

Some Contrasts

Clemenceau was at home; and he was in constant touch with the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. He took no steps in the Conference without seeing that his position was solid and secure in the support of the Ministry and of the Chambers. Mr. Lloyd George, in the very nature of the case, had to maintain his Parliamentary support all the time as he went along. Otherwise he would have lost his job as Prime Minister, and at the same time would have dropped out as head of the British Delegation in the Peace Conference. The same thing was true of the Italian Premier,—as the facts proved before the end came. Mr. Wilson, however, was in every sense a self-sufficient representative,



THE KNIGHT ERRANT

PRESIDENT WILSON (to League of Nations): "Hold tight, ma'am; he'll quiet down directly."
From *Punch* (London)

[The moral of the above cartoon is that the k· errant who attempts to rescue the lady in d· should be on good terms with his horse.]



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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF YORKSHIP, THE NEW MODEL INDUSTRIAL TOWN BUILT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ACCOMMODATE THE WORKERS OF THE NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, NEAR CAMDEN, IN THE PHILADELPHIA DISTRICT

(This interesting experiment is described by the architect, Mr. Litchfield, in this number of the REVIEW—see page 599)

THE AMERICAN
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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

"Let Us Have Peace!"

When these comments are in the hands of our readers early in December, Congress will be assembled again at Washington in the opening days of what must prove to be one of the busiest and most important sessions ever held by an American Congress in times of peace. We do not forget that technically these are *not* times of peace, because for certain legal purposes the war-time status continues until peace has been proclaimed as an official fact. But peace, for ordinary purposes, began with the proclamation of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Peace in the full legal sense is for many reasons greatly to be desired; and it must seem strange that the United States, having been less directly involved in the issues of the world war than any other great power, should be the only country among those of first or even of second rank to whom the boon of full and complete legal peace has thus far been denied.

How to Usher in a Better Year

The year 1919 is approaching its end. It has been a year of all kinds of social and political ferment, and, in parts of the world, a year of misery, horror and chaos. No other country has so little excuse as the United States for a continuance of disorder and inefficiency. The one great example should be set by Congress. When Congress gives the appearance of "striking on the job" there is the more excuse for turbulent industrial elements. The first thing needed, in a program to settle matters here at home, is the full adoption of the Peace Treaty. Party maneuvering has gone far enough at Washington, and the country expects and demands treaty ratification with a compromise on the reservations. The party that arrogantly forces a continuation of the present deadlock, with a view to mixing the treaty up in the campaign of 1920, will go down to the defeat that it will thus have merited. There was nothing in the treaty to hurt America; but, on the other hand, the treaty is not impaired by moderate reservations. The important thing is to ratify it; to declare peace; to do away with the war time legislation; and to start the year 1920 on the full peace basis.

Next Things on the Program

With the treaty settled, it will be comparatively easy to bring order into the industrial world, and it will be possible, let us hope, to do something with that most difficult of all our problems—the question of protecting the solvency of the nation's great transportation system. Let the unfinished business proceed rapidly this month. The approaching Christmas Day should be the best by far that the world has seen for many years. An overwhelming sentiment should demand that both White House and Senate accept the undoubted verdict of America's best opinion and ratify the treaty. This will help to give us a happy Christmas at home, and will contribute much towards the Christmas spirit of peace and good will throughout the earth. Since this question of peace is the overshadowing one, we are giving most of our editorial space this month to its discussion. At this point we may refer to the remarkable analysis of the European situation presented for our readers by Mr. Simonds in this issue of the REVIEW. Its logic is irresistible, and its regard for truth prevents indulgence in shallow optimism. It leads to the conclusion that we must coöperate with Europe, regardless of our natural preference for a policy of isolation.

The Armistice Fixed the Basis

As our readers are well aware, the Armistice itself was far more than a truce, or an indefinite suspension of hostilities. It was a very elaborate agreement upon the main terms of settlement with Germany; and if it had been only a little further worked out, it would have been entirely satisfactory as

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constituting not merely an Armistice but a definite Peace Treaty. It has always been our view that the Armistice itself should have been regarded as the treaty which established peace relations. There would have remained an immense amount of work to be done by joint international committees in the detailed execution of the general agreement and understanding of the Armistice document. It will be remembered that the Armistice itself recognized and accepted as the basis of peace terms the fourteen points of President Wilson. They had previously been officially accepted by the Governments of Great Britain, France and the other Allied powers. These conditions of permanent peace, as formulated by President Wilson, accepted by the Allied powers, and definitely adopted by Germany, specified the kind of world order that must exist in the future. They were the foundation stones upon which was set up that fabric of actual peace that emerged before the world's anxious vision, out of the din and smoke of battle, when the guns ceased firing on the 11th of November, 1918, a little more than a year ago. The last of these fourteen points read as follows:

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

Difficulties of the Situation

There is such a thing as honor and good faith in the world, and there is a public opinion that rises higher than the tide of merely local patriotism that rallies around the ambitions of a single nationality or race. It was no easy matter to work out the adjustments that were to be made after the war, in the face of so many conflicting interests. Let credit be given, therefore, to those who have held to the larger view. The smashing of the Romanoff Czardom had left a seething chaos all the way from the Baltic and the Black Sea, across Europe and Asia, to the Pacific Ocean. The downfall of the Hapsburg overlordship, and the self-assertion of numerous races and political entities formerly included within the bounds of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had produced political and economic difficulties that for the time being made the new order of things seem far worse than the old. The Balkan questions, and those affecting Turkey in Europe and in Asia—which had disturbed the general peace of all Europe for a long time, and especially for a century past—were all wide open again, with grave consequences sure to follow almost any of the solutions that were being most strenuously demanded. Certainly, the outlook for even a temporary period of peace—much less for that permanent condition of harmony that had been proclaimed as the ideal about to be realized—seemed altogether discouraging. The old imperialism, that had restricted the political liberty of individuals and of groups, had indeed been destroyed with the dissolution of the militaristic structures that ruled in the name of Hohenzollern or Romanoff or Hapsburg. But there had sprung up a new kind of nationalism in intense form that seemed, at least for the present, a more disturbing order of affairs in Europe than that which it had succeeded.

The Break-Up Was Necessary

That the new order of things was worse than the old, however, was not true. It merely seemed worse for the moment, because of the pains and discomforts of transition. It was only in a library, with professional experts sitting around a table supplied with maps, books and statistical data, that the new Europe could be happily reconstructed with justice for everybody in the political and also in the personal sense. When these solutions of age-long boundary questions and kindred problems were taken out of doors and exposed to the actual conditions, it was evident at once that the Armistice could not be applied without creating at least temporary convulsions. The remedies are necessary because the disease for which they were prescribed was fatal. The militaristic empires were a menace to mankind and had to be done away with. Something had to take their place, and this something under existing conditions could only be a series of national self-governing states like Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia), Poland, Finland, and so on, or else a series of temporarily protected regions under international guarantee such as parts of the Turkish Empire and parts of the former German colonies.

The "League" Essential to New Order

The earlier attempts to bring the world into accord, as exhibited at the Hague peace conference for example, were not successful because the great empires and the smaller sovereign states could not be brought together upon any international basis of relative equality. In order to moderate the world for peace-keeping, and for the normal prog-

ress of civilization, it was necessary to dissolve the great empires and to have a larger number of states of more equal power. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to create one dominant empire and entrust to it the keeping of the world's peace, as in the palmy days of the old Roman Empire before its decline and fall. But the world was not willing to come under the paramountcy of a German Empire; nor was it willing to look forward to what the Germans thought to be the other alternative, namely a future paramountcy of the Russian Empire. The great decision that was arrived at will be found embodied in President Wilson's fourteen points as accepted by the Allied governments when the United States entered the war, and as adopted solemnly and definitely by Germany, on behalf of herself and her partners when the Armistice was signed. This basis of peace and a new world order, laying aside mere details, was quite simple. And, indeed, it was essential and could not be repudiated either with honor or with safety.

What Was This "New Order?"

It contemplated free governments in Europe in place of military autocracies. It looked forward to disarmament, and to a substitution of reason and law for force and violence. If what is now our American national republic had been crystallized into three or four sectional federations, it is not likely that we could have held the country together in the larger national grouping. With forty-eight States, joined together to form the Union, there is no single one that can assert itself to the serious detriment of any of its neighbors. Each one of the forty-eight is dependent for its safety against foreign foes as well as for its security at home, upon the power of the Union as a whole. In like manner, there lay at the basis of the new European order of things the principle that there shall be a group of self-governing free nations, which will find it practically necessary to give up extreme militarism and to adopt some plan of a League of Nations which would avail to settle disputes and protect the rights of all nations. Thus it was not going to be left doubtful, under the new order, whether or not a Serbia or a Belgium should be permitted to be crushed by a more powerful neighbor for its own aggrandizement. It was perceived that almost any sort of an international League, if in existence in 1914, would have prevented the great war.



THE CHILD WHO WANTED TO PLAY BY HIMSELF

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now come along and enjoy yourself with the other children. I promised that you'd be the life and soul of the party."
From *Punch* (London)

What Everybody Understood

It requires none of that supposed knowledge which enables public men to make long speeches to understand the essential principles that were to control the new order of affairs in the world. Reverting to the mood of one year ago, we all believed that those principles of liberty, justice and reasonableness had won a great triumph in the defeat of German autocracy and in the acceptance of the points upon which peace terms were to be worked out. All the leading Allied nations had agreed in advance that there was to be a League of Nations for the further perfecting of international law, and for the application of international law to the practical business of mutual protection. The Allied countries had not desired war and had made terrible sacrifices to establish peace. They purposed to associate themselves in a League, and to coöperate in a spirit of friendship and upon principles of law and justice, in order to give permanence to the peace which their united war-power had achieved. It was their further purpose to admit the enemy nations to membership in their peace league whenever it might seem safe and desirable that Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria should be members of the society formed to promote peace as the supreme policy of civilized nations.

Some Delays to be Regretted

As we have said, these were the accepted principles upon which the war was ended more than a year ago. Several of the detailed questions as respects boundaries and the like which have so painfully disturbed Europe during the year 1919 might with advantage have been firmly and definitely settled at the moment of the Armistice. At that time there was more of gratitude and generosity, and less of grasping selfishness in the hearts alike of leaders and of people. Never in all history had there been anything so altruistic and large-minded in public action as the war-effort of America on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The average American thought that our sacrifices must certainly be appreciated, and that Europeans, in common parlance, would be glad enough to "settle down and behave decently." Then was the time to have secured the acceptance of obviously fair settlements for several of the questions that are still open, and that the lapse of time makes harder rather than easier to adjust. But, however that may be, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the war was ended in a common agreement and a solemn pledge to do away with autocracies, to destroy militarism in the hands of particular governments as a controlling principle, and to substitute a mechanism of international organization through which future disputes could be settled without war.

Wilson and American Policy

Following the Armistice, in due time the Peace Conference was assembled at Paris and President Wilson went abroad with high hopes and great prestige. The United States had for many years been the foremost champion in the world of what may be termed the legal and political remedies for war. We had offered all sorts of arbitration treaties to all sorts of governments, and had "signed up" a great many such conventions. We had labored in both Hague Conferences for real advances in international law and in tribunals for peace. Though better placed than any other country for self-defense, and though stronger in resources and in capacity for the creation of military and naval strength than any other country, we had shown ourselves peace-loving and unaggressive, and had remained comparatively unarmed. We had far less reason to seek the establishment of a League of Nations for our own safety than had any other nation, great or small. President Wilson's championship at Paris, therefore, of the idea of a League of Nations was as disinterested as it was sane and sensible. The old empires had maintained peace through considerable periods through their balanced alliances and through their natural dread of the risks and losses of war on a large scale. With the old empires broken down, and with a group of new countries emerging, it was absolutely necessary to have some kind of a League of Nations if there was to be any security for the future.

A Natural American Leadership

This was perfectly clear to all right-thinking minds, although it was emphasized more strongly in some countries than in others. Several countries, for example, were so intent upon making sure of their own particular gains in consequence of victory, that they were naturally less concerned at the moment about general organization for future peace. There was nobody so situated in the Conference at Paris that he could stand out quite as prominently as President Wilson on behalf of mature plans for keeping the world's peace in the years to come, and for giving some sense of security to smaller nations. Thus the leadership assumed by President Wilson for this general principle of world order would, in our opinion, have been taken in the very nature of the case by any other leading American; if, for instance, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Secretary Lane, Chief Justice White, President Eliot, Ambassador Davis, Secretary Lodge, or even Senator Hiram Johnson had gone to Paris as head of the American Peace Delegation. There is no question but what the general point of view championed by President Wilson was truly representative of American public opinion. It was the point of view that had been expressed significantly by Americans for more than one hundred years.

In Line with Our Statesmen

It is what we may call the constructive view of orderly democratic progress within nations, and of orderly proceedings within the family of nations. Washington, Franklin, and John Jay were of this way of thinking. Jefferson in his old age advocated standing side by side with Great Britain in order that such an association might, at the time we were supporting Latin-American independence, bring England's [illegible] ity weight into the scale of free government and emancipate

at one stroke a whole continent." Undoubtedly Jefferson was looking forward to a later period when the despotic empires of Continental Europe would succumb before the march of democracy, and when the spirit of order following that of human liberty should give the world a reign of law. Webster and Clay, and Calhoun himself, had such conceptions of progress; and for more than half a century past we have given constant evidence of our desire to promote such methods as are understood by the phrase "League of Nations." Senator Lodge himself, for forty years, has represented such ideas. Presidents Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt typified this general American sentiment in official acts as well as in words. President Taft and Mr. Knox as his Secretary of State devoted themselves to plans for realizing new steps of advancement in the cause of peace through institutions for improving international law and for applying it through courts of judicature. It seems needful to state again this consistent atttitude of the United States towards world order, because the debate on the peace treaty in the Senate, and the failure of the treaty as the Senate adjourned on November 19, had created some confusion even in the public mind here at home, while evidently puzzling and baffling the anxious minds of millions of friends of freedom and peace across the seas.



THE OBSTRUCTION

THE SKIPPER: "Drat it! And just when it is of vital importance to reach port safely and quickly."
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

A Question on Every Tongue

What has happened, then, to bring about so anomalous a situation as that which existed when last month the Treaty was rejected? How does it happen that America—the only consistent champion through long decades of the principles embodied in the Versailles Treaty—stands alone in opposing that instrument? Germany, even though excluded for the present from the League of Nations, signed the treaty, ratified it, and gave it effect insofar as possible, many months ago and has thus had the advantage of being at peace. One after another, the great group of Allies —Britain, France, Italy, Japan—have ratified the treaty which their representatives at Paris and Versailles had formulated. The smaller nations in general have accepted it by ratification, after having helped in their measure to frame the document. But the Senate of the United States has refused to ratify the document as the President brought it back from the Peace Conference, and a puzzling situation has resulted. The action of the Senate has been accompanied by such torrential floods of oratory, and by such complicated parliamentary tactics in dealing with the proposed amendments and reservations, that with the news, on November 20, of the adjournment of the Senate and the defeat of the treaty it was hard for the average citizen to answer the questions of his family at home as to what had happened and why. And if the average American of intelligence could not easily analyze and explain, how could it be expected that the average citizen in England or France or Germany could understand, either the method or the motive of the American attitude toward a treaty that America had been so conspicuous in negotiating?

As to Congress Sessions

Many citizens, indeed, have followed the course of affairs so closely that they need no further explanation. But doubtless there are readers, even at this stage, who might like to have the situation reviewed as of the ending of the Senate's session November 19, and the opening of the new session beginning Monday, December 1. It will be borne in mind that Congress always meets on the first Monday of December in regular session because so required by the Constitution. The present Congress has a Republican majority in both Houses, and was elected in November 1918. The preceding Congress, which was Democratic in both Houses, came to an

end on the 4th day of March of the present year. When the late Congress thus dissolved on that date, it had not completed the work of passing the appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government. President Wilson had come home in February on a brief trip and had returned to his work as head of the American Peace Delegation in France. He was obliged to call the new Republican Congress into session, in order to transact urgent financial business. In any case, it would have been necessary to call the Senate together, in order to submit to it the Peace Treaty, which was signed at Versailles on June 28 and which was sent to the Senate for ratification on July 10. But for these urgent matters, requiring the convening of a special session of the new Congress (the call being made by President Wilson in a cable communication), the present session beginning December 1 would have been the first official gathering of the Sixty-sixth Congress. It will be remembered that the appropriation bills were duly passed by Congress in the early summer, and that many other matters of legislation have been before the House of Representatives while the Senate was chiefly occupied, especially in the later weeks of the session, with the peace treaty.

The "Treaty-Making Power"

The Constitution of the United States lodges the treaty-making power in the hands of the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Just how the Senate's partnership in the treaty-making power was to be exercised in a practical way was not stated in the Constitution. Evidently the Senate's part was to be a vital one, although it has generally been regarded as rather negative than positive. When President Wilson went abroad himself to negotiate the treaty, he informed the Senators that he expected to keep them in touch at all times with the course of the proceedings. He found in actual experience that this could not be done. It is true he had been the champion of "open diplomacy"; but that phrase could never mean that negotiations at all stages were to be conducted in loud tones of voice, in the presence of large audiences, so that each remark of every member of a committee or a conference should be megaphoned to the world. Open diplomacy means that the results when attained should be perfectly open; that there should be no hidden agreements or understandings; and that there should be a full and honest account given in due time of all business transacted and of the main courses of proceeding. We are not apologizing for the inconsistencies of the recent Conference.

Comparatively "Open" Diplomacy

As compared with all preceding world congresses and treaty negotiating bodies, the work of the negotiators at Paris and Versailles was openly conducted and was afterwards frankly explained. Agreements that had been made secretly among the Allies before the United States entered the war ought indeed to have been expressly abrogated. It was supposed in the United States that all such agreements had been superseded by the logic of facts, when Russia went out of the war and the United States came in. But more than one of the Allied powers insisted so strenuously at Paris upon keeping advantages guaranteed under earlier compacts that the final treaty was to some extent clouded in its provisions by the self-seeking spirit of these countries. The United States had made the mistake of assuming, when she went to the aid of Europe's liberties, that it was not necessary to obtain pledges in advance that Europe, when rescued, would behave handsomely. All such pledges could have been had for the mere asking, because Europe was in desperate plight and nothing but the rapidity and magnitude of American effort could have saved the Allied countries from overwhelming defeat. America had the best right in the world to insist in the Peace Confernce that the nations whom she had helped to deliver should in good faith do their part to put down the spoils-grabbing spirit.

How Wilson Became Unpopular

President Wilson was received with plaudits in Europe because American intervention had ended the war and given the Allied powers more substantial results of victory than they had even hoped for. If his popularity waned, however, in one country and then in another, it was not because he was unfriendly or unjust to any nation, race or people; but because his position came to be somewhat like that of an umpire or a judge in a series of disputes, and he had the courage to try to perform this thankless role. It was impossible to give Czecho-Slovakia what seemed to be her rights on the Adriatic, without angering the hotbloods of Italy. It was impossible to have any part in the adjustment of problems along the Rhine, without mor-

offending the French and the Germans
: same time. No adjustment of boun-
; for Roumania or for Poland or for
ıria could be made without giving bitter
e. It was impossible to arrange those
of the treaty relating to the Pacific
ı and the Far East without offending
China or Japan. President Wilson
undoubtedly so conscious of a broad
lisinterested American rectitude in his
vor to help find a good working solu-
f numerous problems, that he was con-
o leave both his motives and also his
itself to the verdict of history.

ıdeur the vement

In the face of stupendous difficulties, a Conference in which he was the most prominent fignally adopted a treaty. This finished was more voluminous than any other ıct that had ever before been negotiated : world. A vast number of its chapnd clauses provided for just and sound nents of particular and general prob-

Even where selfish ambitions seemed to subdue, there was always the color sonableness in the solution that was ob-. If Italy's views about the Adriatic tinged by too much of eagerness on beıf Italian claims, they were not views in a spirit of dishonesty or of ruthlessbut with sincerity and frankness. And many other complicated questions. ı (1) the treaty was finally brought to etion; when (2) it was accepted and by Germany; when (3) it was given cal effect in many of its provisions, the had good reason to be hopeful. With ; imperfections, this treaty marked an ıous advance. It was entitled to a fair

It found settlements for many broad ons, and it provided a way to deal many others that required a longer pe-or adjustment. Compared with the ıds and results of previous world cons, this treaty of 1919 is an achievement itical progress and of moral grandeur.

sis the ıgue

The Conference itself had assumed the character of an initial session of the great League of ns. The immediate basis of this league he good understanding and practical ration of France, Great Britain and the d States. It was plain that if these countries, together with Italy and Jacould act together in friendly accord, could secure the peace of the world



RATIFY THE TREATY!
From the *Evening World* (New York) ©

while working out the plans for dealing with unfinished problems or with those that must arise in the future. It seemed to most enlightened minds that if America could afford to send vast armies to Europe, and could endure to sacrifice the lives of scores of thousands of our best sons, fighting for peace in the years 1917 and 1918, she could surely afford to promise her hearty good will and powerful influence for the keeping of future peace and the prevention of war. It is nothing at all but this guarantee of coöperation for peace-keeping that the Treaty of Versailles asks from the Government and the people of the United States. We had been foremost in demanding that the European countries pledge themselves to such an arrangement.

Suggestions Accepted Last Spring

When President Wilson had made his hasty visit to the United States in February, the plan for the League of Nations had already been tentatively agreed upon in Paris. Suggestions were made at that time by Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes and others for some slight modifications in order to adapt the plan to our American situation. It was felt that until the League had become a developed institution we should continue to think of Western Hemisphere matters in terms of the Monroe Doctrine. It was thought that there should be a provision by which a nation might honorably withdraw from the League. It was further considered that it would be well to make specific some

of the distinctions concerning matters of strictly domestic policy like immigration, which we should not turn over to an international agency. President Wilson went back to Paris and succeeded in having the Peace Conference accept various modifications of the League of Nations covenant that, in his judgment, met the suggestions of Mr. Root, Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes.

How McKinley Made Peace

When President McKinley sent American Commissioners to negotiate peace with Spain in 1898, he pursued a course quite different from that which was taken by President Wilson late in 1918. Perhaps the best way to make the difference clear is to state exactly what President McKinley did; and for our present purposes of comparison, no statement could be better than the one made a little more than twenty years ago by the present writer in the opening editorial paragraph of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1898. That paragraph reads as follows:

Peace-Making at Paris

The American peace commissioners sailed from New York on board the *Campania* on Saturday, September 17, in order to meet the Spanish commissioners at Paris on or before the date specified in the protocol, which was October 1. As finally constituted, the group of five American commissioners consisted of Judge Day, who resigned his office as Secretary of State on the day before he sailed; Senator Davis, of Minnesota, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Frye, of Maine, whose name stands second on that committee and who is also chairman of the Commerce Committee; Senator Gray, of Delaware, a prominent member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the only Democrat on the board; and Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune*, formerly minister to France by President Harrison's appointment, and more recently a special representative of the United States at the celebration of the Queen's diamond jubilee. The work of these commissioners is in no sense akin to that of a board of arbitration, but is strictly diplomatic in its nature. The board will act under instructions from the administration at Washington, exercising only so much of discretion as the administration may have chosen to accord to it. Before sailing the commissioners were in close and protracted conference with Mr. McKinley, while Cabinet members were recalled from their vacations in order that the President's constitutional advisers might be consulted on every point while the peace commissioners were still in Washington. The First Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Moore, accompanied the commission in the capacity of secretary. Mr. Moore's functions will be those of a secretary in the most important sense of the word; and by reason of his expert attainments in international law he will act as legal adviser of the commissioners. The board as constituted is entitled to the confidence of the country. Senators Davis and Gray are lawyers of eminence, ability, and remarkable at[illegible]nments. Temperamentally they balance e[illegible] other exceedingly well. Mr. Davis is what a few dozen persons in Boston and New York would stigmatize as an "imperialist" and a "jingo." Mr. Gray, thus far, has not been similarly labeled. It merely happens that Mr. Davis, as a Western man, knows the whole country better and reaches conclusions with more swiftness and certainty. Judge Day has had less public experience, but he has no lack of confidence in his country, and his mind works along logical lines in a clear and direct fashion. Mr. Whitelaw Reid has the adaptability and quick mind of a long journalistic career. The commissioners will, therefore, most certainly work together in harmony, and they may be expected to show good judgment at all points. It is understood that they will not be disposed to tolerate any needless quibbling or delay. The commissioners hope to finish their work within six weeks.

President and Senate in 1898

The peace negotiations at Paris twenty years ago had important results. We acquired Porto Rico, took over the sovereignty of the Philippines, made important arrangements regarding Spanish interests in Cuba and elsewhere, and assumed a place in the world that was challenged by the Democratic Party as a policy of "imperialism" and that formed the issue in Mr. Bryan's losing campaign against the McKinley-Roosevelt Presidential ticket of the year 1900. But our principal reason for quoting this paragraph about the commissioners who went to Paris in 1898 is to show how Mr. McKinley looked upon the relations of the United States Senate to the business of having an important treaty not only negotiated but also ratified and accepted. Of his five commissioners, three were the most influential members of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations. The Republicans being in large majority, naturally two of these Senators were Republican and one was a Democrat. Senator Gray was the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he would have been Chairman if the Democrats had been in majority. Judge Day resigned as Secretary of State to become a member of this commission and was promptly succeeded in the Cabinet by John Hay, who had been for some time our Ambassador at London. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, although a Republican, had the confidence of all the leading journalists of the country because of his eminent ca[illegible]r in that profession; and his expe[illegible]ice politics and diplomacy had been li[illegible] Professor John Bassett Moore was a [illegible]ocrat, but he had the confidence of all law[illegible]rs and public men

as a distinguished authority on international law. President McKinley, in close accord with his Cabinet and with Senate leaders, kept in daily touch with the Conference in Paris by liberal use of the cable.

If Wilson had not Gone to Paris

If President Wilson had followed Mr. McKinley's method, he would have appointed Mr. Lansing and Col. House as members of the Commission, with Professor John Bassett Moore, who is still young and vigorous and more than ever eminent as an authority, to the position of Chief Secretary and legal expert. He would then have chosen three members of the Senate, for example, Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox. Or else, in lieu of one of the Republican Senators, he would have appointed Mr. Root or Mr. Taft. It was not necessary, of course, for Mr. Wilson to follow the McKinley precedent in that particular way. He preferred to negotiate at close range; and the conditions were unprecedented. It is permissible, however, to express the opinion that the more usual methods would have obtained better results than those that Mr. Wilson chose to pursue. He could probably have gained essential points better if he had directed the Commissioners from the White House by cable. Mr. Wilson's personal triumph had already been gained when the Armistice was negotiated successfully upon the basis of his fourteen points. As regards everything that follows, it would seem to us that he could have done his work more powerfully and efficiently if he had remained at the helm of affairs in Washington. He could have viewed the work of the Conference in better perspective from Washington than when in the thick of things at Paris.

Some Consequences of His Method

He could have directed the American Commissioners by using the cable as McKinley did and could have avoided the peril of securing at one time undue approbation and influence, while at another time arousing undue antagonism. Of necessity, his going to the Peace Conference in person reduced the other members of the American delegation to an inferior rank, while at the same time compelling the three other principal Governments to carry on their negotiations personally through their Prime Ministers, thus giving us a Conference dominated by the so-called "Big Four." Undoubtedly Mr. Wilson believed that was the only way to secure results; but one may be justified in the opinion that he was mistaken and that the domination of the Conference by Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, with the occasional help of the Italian Premier, was not the best way either to secure immediate settlements nor yet the best way to usher in the periodical meetings of the future League of Nations. But even if the President's long sojourn in Europe, and his dominant place in the Conference had made for efficiency up to a certain point, it involved the great risk of detaching Mr. Wilson from the country that he represented.

Some Contrasts

Clemenceau was at home; and he was in constant touch with the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. He took no steps in the Conference without seeing that his position was solid and secure in the support of the Ministry and of the Chambers. Mr. Lloyd George, in the very nature of the case, had to maintain his Parliamentary support all the time as he went along. Otherwise he would have lost his job as Prime Minister, and at the same time would have dropped out as head of the British Delegation in the Peace Conference. The same thing was true of the Italian Premier,—as the facts proved before the end came. Mr. Wilson, however, was in every sense a self-sufficient representative,



THE KNIGHT ERRANT

PRESIDENT WILSON (to League of Nations): "Hold tight, ma'am; he'll quiet down directly."
From *Punch* (London)

[The moral of the above cartoon is that the knight errant who attempts to rescue the lady in distress should be on good terms with his horse.]



THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR. LLOYD GEORGE, CARRIED IN TRIUMPH BY STUDENTS AT SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY

(Mr. Lloyd George, having held the support of Parliament through the trying year of peace-making, has secured ratification of the Treaty, and of the special defensive alliance with France, has settled the railroad strike, and is at the height of his popularity at home.)

and his position was secure until March 4, 1921. His power under the Constitution to negotiate the treaty was not in question. Mr. McKinley as truly negotiated the treaty of twenty years ago; but he preferred the more usual way of negotiating it through commissioners who worked harmoniously under his preliminary instructions and under his guidance at all critical points by virtue of ocean telegraphy. Mr. Lloyd George was surrounded at Paris by men of great and commanding influence in the British Parliament. He was the head of a Coalition Government, and there could be little doubt about British acceptance of the treaty. The only adverse possibility was a political revolution, with the election of a new Parliament that would have repudiated the leaders of the war period before a treaty could have been ratified.

American Opinion One Year Ago

There did not seem to be any marked differences of opinion among the leaders of American thought and policy at the time of the Armistice. It was agreed in America that there should be support of new sovereignties like Poland, Bohemia [Czecho-Slovakia] and Finland; that a true German Republic should be encouraged; that Belgium and France should secure both present reparation and future security; that the United States, Great Britain and France should work in harmony; that Italy should secure true boundaries and obtain proper advantages from the victory over Austria; that deliberate plans should be made for disarmament; that the responsible nations should exercise trusteeship over backward regions; that oppressed peoples like the Armenians should have safety and freedom henceforth; and that above all, there should be—to use the name of an influential American society—a "League of Nations to Enforce Peace." President Wilson had put the stamp of his personal and official endorsement upon these ideas during the war period. He could have secured their acceptance by sending to Paris a delegation so composed as to carry with it the probability of full support in the Senate.

Senators Were Needed in Paris

In attendance upon the Paris Conference from time to time were many members of the British Parliament who were connected with one or another of the numerous commissions. President Wilson had in Paris some hundreds of Americans working as financial, economic, legal or political experts upon various special or subordinate committees. It would have been wholly possible, during the long period of the Conference, to have had every member of the United States Senate attached to one or another of these committees, and present for at least a part of the time in Paris and elsewhere in Europe. Naval vessels and army transports were making constant and rapid trips, and the movement of Senators to and from French ports would have been perfectly feasible. The framing of the treaty, including the covenant of the League of Nations was, so to speak, a program for the shaping of a

new world. This program had to be accepted by the United States Senate, upon careful study; and it would have been worth while to have given every Senator some part in the preliminary work of building up this new charter for the conduct of world affairs.

Finding the Point of View

In any case, Mr. Wilson was in charge of the negotiations. It was simply a matter of judgment whether he should remain in Washington and send members of the Senate abroad, or whether he should go abroad and leave the Senate at home. Mr. Wilson did not especially need any contact with European statesmen, because his own point of view was maturely and correctly established; and in any case his was the authority on behalf of America for initiating the treaty. General Pershing, Admiral Sims, and many other high officers had obtained their political as well as their military point of view. They knew perfectly well that in the nature of things we should have to stand shoulder to shoulder with the British and the French in years to come. But it was desirable for America that our political leaders—men of power and of talent, not only like Senators Knox and Lodge, but also like Senators Johnson, Borah and Reed—should be sent abroad and brought into close touch with the leaders of Europe, in the period of adjustment from the Armistice to the perfecting of the treaty.

The Senate's Belated Attitude

Frankly, it is not our opinion that these men, if they had been long enough in touch with the British, French and Italian people and spokesmen, would have helped in shaping a treaty materially different from the one that Mr. Wilson brought home. But, let us say with equal frankness, it is our opinion that their attitude toward the treaty would have been widely different. They have not been acting without a keen sense of responsibility; but they would have taken a different view of their responsibilities if they had been helping to negotiate the treaty. In further paragraphs we discuss the merits of the points raised by the Republicans, under the leadership of Senator Lodge, which led to the rejection of the treaty on November 19. But, conceding merit for the moment, it was most unfortunate that this convinced majority of the Senate could not have discovered its own attitude at a much earlier date. What a pity that it could not have had a chance to express itself at Paris, while the treaty was still in the plastic stages of construction!



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M. CLEMENCEAU, WHO HAS NOW WON HIS GREATEST POLITICAL TRIUMPH

(On Sunday, November 16, elections were held throughout France for a new Chamber of Deputies, this being the first general election since the spring of 1914. There had been some fear of a Socialist reaction against the Clemenceau ministry, but the veteran Premier won a tremendous victory. It is agreed that he is to be elevated to the presidency of the Republic to succeed M. Poincaré.)

What Are the Reservations?

We have been anxious to find it possible to give in sincerity the opinion that the amendments advised by the Republican Foreign Relations Committee—and afterwards changed from textual amendments to the form of ratifying "reservations"—were of sufficient merit to have justified the course that the Senate has pursued. President Wilson would not allow the treaty to be ratified at all unless the Senate's resolution of ratification were to be modified. The President, on November 18, had sent a letter to Senator Hitchcock as leader of the Democratic group supporting the treaty saying that the Republican reservations amounted to a "nullification" of the treaty itself. It is hard to see how this could

be true. The treaty is a document of stupendous proportions, making settlements with Germany which the Germans have already accepted and which America does not call into question. The treaty also adjusts many other important matters in a way accepted by the United States Senate without question. The plan for a League of Nations, to carry on the work of the Peace Conference in the future, forms a separate part of the treaty. Almost every one of the "reservations" supported by the entire Republican majority under Senator Lodge's leadership relate to the future functioning of this League of Nations. Not one of the reservations disturbs either the basis of the settlement with Germany or any of the important details.

The "Shantung Reservation"

The only reservation seriously affecting the settlements of concrete questio..s in the body of the treaty had to do with Shantung and read as follows, as finally adopted by the Republican majority, with several Democratic votes:

The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157 and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

China had declared war against Germany following the advice and policy of the United States. Germany's hold upon Shantung had been due to China's weakness; and the expulsion of Germany from China did not, in the American view, give Japan any continuing rights in China except as accorded willingly by the Chinese Government. President Wilson had accepted the explanations of Japan, and it had been earnestly hoped that the Japanese Government would without delay take such steps as would satisfy everybody that this Senate reservation was needless. Of the entire list of reservations, this, in our opinion, is the only one that has any serious character as affecting the treaty. It does not antagonize Japan's position, but merely declines to commit the United States to a definite stand for Japan, against the protests of China. Japan should make this clause needless.

Should "Article X" Be Changed?

President Wilson's chief objection to the reservations, as the country was informed, had to do with Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This is the article in accordance with which the members of the Lea[illegible]ee to protect one another's independence and territorial [illegible]overeignty. The Senate's reservation merely declares that the United States in any gi[illegible] case arising under Article X would of necessity take action through Congress, under our Constitution, and not in some other way. President Wilson holds that this reservation destroys the League. In our opinion, the reservation is unnecessary because it is so obvious that Article X is not self-executing, and that in a given instance nations could not send aid to a threatened member of the League without the exercise of proper authority. If Belgium were to be once more invaded by Germany, Article X of the League Covenant could not possibly bring England into action to protect Belgium unless Parliament at that moment sanctioned and authorized the employment of British forces. This is perfectly evident upon a moment's reflection. The British Ministry is merely a committee of Parliament, and cannot act in any important sense except with the confidence and approval of the Parliamentary body. The same thing is true of the French Government and of the Italian. Everything contained in the Lodge reservation merely puts the United States in the position that Britain and France and Italy are already in, by reason of their form of government. Thus, as regards Article X, we do not accept the President's view of the reservation, though we do not think that amendment was needed.



STILL TRY [illegible] IT ON
From the *Pos[illegible]* ncinnati)



FIRST KILL THE PATIENT
From the *Herald* (New York)



A RECKLESS PERFORMANCE
From the *World* (New York)

(Of the two cartoons above, one is a Republican view of the attitude of Senator Hitchcock and the Wilson Democrats, while the other is a Democratic characterization of Senator Lodge and his Republican supporters.)

America Can Be Trusted

Our own form of government requires an act of Congress before we make war. Unless the League of Nations is to be regarded as a superstate, indissoluble, and with a higher form of sovereignty, it must rely, not upon binding forms of words in the Covenant, but upon the continuing support of public sentiment in the leading nations. League or no League, the United States will not twenty years hence send its armed forces across the ocean to protect one country or another from invasion, unless at that time the Government of the country takes the necessary steps to equip and dispatch an expedition. And it is obvious that these steps cannot be taken without concurrence between the President and the two Houses of Congress. This is all that is contained in the reservation relating to Article X. This part of the League of Nations merely expresses a general attitude. The Senate's reservation does not alter that attitude. The purpose of the League of Nations is to prevent needless wars. The attitude of the United States towards needless wars is by far more definite and more satisfactory than that of any other country. The adherence of the United States to Article X even as modified by the Senate reservation is decidedly more valuable for the purposes of the League than the adherence of any one of the other countries which have already ratified the treaty and accepted the League without any expressed dissent. A compromise on this Article X ought to be arranged at once. It seems that Senator Hitchcock, as leader of the Democratic minority, had a substitute for this particular reservation that did not materially differ from the one adopted.

Three Harmless "Lodge" Clauses

The reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine merely expounds and explains what is already contained in the treaty itself, and is a perfectly harmless interpretation. The clause relating to possible withdrawal of the United States from the League contains nothing that has not been already accepted at home and abroad by unanimous consent, and also by explicit statements from the highest authorities. The clause relating to "mandates" simply says that the United States will assume no mandate "except by action of the Congress of the United States." This again is wholly obvious, for there would be no way to give any possible effect to a mandate without legislation. Mandates to administer parts of Asia or Africa or the Islands of the Sea cannot be thrust upon a nation unwilling to undertake the duties of such trusteeship. Obviously, Congress would have to act in the premises. Clause 5 of the ratifying Lodge resolution as amended and adopted, mentions a number of subjects such as immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce and so on, as among those matters

of domestic jurisdiction that the United States completely reserves. This, however, merely expands somewhat the language of the treaty itself and is certainly harmless though seemingly unnecessary.

Why Oppose "Clause Eight?"

Clause 8 has to do with representation in the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. It provides that the American representation shall be in accord with provisions to be enacted by Congress, and it declares that until Congress has legislated there should be no American representation in the Assembly or Council of the League, or upon the committees working under the League's direction. This is not in any manner an attack upon the League. On the contrary, it strengthens the League, because it does not leave representation to the whims or preferences of a President, but makes it a matter of statutory provision, as in the case of all other parts of our official system. If this reservation were adopted, we should still have ratified the whole plan of the League of Nations, including the Assembly and the Council, but should merely have informed the other Governments adopting the treaty regarding our method of arranging for representation. Even without this reservation, it is hard to conjecture any other plan than that which is proposed; namely, that Congress should perform its obvious duty and make prompt and due provision for the selection of American representatives. British representatives would be designated by a Ministry which is in itself part of Parliament.

Certain Other Clauses

Several reservations, as comprised in clauses 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 provide either that Congress must act in certain matters in order to give effect to American participation, or else are intended in a somewhat technical way to safeguard the rights of American citizens under certain contingencies. These reservations do not in our opinion detract from the substantial value of the treaty; and if in the opinion of a majority of the Senate they are needed to avoid future misunderstandings, it is not easy for us to find an argument to justify the unwillingness of the minority to acquiesce in the preference of a very decided Senate majority.

Drop the "Fifteenth"!

The fifteenth clause of the Lodge resolution relates importantly to the constitution of the League of Nations, but is not so vital as it might seem. This clause declares that the United States "assumes no obligation to be bound" by action of the League's Council or Asse in which more than one vote is cast b member together with its dependencies. is further declared that the United St "assumes no obligation to be bound," in case of any dispute between the Un States and any member of the League, if vote affecting that dispute has been cas any representative in the League politic connected with the party to the disp There was no reason why this clause sh have been so round-about in its phras Our readers will remember that the pla the League provides that Canada, Austr New Zealand, South Africa and India s be represented in the Assembly of the Lea In most domestic matters these entities a self-governing countries; but for purpos external policy they are embraced in British Empire, and their diplomacy is sup by the British Cabinet and Foreign Of Their defenses are unified in the Bri navy and army. The majority of the Se are of opinion that, until a country Canada sends an Ambassador to Washin and is diplomatically independent and determining in external affairs, there sh not be six British votes in the Assembly the League of Nations as against only American vote.



"ALL DRESSED UP AND NO PLACE TO G

From the *Telegram* (New York)

[The above cartoon indicates the mistaken the widely understood nature of British representation the League Assembly]

The Six British Votes

Why, ask some of the Senators, should not each one of our forty-eight sister States have a representative in the League? Everything depends upon the point of view. The idea of representation for Canada, South Africa and Australia was not to give the British Foreign Office more power, but rather to give it less. The Dominions had taken a great part in the war, and they felt themselves as much entitled to a place in the League of Nations as any of the numerous small countries. It is quite true that Canada ought to have an Ambassador at Washington, and ought to deal directly in all North-American affairs with the Government of the United States. But this is merely a matter of convenience, and it is not essential. The presence of representatives in the League Assembly from these self-governing English-speaking lands is, in our opinion, decidedly to the advantage of the United States. It is obvious that in case of a boundary question between Canada and the United States it would not be fitting that a half dozen British-Empire votes in the Assembly of the League should be employed against the single vote of the United States. Such a thing could not happen; and it seems absurd to make a reservation to guard against our own more especial friends, in adopting the treaty.

British-American Confidence

The League of Nations can have little success if underlying it there is not a strong and abiding confidence among the English-speaking peoples as respects their good faith and good-will toward one another. An exchange of friendly notes between London and Washington as regards the nature of British Empire representation would have obviated the need of this fifteenth clause in the ratifying resolution. We are firmly of the opinion that it is proper for Canada and these other entities to be represented; but this of course is upon the understanding that Canada shall be present to represent Canadian and North American interests, and not as a dummy vote controlled by the Foreign Office at London. The English-speaking peoples do not intend to have any questions among themselves that would ever have to go to the League of Nations for adjustment. They have been able for more than one hundred years to settle all questions by dealing directly with one another. We hope, therefore, that the Washington and London Governments will confer directly about this fifteenth clause and that it will be omitted from the Lodge resolution. Australia and South Africa, as well as Canada, are federal democracies whose presence in the League is to be desired.



"GOOD BYE, PRINCE CHAP. I HOPE WE SHALL ALWAYS BE GOOD FRIENDS"

From the *Leader* (Pittsburgh, Pa.)

[The expressions of good will for the Prince of Wales as he left the United States on his return voyage were exceedingly friendly and were intended also for the British peoples]

No Lack of American Good-Will

On the very days when these reservations were being adopted and the treaty was undergoing defeat for the present, the country was entertaining the Prince of Wales with as enthusiastic an exercise of hospitality and good-will as could be imagined. The expressions of cordiality were not only personal but were also intended for the whole British people. There is nothing at all in the Senate action which implies any lack of intention to coöperate heartily with Great Britain in all honest efforts to maintain the cause of liberty and justice in the world. Practically all of the reservations would have been implied even if not expressed. It is wholly improbable that any of them would ever be found obstructive to the actual operation of the treaty if President Wilson had chosen to accept them. The substitutes suggested on behalf of the President and his party would seem to have traversed much of the same ground. The two reservations that seem



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THE BARNARD STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AT MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

(In September there was unveiled at Manchester, England, a statue of Lincoln by the famous American sculptor, George Gray Barnard. This was a gift by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, through the agency of the American society known as the Sulgrave Institution. The address was by Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, on behalf of the donors. Judge Parker stands on the platform at the extreme right. In the center is the American Ambassador, Mr. John W. Davis, and next to him the Lord Mayor of Manchester. The placing of this notable statue at the greatest center of British industry is another expression of good will between America and England.)

unfortunate and ungracious are the one relating to Japan and China, and the one relating to British representation. In our opinion it would be better to trust the honor and good faith of Japan, and to raise no point in the treaty. As regards the matter affecting the British Empire, that also should be "settled out of court."

"Acceptance" Not Desirable

In the preamble of the Lodge resolution it is provided that the treaty is not to take effect until the American reservations are accepted in diplomatic notes from the Governments of three of the four leading Allies; namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This requirement is unnecessary and ill-considered. If the Senate should ratify the treaty by the requisite two-thirds majority, and the President should accept the points made in the ratifying resolution, that would be quite sufficient. President Wilson would forthwith proclaim peace with Germany as fully establis[hed] T[he L]eague of Nations, so far as [the Unite]d States is concerned, would go into [effect] soon as Congress could adopt the legislation providing for American representation; and it would be the duty of Congress to act very promptly. The reservations—relating as they do merely to America's own modes of action—would not call either for acceptance or rejection by any other country.

Most Senators Favor the Treaty

The votes of a small group of Senators were governed by the fact that they were opposed to the treaty altogether. Senator Knox had never favored the inclusion of the plan for a League of Nations in the treaty making peace with Germany. Several other Senators for reasons of their own were totally opposed to the League of Nations. But the overwhelming majority of the Senate, including all of the Republicans except a mere handful, and all of the Democrats excepting perhaps two or three, were supporters of the treaty including the League of Nations, either with or without the provisions covered in the final Lodge resolution. The supporters of Senator Lodge's resolution, when it came to a final vote, included every Republican except Senator McCumber, and also included a number of Democrats. But it requires a two-thirds vote to ratify; and the Senate has 96 members. Thirty-three votes can prevent ratification and at most the Lodge forces had fifty-five votes; while Senator Hitchcock, representing the President's views, had thirty-nine. On the day after adjournment, it became quite generally apparent that the situation was not hopeless, and that the treaty might yet be saved if moderate and sensible advice should be taken



"WHY, YOU'LL HAR[M] [YOU] THE CHILD!"

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

on both sides. It was the opinion of so extreme an opponent of the treaty as Senator Borah that in the near future there would be a compromise agreement upon reservations and that the treaty would be adopted. The maneuvers of different groups in the Senate were hard to follow. For example, a considerable Republican element had helped to fasten upon the treaty the reservations which were embodied in the Lodge resolution, and then on the final vote they were against the treaty as thus modified. A great majority, however, of the Republicans are genuinely for the treaty with the interpretations contained in the ratifying resolution; and it is likely that most of the Democratic Senators would rather have the treaty with these reservations than to kill it altogether. It is to be hoped that the party spirit may be laid aside, and that the treaty may now be dealt with upon its merits and with the genuine desire to complete it and put it into effect at once.

Deadlock Not Justified

These comments are in advance of the message which President Wilson will have sent to Congress at the beginning of the new session. As we have stated more than once, it is our view that the treaty might safely enough have been ratified as it stood. On the other hand, we do not believe that its value is impaired to any extent by anything contained in the Lodge resolution, although we do not think it quite courteous to refer to Shantung or to British membership in the Assembly. If ratified at once, even with the reservations, the treaty could be made effective and the League would take up its work. No mere phrases of the treaty can either make or break the League. It must stand or fall upon the test of its own efficiency. If it is not supported in the years to come by a sustained public opinion in America and other leading countries, it will fail, quite regardless of the phraseology of the Covenant. That the treaty will be ratified, and that the League will enter upon a useful career, is our confident belief. Eighty members of the Senate out of a total of ninety-six have supported the treaty, being divided merely upon the matter of reservations. Some objectionable amendments were proposed, but were voted down. There has been too much of the appearance of party politics on both sides. These eighty Senators were in practical agreement upon everything in the treaty that was really essential.

The President Should Concede

In a country accustomed to rule by majorities, it would seem plain enough that the Democratic minority, having made their preference clear, should bow to the will of the Republican majority and ratify the treaty. If the Democrats should take this course, it is to be hoped that the Republicans would modify the resolutions at some points, in that spirit of reasonable compromise that makes government possible in English-speaking lands. We have given great space to matters affecting the treaty because this is the supreme question of the year, and it is at a culminating point in the opening days of December. President Wilson should save his truly great work, by recognizing the right of the Senate to select some points for more explicit American treatment. The value of the League lies in its moral power and in the voluntary support of public opinion. Nothing in the Senate's reservations would weaken its moral power; while in some ways there would be assurance of a stronger voluntary adherence. There is no sacrifice of the substance.

Strike Movements and The Public

Last month we gave unusual attention to the series of strike movements that were threatening to paralyze the prosperity of America. Some of these movements were for the immediate benefit of the strikers, while others were to enhance the controlling power of labor unions as such. The movement to unionize public servants like policemen and firemen has undoubtedly met with a severe check. The reëlection of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts by an overwhelming majority expressed more than a merely local Massachusetts sentiment. It was regarded as a national event. The decision of Judge Anderson at Indianapolis in the matter of the coal strike led to the recalling of the strike order by Mr. Lewis and the other leaders of the United Mine Workers of America. Steps were taken at Washington to bring together the leaders of labor and capital in the coal industry, in order to compromise differences and speed up production. The miners in most districts ignored the recall of the strike order, and declined to return.

Coal Miners Refuse to Work

Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas, declaring the paramountcy of the public interest, ordered the coal mines under State control in order to save the people from suffering.



© Harris & Ewing: Washington.

DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD (left), FEDERAL FUEL ADMINISTRATOR, AND WALKER T. HINES, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RAILROADS

(Dr. Garfield and Mr. Hines were in the center of the effort at Washington throughout November to settle the coal strike.)

A similar course of action was proposed or actually undertaken in several other states. Most Governors, however, declined to assume such extra legal authority. On some railroads the number of trains was curtailed and in certain communities the shortage of coal began to be severely felt. It was evident, however, that if matters came to the worst, the coal mines would be operated by volunteers, under military protection, and that intimidation on the part of the strikers would be met with relentless severity. And this leads us to the remark that nothing would be so valuable to organized labor itself as to be brought face to face with the determination on the part of the public to suppress all practices of intimidation and violence. The reputable unions can afford to leave all questionable methods to the I. W. W.'s, to the Bolshevists and to the "Reds." It is merely human nature for the strikers, in their efforts to win, to be something less than polite. College students show the same tendencies, and so do other social groups. Some employers in earlier days set a bad example by the manner in which t ed strikebreakers to intimidate t ordinary rights must be protect is as much the right of a worker to act individually as it is for him to act as a member of a union. It will be a bad day for workers when all "bargaining" is of the "collective" kind.

The Second Industrial Conference

President Wilson has not given up the hope that something may be accomplished by an industrial conference at Washington, and so he has named the members of a second one. It is upon a different plan from the first, and does not include men selected to champion industrial classes. All the members are supposed to represent the common good; and this is as it should be. The President invited seventeen men to be members of the new conference to assemble on December 1, and no member of the former conference was included. The list is as follows:

Secretary of Labor Wilson, former United States Attorneys-General Thomas W. Gregory and George W. Wickersham, former Food Administrator Herbert Hoover, former Secretary of Commerce Oscar S. Straus, Henry M. Robinson, Pasadena, Cal.; Professor Frank W. Taussig, former chairman of the Tariff Commission; former Governors Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, Martin H. Glynn of New York, and Henry C. Stuart of Virginia; Dr. W. O. Thompson, Ohio State University; Richard Hooker, Springfield, Mass.; George T. Slade, St. Paul; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago; Owen D. Young, New York City; H. J. Waters, President of the Kansas Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.; and Stanley King, of Boston.

In summoning these men, the President expressed the wish that the conference might



HE CA T TE T DOWN
From the *Dispatch* (C mbus, Ohio)

lay the foundation for better industrial relationships. There is much hope that this second gathering may be of use; and it will at least avoid the rocks upon which its predecessor was so promptly shattered.

The Class Spirit Not American

The attempt to make hard and fast lines between employers and wage earners as distinct and opposing classes is not in accordance with the history of American economic life, nor is it in keeping with present tendencies. Most employers have had the experience themselves of being employed. Many men are alternately wage earners and employers. Many others are both at the same time. Thousands of young men are employed to their own advantage for a certain period, while looking forward to working for themselves, or else to managerial functions in business in which they will employ others. Freedom of opportunity, and the moral and mental training that enables men to see and to grasp opportunity, are things chiefly to be desired. Labor unions have doubtless done much to improve average conditions by utilizing mass strength for the benefit of the individual. Union leaders should remember, however, that the improved status of labor has also been promoted by all men and women who are really intelligent and patriotic. This instructed intelligence is what is giving us good legislation and secure standards as regards conditions of labor, of health, of education and so on.

Good Housing and Public Policy

Nothing could be more typical of this permeating spirit than the great movements to be noted at present in England and in the United States for securing better standards of housing and of community life for industrial workers. In the war period it became practically necessary for our Government to take up the subject of housing because of the rapid concentration of workers at new shipbuilding plants, and near munition factories. While providing shelter for the workers, it was also possible to set standards that should influence private efforts. At the recent annual meeting of the American Civic Association in Philadelphia especial attention was paid to this question of providing good housing and environment for workers. Reports were made upon the work of the Government, and particular enterprises in the Philadelphia region were inspected. Mr. J. Horace McFarland of Harrisburg, who is President of the Civic Association, has written for this number of the REVIEW a statement regarding the Government housing projects and policies. The most important single instance is the model new village, created by the housing and shipbuilding boards, and known as "Yorkship" near Camden, in the Philadelphia district. We are glad to have been able to secure a statement about this community from its planner and chief architect, Mr. Electus D. Litchfield. Miss Harlean James writes also concerning that very admirable provision at Washington for the housing of women workers, known as the "Government hotel for women." While it is not possible for the Government in times of peace to carry out great housing schemes or run hotels, there is no need of a ruthless scrapping of the good work that had been entered upon. That work was initiated by men of great experience, high public spirit, and fine attainments as architects and town planners. A great fund of information and experience was gathered which should be preserved in a Housing Bureau of the Department of Labor. We hope that our readers will lend their support to the bill to which Mr. McFarland refers in his excellent and timely statement.



MR. J. HORACE McFARLAND
(An American leader in movements for civic progress and municipal reform.)

Congress and Reconstruction

While this special session was called particularly to pass appropriation bills and deal with the Peace Treaty, it has had a vast deal of business under consideration of kinds tl

may be characterized as liquidation of the war. Many of these measures are far advanced, but few of them are completed and on the statute books. They have to do with such matters as the reorganization of the army, the future of the new merchant marine, the railroads, and many other topics which will be discussed in these pages as the work of the new session progresses. The friction between our Government and the Carranza regime in Mexico may divert the attention of Congress to the troubled country on our southern border.

Care of the Disabled Soldier

Misleading statements regarding the work of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance at Washington have recently been circulated throughout the country. One reason why these statements have frequently been accepted at their face value lies in the inability of those who have not given special attention to the matter to appreciate the great number of cases that pass through the Bureau for adjustment and the difficulty under which the Bureau labored in attempting to adjust claims in the somewhat chaotic conditions that immediately followed demobilization. An instance in point is the widely-published assertion that the American Legion had found that more than 114,000 men are now awaiting compensation for their injuries. This seems like a large number of unadjusted claims; but when it is remembered that nothing can be done in any of these cases until the proper blanks have been filled out by the men themselves, and that many thousands of men who have been reported as disabled in line of duty fail to execute these forms, it will be apparent that the Bureau itself cannot be held responsible for the delay in settlement of such claims. They are on record in the Bureau, and when eventually the men make application they will be promptly dealt with. Meanwhile the Bureau is going forward with the hospital treatment of the discharged sick and wounded soldiers, sailors and marines, and the furnishing of artificial arms and legs, under the system outlined in the November REVIEW.

Republican Gains in New York

Referring again to the elections of November 4, some results may well be set down here in brief digest. In New York State, for instance, the Republicans made large gains in the election of members of the Legislature. The same thing was true in general in municipal elections throughout the State. In New York City [illegible] offices were to be filled, [illegible]can victory was sweeping. It [illegible]d that Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was elected to the Legislature from his home district, Oyster Bay. It has been asserted that the Republicans gained a million votes in the State of New York. This would seem incredible until the reader is reminded that the electorate has been doubled by the admission of women to the franchise. The Republican outlook is bright; yet next year may bring many political surprises. No party can afford over-confidence.

Our Cities Improve

In a general way, there is steady progress to be noted in the physical conditions and the administrative efficiency of our large cities. The election in Philadelphia resulted in the choice of the Republican candidate for Mayor by a plurality of nearly 200,000. This successful candidate is the Hon. J. Hampton Moore, who has been prominent in Congress. In Chicago, municipal reform has directed itself towards improving the Board of Aldermen; and the elections in November will have resulted in reducing the membership of that body from 70 to 50, and in securing a non-partisan method of election. The Government of Boston is so related to that of the State of Massachusetts that the Coolidge victory strengthens incidentally the forces of good government in New England's metropolis. Boston has been steadily recruiting new policemen to take the place of those who lost their jobs as the result of their ill-advised strike.

Elections in Several States

The final count in Maryland showed that Mr. Ritchie, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a margin of 165 votes. The Republican candidate, Nice, carried the counties of the State; but Ritchie's plurality in Baltimore gave him the victory. The Democrats have a slight lead in both branches of the Legislature. New Jersey also elected a Democratic Governor, Mr. Edwards having a plurality of 14,000. His attitude against prohibition seems to have been popular. The Republican candidate, Edwin P. Morrow, was elected Governor of Kentucky by a considerable majority. In Nebraska there were elections for a constitutional convention, and the conservative forces defeated the radicals and Non-Partisan League candidates by about four to o[illegible]. For some days the result in Ohio on [illegible]hibition was in doubt, but on the fi[illegible]ount the "wets"



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PRINCE CASIMER LUBOMIRSKI, FIRST POLISH MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

(He is a member of one of Poland's oldest families and has served his people in politics for many years. He was educated in Cracow, Vienna, Paris and Nancy.)



©Harris & Ewing: Washington

DR. ALONZO E. TAYLOR OF THE UNI OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Dr. Taylor's public services as a medica and an American expert in Europe for the F istration and the Red Cross have given hi eminence.)

carried the State by about 500 votes. The country districts were strong for prohibition, but the cities were not of that mind. While many local issues complicated the elections everywhere, it may be said that upon the whole the pendulum seems still to be swinging towards Republican success.

Europe's Hard Winter

There have been elections in Europe, which, upon the whole, are reassuring for those who believe in the normal processes of democratic government. Clemenceau and the present administration have been strongly sustained in the election of a new French Chamber of Deputies. In Italy, there were Socialist gains, but the results as a whole are not upsetting. Bolshevism in Russia seems to flourish upon military opposition, but elsewhere in Europe the bolshevistic and anarchistic wave seems to have receded almost completely. A remarkable article contributed to this number by Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor tells us of the distress of Austria as recently witnessed by him. Next month we shall publish an article about conditions in Germany by an American eye witness, who, like Dr. Taylor, writes with experience and with authority. The present winter wi extremely difficult one for Europe, lacking and food insufficient; but i erally hoped that with the comin the worst will be over, and that year may witness much progress better average conditions.

The House Railway Bill

On November 17, t Bill for the regulatio railways was passed House of Representatives. It differs ly from the Cummins Bill now pe the Senate and summarized in the of this magazine. The House mea no anti-strike provisions; it formula elaborate but feeble methods for invi making easy conciliation in labor The powers of the Interstate C Commission are extended and the laws as to rate-making by that l practically retained. In other wc House simply avoids the responsi doing the vital things necessary to twenty billion dollars' worth of property now, apparently, drifting rocks. No American governmental ing of great dimensions has more

and disastrously failed in the past decade, from the point of view of all concerned, than the regulation of railway rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission under a legislative mandate that such rates must be "reasonable"—while no test of reasonableness is laid down and while rates reasonable and absolutely necessary for certain roads are unnecessary and unreasonable for others. Members of the Commission themselves have tacitly or openly admitted their helplessness in the situation; and the shipping public and the millions of railway investors have simply taken the consequences. Yet, facing a crisis in railroad affairs beside which all previous crises pale utterly, the House of Representatives takes, in the Esch Bill, no step even to attempt a rescue.

Avoiding the Real Issues

In the railroad debates of both the House and the Senate, and notably in those of the House, there was a discouraging lack of perception of the most vital and immediate issues. There was great anxiety over the possibility of some railroads making too much money, while some Congressmen were disturbed over the possibility of large salaries being paid to the higher railroad operating officers. But what we are really confronted with is a situation where practically our entire railroad service is facing an utter breakdown, financially and physically. This is because the roads are not making enough money to operate on an efficient basis or to attract any considerable fraction of the vast amounts of capital necessary, during the next few years, to put them in a position to do the carrying trade of America. Throwing aside, for the moment, all the rights of millions of honest investors in railroad securities, and regarding only the interests of the public and of business at large, which must have decent and adequate freight and passenger service if disastrous loss is not to come, it is positively necessary that the securities of the roads should be removed, on the exchanges, from the category of "cats and dogs." It is literally true that a majority of them are so considered at the present time. Further, as to the iniquity of paying fifty thousand dollars, or twice that, to a railway executive, it is more obvious to a modern business man that the successful executive is cheap at any price when property worth hundreds of millions of dollars is to be brought out of operating chaos, put into operating efficiency, and kept there. It is the one of the axioms of standard efficiency engineering that *managerial brains must be* [illegible] hat it is really a secondary [illegible] at matter what number of [illegible] for managerial super-excellence.

Great Sums Needed

More than ten years ago, Mr. James J. Hill predicted that the railroads would need one billion dollars a year for five years to enable them to keep up with the growing demands of traffic and serve the country adequately. The railroads never got these sums, and in 1917 they practically broke down as a result. Now Mr. Dunn, editor of the *Railway Gazette,* whose article on the need for new railway legislation appears in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, estimates that something like two billion dollars a year for the next three years will be none too much to put the roads on their feet physically. Where this is to come from if the man who has honestly invested his hard-earned dollars in railroad securities sees their value cut in half or worse, with no provision whatsoever for stopping the accelerated drift toward insolvency, it is hard to see. This is merely the cold-blooded business aspect of the present situation. There is another factor of honesty and decency in dealing with these investors of the past, and the misery that would come to them if Congress shirks the duty of making sure that the railroad business shall be put on a solvent basis. This view of the matter is discussed in the present issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Mr. S. Davies Warfield of Baltimore, who has been creditably active in bringing the fair claims of railway security-holders before Congress and the public, and in planning concrete measures that promise to relieve the situation. His positions are those of common honesty.

Speculation and a Crash

With the public excited by the tremendous world-demand, at high prices, for iron, steel, oil, sugar, rubber and manufactured goods as well, a speculative movement of dangerous proportions in the securities of companies dealing in these commodities has been under way on the American exchanges for several months. The prices of many such stocks advanced far beyond even the war-boom figures of 1916. Daily new promotions have been coming out—oil companies, chain-store concerns, candy [illegible]ers (expected to prosper as never before in the new prohibition era), moving-p[illegible]ure [illegible]nd theater combinations, exploration [illegible]nies, automobile-makers and the like. It [illegible]med for a time

that the investing public's purse was inexhaustible. A decisive note of warning came in the first week of November, when the Federal Reserve Bank established a higher rate of discounts on the borrowings of its member banks, making public, at the same time, the conviction of its governors that speculation, rather than the reduction of loans, was being furthered by the current releases of credit from government needs.

But Only a Stock Market Crash

But bank loans used for "carrying" speculative stocks continued to expand until, on November 13, the crash came. "Call money" went on that day to 30 per cent., the highest rate seen since the panic of 1907. Stocks were thrown on the market for sale in wild haste by speculators who could no longer obtain from the banks the money to carry such securities on margin; and for a time it looked as if a first-class panic were at hand. The stock of the General Motors Company, the largest and one of the most prosperous of the automobile makers, which had advanced from a quotation of abo t 30, shortly before the war, to the equivalent of more than 1200, dropped 68½ points in the day and 120 points in the week, while many motor and oil concerns suffered a decline of from 25 to 30 points in the single day. The real prosperity of the country was strongly proved by the quick response of the financial situation to the strong medicine of enforced liquidation, with no mortality or serious after effects except to individual speculators.

New Estate of the Silver Dollar

The after-war world is avid not only for commodities but for silver and gold as well. The withdrawal of gold from circulation in many countries and the insistent demand of India and China for silver brought the price of that metal in November to the highest figure in sixty years—so high that the metal itself in a silver dollar came to be worth more than one dollar and even the humble Mexican peso is now worth, for its silver content, about 99 cents, or nearly twice its face value. Not since the days following the Crimean War and the Indian mutiny have the London money-changers bid such a price as $1.27 per ounce for silver to be shipped to the Far East. China alone bought 7,000,000 ounces in the month of September. London, which normally has eight to ten million ounces on hand, had last month less than a million ounces, and the English shilling could be profitably melted down.

Gold moving away from America

The enormous stock of gold, more than $3,000,000,000, that accumulated in the United States as a result of war purchases here—a stock such as was never known before in any country—has begun to dwindle. The Far East is taking gold as well as silver, at a rate never known before, about $70,000,000 going from San Francisco in the first half of November. This movement has had, no doubt, some effect on the credit restrictions aimed to slow down speculative buying, alluded to in preceding paragraphs. The explanation of this drain of gold to the East seems to be simply that the Orient cannot get all the silver it needs and is using gold, partly, instead. In the eight months ending August 31, exportations of gold from the United States exceeded imports by $142,000,000.

The Shortage in Paper

So great is the shortage in the supply of news-print paper, that many newspaper publishers are strongly advocating such a drastic increase in advertising rates and subscription prices as will automatically cut down the consumption of white paper. Never before has such a volume of advertising been offered to newspapers and periodicals. Many of the more important publications have simply to refuse a large portion of the advertising clamoring to be printed. While the shortage is most acute with the newspapers it is being felt more and more acutely by book and periodical publishers as well. The prices of paper are now more than double the pre-war prices, while publishers are begging for more paper, whatever the price, and in hundreds of instances finding themselves unable to get all they need. This astounding and sudden increase in advertising is largely a result of the free, and often reckless, buying of merchandise, both luxuries and necessities, by the public—a tendency that seems not to be halted in any appreciable degree by the current high prices, and which, no doubt has its foundation in the vastly increased incomes of many classes of working people. Retail stores are averaging, it is estimated, 50 per cent. greater sales than in 1918. Rugs, furniture, phonographs, pianos, clothing, toilet articles, motor cars find an insatiable public ready to purchase, and the chief problem of the merchant is to replenish his stocks. For luxuries, pure and simple, the demand is even wilder. Importations of luxuries from abroad are running no less than 125 per cent. above last year.



MR. AND MRS. McADOO, THE GUESTS OF HONOR



"BULL DOGGING"



A COWBOY ROPING AND TYING A STEER



A WOMAN "BRONCHO BUSTER"



AN INDIAN CHIEF, FEW OF WHOM REMAIN

THE PENDLETON "ROUND-UP"

IN the little town of Pendleton, Oregon, there survives an institution which may in the near future reach a natural end through the rapidly changing conditions of Northwestern life. Each year, for three or four days, scores of thousands of people pour into what is a modest-sized village for the rest of the year. In a great arena are exhibitions given by cowboys of bronco-busting, rounding-up steers, and all the features of the old days of stage coaches and cattle-ranching. The occasion is one of great festivity. The Hon. William G. McAdoo attended the 1919 show at Pendleton as a guest of honor, having been unable to accept invitations in previous years. Our illustrations show some scenes of this recent Pendleton festival. In the front row, next to Mrs. McAdoo, is Mr. K. B. Conger of New York.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 1 to November 25, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

November 7.—The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 40, adopts the Foreign Relations Committee's preamble to the proposed "reservations" to the peace treaty, which declares that ratification by the United States shall not be effective or binding until the reservations have been accepted by three of the four principal Allied powers.

The House passes the Edge bill extending government aid and supervision to corporations engaged in foreign trade.

November 10.—The House railroad bill is reported from committees by Chairman Esch of the Interstate Commerce Committee. . . .By vote of 309 to 1, the House refuses to seat Victor L. Berger (Socialist), elected from a Milwaukee district in 1918 and charged with disloyalty during the war.

November 13.—The Senate, by a vote of 46 to 33, adopts the first of a series of reservations to the peace treaty; it declares that military or naval forces of the United States cannot be employed, under Article X of the League covenant, with authorization of Congress.

November 15.—The Senate adopts ten drastic amendments to the peace treaty, each by more than ten votes majority.

November 17.—The House, by vote of 203 to 159, passes the Esch bill providing legislation for restoring the railroads to their owners; the measure is so amended as to make it unsatisfactory to many former supporters.

November 19.—The Senate rejects the peace treaty of Versailles; after voting down the treaty with the Republican reservations by 55 to 39 (13 Republicans voting with the Democrats), the treaty without reservations is defeated 53 to 38 (7 Democrats voting with the Republicans). Both branches adjourn sine die, and the special session comes to an end.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 1.—Both branches of the California Legislature ratify the woman suffrage amendment—the seventeenth State to approve it.

November 4.—Elections are held in a number of States and municipalities.

In Massachusetts, Governor Coolidge (Rep.) is reelected, defeating Richard H. Long (Dem.) by an overwhelming plurality.

In New Jersey, Edward I. Edwards (Dem.) is elected Governor, defeating Newton A. K. Bugbee (Rep.)

In Maryland, Albert C. Ritchie, (Dem.) is elected Governor, defeating Henry W. Nice (Rep.) by a small plurality.

In Kentucky, the voters elect a Republican Governor, Edwin P. Morrow, Governor Black (Dem.) being defeated for a second term.

In Mississippi, Lee M. Russell (Dem.) is elected Governor, without Republican opposition.

In New York City, the Tammany ticket is beaten by impressive pluralities.

In Philadelphia, Congressman J. Hampton Moore is elected Mayor, defeating Harry D. Westcott (Dem.) by the largest plurality ever given a mayoralty candidate.

In San Francisco, Mayor Rolph is reelected in a non-partisan contest, defeating former Mayor Schmitz.

The prohibition issue causes the rejection by the voters of the Ohio legislature's ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, and contributes to the election of the "wet" candidate for Governor in New Jersey and a "wet" candidate for judge in Brooklyn, N. Y.

November 8.—Federal Judge Anderson, at Indianapolis, orders the head of the United Mine Workers to call off the coal strike before 6 p. m., November 11.



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HON. CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA

(The death of Senator Martin last month created a vacancy which the Governor of Virginia filled by appointing Hon. Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Glass had served for many years in the House of Representatives before entering the cabinet to succeed Mr. McAdoo. He comes to the Senate at the beginning of an important new session, and ought to be of assistance in securing ratification of the treaty and proper railroad legislation)



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HON. J. J. ESCH, OF WISCONSIN

(Mr. Esch, who is chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House, is one of the nation's best-trained legislators. His railroad bill, which passed the House before Congress adjourned in November, was meritorious in many respects when presented from his committee, but was greatly vitiated by amendments before passing)

November 11.—President Wilson leaves his bed for the first time since returning from his Western trip on September 28.

November 12.—Official returns in Ohio show that the voters on election day repudiated the legislature's ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, by a majority of 542 votes.

A national prohibition commissioner is appointed in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, John F. Kramer of Ohio being named.

The chiefs of thirteen railways workers' organizations condemn the House railroad bill as "a conscienceless betrayal of public interests."

November 13.—The Postmaster General announces that during federal control the telephone and telegraph companies earned $70,387,000, or $13,000,000 less than the compensation guaranteed them by the Government.

November 14.—The Secretary of Labor brings together representatives of soft coal operators and miners; he tells the miners that a thirty-hour week and a 60 per cent. increase in wages are impossible; he also condemns the standpat position assumed by the operators.

November 17.—The Supreme Court sustains the Government's fight to cancel patents for 6,000 acres of California oil land alleged to have been improperly obtained by the Southern Pacific Railroad.

November 18.—Carter Glass resigns from the President's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, in order to accept appointment as United States Senator from Virginia to fill a vacancy.

The President vetoes the bill restoring rate-making power to the Interstate Commerce Commission, on the ground that the Railroad Administration should not be hampered.

November 20. The President names seventeen men as members of a new Industrial Conference, to meet in Washington on December 1 but not to deal directly with existing conditions.

November 21.—The United States Grain Corporation announces the removal, on December 15, of embargoes on wheat and flour, existing for more than two years.

The President revives the Food Administration powers and places them in the hands of Attorney General Palmer.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 1.—Municipal elections in Great Britain result in notable success for Labor candidates.

November 6.—The Newfoundland elections result in the overthrow of the Ministry of Premier Cashin and in the success of candidates backed by the Fisherman's Protective Union.

November 14.—Gabriele d'Annunzio, in control of Fiume for several months, siezes also the Dalmatian port of Zara.

November 15.—A Bolshevist army in Russia captures Omsk and continues in pursuit of the Kolchak forces.

November 16.—The French elections, the first held since the beginning of the war, result in a triumph for Premier Clemenceau and the rout of extreme radicals and Socialists.



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KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN (LEFT) AND MARSHAL PETAIN

(The Spanish King has recently visited the battlefields of France, and this picture was taken in the lanes of the cemetery at Verdun)

General elections in Italy result in trebling the number of Socialist Deputies; Catholics participate freely for the first time in years.

November 18.—A revolutionary movement against the Kolchak government in Siberia, led by the Czechoslovak General Gaida, results in failure and the imprisonment of its leader.

November 22.—Leaders of all parties in Hungary confirm Karl Huszar as Minister President.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 7.—The Supreme Council for the fourth time demands that Rumania withdraw her troops from Hungary.

November 10.—The Prince of Wales enters the United States, after an extended tour of Canada.

November 11.—President Pessoa signs a resolution ratifying the Treaty of Versailles, passed by the Brazilian Congress.

November 13.—The young Prince of Wales calls upon President Wilson in his sick room at the White House.

November 18.—The British Government demands eight former German ships, held by the United States Shipping Board on the ground of actual American ownership through a parent corporation.



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THE LONGEST LIFT BRIDGE IN THE WORLD—OVER THE CHICAGO RIVER AT TWELFTH STREET

(Of never-ending wonder to the visitor is the way in which the Chicago River winds in and around the center of the great Western metropolis, bringing large freight steamers to the very doors of industrial establishments and markets. There are nearly one hundred bridges across the river and its branches, within the city limits. The lift bridge in the illustration above will be opened to traffic this month. It is 300 feet long, and the "balance" weighs nearly one million pounds)



THE LATE PROF. JESSE M. GRINNELL, IA.

(Professor Macy, who died last mc tinguished citizen of his State, and American history and in political sc been connected with Grinnell College half a century when he retired some was the author of valuable books, and professor gave courses in several Fr just before the great war. At that t series of articles for this magazine, printed an article on his career)

November 20.—The United State release of its consular agent at P O. Jenkins, imprisoned by the M ties as party to his own kidnappi

November 21.—Lettish troops c the capital of Courland and recen of German troops.

The Supreme Council decides t a mandate over Galicia for twenty

November 22.—The Prince of W home, after a busy twelve days spen States.

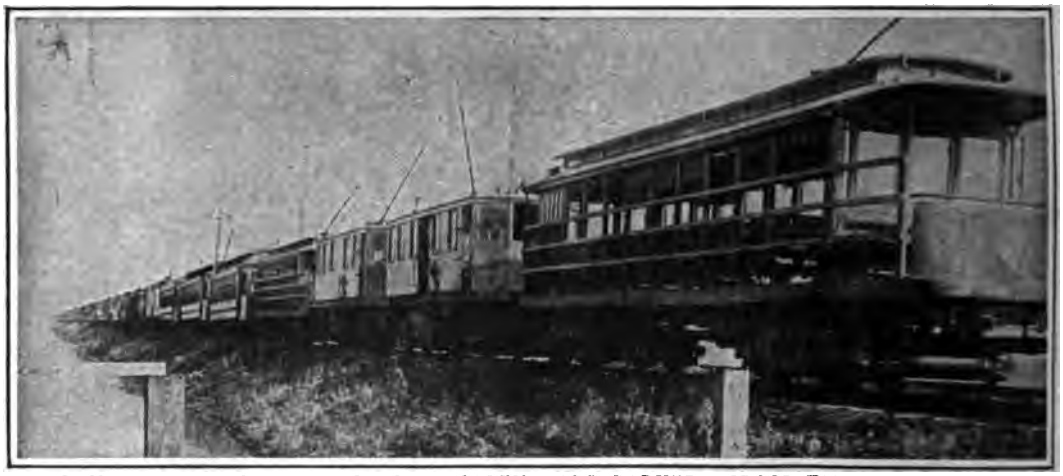
November 24.—The Jugoslavs c Supreme Council that action be Gabriele d'Annunzio.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF T

October 29.—An International ence assembles at Washington, with provisions of the treaty of p many.

November 2.—John D. Rockefe additional gift of $10,000,000 to Institute for Medical Research City, making a total of $27,000,00 tution.

November 9.—The American Labor endorses the coal miners' stri full support; the Government's rest tion is declared "so autocratic as human mind."



A LONG LINE OF TOLEDO (OHIO) TROLLEY CARS PARKED ACROSS THE BOUNDARY IN MICHIGAN

(The Toledo street-car company increased its fares, and the City Council—supported by a popular vote—punished the company by annulling its rights in the streets. The company surprised the city by prompt obedience, and under cover of darkness ran its cars out of the State. A compromise, of course, was sure to be reached. The Toledo case merely illustrates the difficulty of hundreds of towns and cities where the people want low fares and the companies want to avoid bankruptcy. The cheapest article now sold in the United States is local transportation, and the next cheapest is the carrying of freight and passengers on steam railroads)

Every street car is withdrawn from service in Toledo; the company had increased fares, and the voters had sustained an "ouster" ordinance passed by the Council.

November 10.—Silver bullion sells at $1.30 an ounce, in New York, a rise from $1 in May.

November 11.—The coal strike leaders decide to obey the order of a Federal Judge and the strike is called off; the Secretary of Labor invites the operators and men to confer in Washington.

November 15.—Major-General Black informs the Chicago Commercial Club that the city's drainage system has lowered the level of the Lakes half a foot, diminishing draft for commerce to the Atlantic and decreasing water power at Niagara.

November 17.—The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace estimates the direct and indirect cost of the war at four hundred billion dollars.

November 19.—The shortage of soft coal, although the miners have been ordered to return to work, is so acute as to close large industrial plants in many sections of the country.

November 20.—The soft-coal miners reject the operatives' offer of 15 cents a ton and 20 per cent increase to wage-earners.

November 23.—The soft-coal miners accept a wage increase of 31.6 per cent, proposed by the Secretary of Labor; the operators refuse to agree.

A committee of the International Labor Congress meeting at Washington under the provisions of the peace treaty—complete a compromise report recognizing the principle an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week.

November 24.—The compositors in New York printing establishments return to work after nearly two months of "vacation"; the men fail to win their demand for a 44-hour week and an increased wage.

Railway track laborers and shop workers, approximately 400,000 men, receive higher wages and a shorter day through agreement reached with the Railroad Administration.

OBITUARY

November 1.—Col. **James D. Bell of New York**, commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 74. . . .**William H. Hardy**, last survivor of Commodore **Peary's expedition to** Japan in 1853, 84.

November 2.—Edgar Stanton Maclay, historian of the United States Navy, 56.

November 3.—Field Marshal Count Terauchi, Premier of Japan 1916-1918, Minister of War during the conflict with Russia, and first Governor-General of Korea, 67.

November 4.—Calvin Thomas, head of the department of Germanic languages and literature at Columbia University, 65.

November 5.—Winifred T. Denison, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, 1914-16, 46.

November 7.—Hugo Haase, president of the Independent Socialist party in Germany, 56. . . . Charles Henry Hitchcock, for forty years professor of biology and mineralogy at Dartmouth, 83.

November 9.—Walter Edward Weyl, a widely known writer in the field of economics and sociology, 49.

November 11.—Cardinal Felix von Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, 67. . .Edward K. Emery, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 68.

November 12.—Thomas S. Martin, United States Senator from Virginia since 1895 and leader of the Democratic minority, 72. . . .Earl Brassey, a British naval authority and yachtsman, 83.

November 14.—Major Henry L. Higginson, the Boston banker and patron of music.

November 17.—Capt. **Robert Hunter Fitzhugh**, of Kentucky, last surviving member of General Lee's staff, 83.

November 19.—Adolf **Groeber, chairman of the** Center or Clerical party in the German parliament, 65.

November 22.—Dr. **Franklin Carter, president** of Williams College from 1881 to 1902.

November 23.—Dr. **Allan McLane Hamilton, of** New York, an authority on nervous diseases, 72.

CURRENT CONTROVERSIES IN CARTOONS



THE PIED PIPER
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



FROM ONE WHO KNOWS
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



"AMERICA MUST STAND ALONE"
—Senator Johnson
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



IN ORDER TO GET THE SUGAR
From the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)

The cartoonists have naturally taken rather extreme attitudes in their presentation of the treaty deadlock at Washington. Generally speaking, these positions have been colored by the editorial and political convictions of the newspapers which the cartoonists serve with reasonable independence but with a proper sense of their own influence in shaping public opinion.



THROWN OUT ENTIRELY
From the *American* (New York)



SHOULD HAVE "RESERVATION" SPECTACLES
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)



AS THE WORLD SEES US!
From the *World* (New York)



AT THE JUNCTION OF THE ROAD
From the *Star-Telegram* (Ft. Worth, Tex.)



THE PIPE OF PEACE
From the *News* (Grand Rapids, Mich.)



(C) Press Publishing Company
THE WALK (?) OUT!
From the *Evening World* (New York)



ANOTHER JOB ON HAND
THE VETERAN: "Having made the world safe for democracy, it looks as though I would have to help make the United States a safe place to live in."
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



NO TIME TO PARLEY
"All right,—if it has to come, let's have it out *right now!*"
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)



DISCOURAGING
From the *News* (Chicago)



AN ELEPHANT ON HIS HANDS
From the *Journal* (Wilmington, Del.)



THE LATEST STRIKE
From the *Journal* (Wilmington, Del.)



GRASPING A STRAW
From the *Eagle* (Wichita, Kan.)



THE OLD BIRD IS A YEAR OLD
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)



A CHANCE TO WRITE A TREATY OF HIS OWN
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



From the [illegible]lyn, N. Y.)



THINGS GENERALLY COME OUT ALL RIGHT
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



(C) Press Publishing Company

JOIN THIS UNION
From the *World* (New York)



HIS GREATEST MEMORIAL
From the *News* (Grand Rapids)

Cartoons on the preceding pages have shown the controversial side of current questions. Several of those on this page convey the spirit of good cheer and common sense in which America usually finds solutions, sooner or later, for all the great public problems that force themselves upon the nation's attention.



FOR REDUCING THE WASTE
From *Opinion* (London)



TO KEEP OUT HOGS, BUILD FENCES
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

AUSTRIA'S PRESENT PLIGHT AND DISMAL FUTURE

BY ALONZO ENGLEBERT TAYLOR

[Dr. Taylor had been for many years professor of pathology in the University of California, and later professor of physiology in the University of Pennsylvania. He was one of that large group of educators and scientists who gave their services to the nation with the outbreak of war. Dr. Taylor was chosen to represent the Secretary of Agriculture on the War Trade Board. He has just returned from Central Europe, with fresh and authoritative knowledge of conditions there, particularly in Austria. We are fortunate in obtaining this picture of a remarkable situation.—THE EDITOR]

WHAT is the matter with Austria? What is not the matter with Austria! If we believe that nations, like human beings, have diseases, we may say that Austria is suffering from every hereditary disease that a nation can be heir to and from every infectious disease to which a nation is susceptible. She has visited upon her the sins of her forefathers; and she has no vitality to bequeath to her children. Austria stands today the most hopeless picture of political desolation and economic disintegration.

The present boundaries of Austria contain supposedly not over eight million people. When the Czechs, Hungarians, Slavs and Italians within her borders leave, as they must leave both for the sake of themselves and of Austria, the population will be reduced to about six and a half million. The present population of Vienna is two and a quarter million and this will be reduced to a million and a half when the emigration of non-Austrians is completed. Under the terms of the treaty of peace, Austria retains Vorarlberg, the Tyrol north of the divide, Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria, most of Styria, part of Carinthia and none of Carniola. Of this only Upper and Lower Austria are really agricultural country, the rest is semi-mountainous or truly alpine.

The food-stuffs produced within the boundaries of the present Austria in the pre-war period were not sufficient to feed the population of the present Austria over four months of the year; the food supply of two-thirds of the year must be imported.

This places Austria in the class with Switzerland and Norway, to choose illustrations among small nations. Switzerland and Norway have industries that enable them to pay for the food-stuffs they need to import. What industries does Austria possess? Leaving aside all consideration of war loans and war debts, the plot of country that is now Austria did not before the war possess industries that would enable her to import two-thirds of the food supply of her present population. The balance of trade of the semi-mountainous and alpine districts was maintained only with the money of the tourist. Upper and Lower Austria could possibly be self-supporting in food-stuffs alone, but would possess nothing to exchange for commodities.

How Vienna Has Fallen

In Vienna was the bureaucracy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A certain shifting of the bureaucracy to Budapest had occurred within the last forty years, but Vienna remained the Hauptstadt. The administration of the imperial government of the customs, the military organization, the railways, the waterways, of shipping, of the taxes and excises, and of the church were located in Vienna. The control of the trade in grain and cattle from the Baltic to the Adriatic was in Vienna. The bureaucracy of the banking system of Central Europe was in Vienna. There was an enormous population of petty civil servants. Vienna was a city of art, science, literature and culture in excess of the domains of Austria-Hungary. The portion of the population engaged in productive enterprises was small, not over one-sixth of the total. Vienna was the clearing house, the exchange, the forum, the ball-room of Central Europe. Only to a small extent was she the factory city of the empire; and that empire was an agrarian and not an industrial

Now A[illegible] split into six different [illegible] Czecho-Slovakia has eighty per cent. of t[illegible]ndustry of the old

empire. Poland has the oil of Galicia and some of the coal of the Silesian basin. With Trieste has disappeared the shipping of the empire. But all the bureaucracies remain in Vienna, because the bureaucracies of the empire were not divided among the nationalities of the empire but were constituted almost entirely by Austrians. In other words the Austrians were the officials, the civil servants, the administrative and industrial bureaucracies of the empire. With the creation of the new states, these develop, naturally, their own administrations; and half the population of Vienna is out of occupation.

A Dismal Future

Now what are these people to do? Enter upon agriculture? Where, within the borders of Austria? Enter upon manufacturing? In what factories, with what materials and with whose coal, within the borders of Austria? It has taken Switzerland a hundred years to develop her industries under the conditions that Austria would have to face,—importation of basic materials and of fuel and exportation of the finished articles to the ends of the earth. But Vienna cannot wait a hundred years, these people must have employment at once. Failing that, they must emigrate or perish.

Comparable to the resources of the country, Vienna should be a city of not to exceed a quarter of a million inhabitants. To where are these people to emigrate? With whose means, and to do what, in the land of their adoption? Last year Vienna in large part and the rest of Austria to a lesser degree, were fed with food purchased through credits advanced by the United Kingdom, France and Italy. Who is to feed them during the present year? They have no buying power, no earning power, no bargaining power. They have only one thing to sell; that is their art. Vienna has wonderful paintings, tapestries, and collections of artistic and historical value. She probably has enough to feed the country for several years; and when they are gone?

A Bankrupt and Famished Nation

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was bankrupt within a year after the declaration of war. Her bankruptcy has been multiplied each year. The national debt of Austria, when contrasted with her resources, constitutes the most ludicrous fiscal statement in history. There is nothing left except repudiation; and repudiation means no advantage, not even in bookkeeping.

The Vienese have been hungry for five years. Scarcity of food occurred in Vienna earlier than anywhere else in the great war. With Bucharest and Warsaw, Vienna has been the deepest sufferer. Since the day of the installation of the first bread card, in March 1915, half of the population of Vienna have not had their hunger satisfied. Half a dozen times during the war starvation en bloc was averted in Vienna only by the Germans rushing military food stores to that city. Upon one of these occasions, Vienna was provisioned with food-stuffs that constituted the pre-war storage of the forts of Metz!

Although the great Austro-Hungarian monarchy was before the war a food-exporting state, she became during the war a parasite upon Germany. She was so inefficient that she could not rob even the conquered areas; the Germans had to do that for her. Shall we say "so inefficient" or shall we say that Austria had a heart? The collapse of the food supplies of Austria was not merely the result of inefficiency, it was in part the result of sabotage. From the first day of the war, the Czecho-Slovakians shirked and did everything they could prevent the success of the Central Powers. This was one reason why the army of Bela Kun found the Slovakian divisions so vulnerable in the campaign of last summer; an army that has been systematically trained to sham fighting for four years, will not stand when suddenly told to do so. The preponderance of Roumanians and Serbs in southern Hungary was such that no pressure could be applied to them; and when the writer motored through the Banat in March of this year, the land looked as free of war as Iowa.

For two years the empire's military authorities dared not requisition food for the army in Croatia, whose soldiers would fight against the Italians but against no one else. Whether the result of inefficiency or sabotage, every reduction in the food supply fell earliest and heaviest upon Vienna.

Could Austria Live upon Tourists?

Austria has no coal, a little salt, a little copper, no iron of moment; the soil of her hills raises little food and under this soil are no minerals or metals. In this respect she resembles Switzerland; but she comes face to face with these deficiencies in one moment, while Switzerland has grown up with

them. Austria has beautiful lakes, mountains, glaciers, and rivers; in many respects the Tyrol, even the northern watershed that alone remains to her, is as beautiful as Switzerland. But the number of tourists in the world is limited, the care of tourists is not developed as in Switzerland, it is primitive in the Tyrol. Mountaineers go to the Tyrol, not tenderfeet. It would require capital and organization to equip Austria for competition with Switzerland as a playground. And for years to come the battlefields of Belgium, France and Italy will hold attractions that mountain climbing cannot rival. If Vienna could retain her art she might have hopes that Austria might become a world's playground. But with Vienna a city with dwellings for two million people, empty of art and half empty of people, it is not possible to convert the Tyrol into a world's playground.

The Political Outlook

What is to become of Austria politically? Apparently the views of the Allied and Associated powers run to the effect that Austria should be condemned to permanent isolation. This is the official opinion deduced from the treaty of peace. The Austrians want to join with someone, out of sheer helplessness. Naturally they wish to join Bavaria, since Austrians and Bavarians are brothers in religion, views of life, political opinions and worldly sentiments. During the war Germany loaned billions of marks to Austria and this debt would presumably be cancelled if she were joined to Germany. This fact, although it represents really only a bookkeeping loss, has made the Prussian cold to the idea of the annexation of Austria; but not so the Bavarian, who ardently desires to join Austria to his country and to feed and care for her people.

If Bavaria had separated from the rest of Germany, France would have approved of the union of Austria and Bavaria. But the French people, apprehensive of future Teutonic wantonness, cannot accept the idea of seeing seven million more people added to the German empire. It does no good to say that the Austrians would not be a source of strength but certainly a source of weakness to Germany. It makes no difference to point out that the accession of Austria would aid Bavaria in resisting Prussian domination. The mere figure of seven million settles the argument for France. Waiving aside military considerations of the distant future, the writer is unable to see any reason why Austria should not be allowed to join Bavaria. If she is compelled to remain isolated, she will during the period of necessary emigration become a charge upon the world. Is it fully realized that today Austria is worse off than Armenia so far as food, clothing, and fuel are concerned?

The Austrian Faces the Future

The psychology of the Austrians is one of inexplicable apathy, a fatalistic complacency, a dullness, a palsy of the consciousness, with the retention of the artistic qualities that were always characteristic of the fashions and frolics of Vienna. And without bitterness! They know that they have lost the war and that they are trebly bankrupt; but they do not understand the reasons for the isolation of Austria.

In the Austro-Hungarian empire were nearly fifty-five million people, of these there were some eight million Germans and eleven million Magyars; in other words, sixty per cent. of the population of the empire belonged to other nationalities. The Austrians and the Hungarians ruled these sixty per cent. badly. As the result of the war, these sixty per cent. claim their independent national existence. The Austrians are not able to understand why the eight million Germans and eleven million Magyars should not be given another chance to rule fifty-five million people considerately and progressively. But history is not written that way. The Viennese will argue with great ingenuity that Central Europe is an industrial, agricultural, and economic unit; and there is a great deal in this. There must have been something substantial in the relations that held this heterogeneous monarchy together for so long. But the hand of fate has decreed that six separate states are going to split the agriculture, industry and the economics of the old empire into six separate parts and attempt to organize and administer them under six different political governments. If they fail, Austria fails with them. If the other five succeed, Austria still fails. It is the most r situation in the history of the wo

THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

WITH the month of November we have passed the first milestone since the Armistice ended the World War. Looking backward over twelve months, it is clear that the mood of the world has changed tremendously since the hour when the victorious Allies imposed their preliminary terms upon the German and brought to a definitive close that period which had begun more than four years before, when the first German regiments appeared before Liége.

Such comment as marked the recent anniversary, comment made hurriedly by men and nations harassed by a multitude of dangers, perplexities and difficulties, economic as well as political, demonstrated that the initial year of peace had brought with it endless disillusionment, that few of the hopes which were generally expressed in November, 1918, had been realized a year later and many of the expectations had been wrecked.

Yet at the outset of this brief review of the events of the past year, it is essential to emphasize the fact that many, perhaps most, of the expectations held on the earlier date belonged to the category of the confident hopes of one long ill, who, with the first return of strength, with the earliest recognition of the actual defeat of the disease, believes himself capable, not alone of taking up old tasks with familiar vigor but in fact of undertaking even greater labors, when, as a consequence of long illness, his strength has largely vanished.

Similarly the very character and extent of the great struggle, the degree to which the whole of the populations of the European nations had been exhausted, the amount of destruction which had been wrought, clearly indicated the fact that all recovery would be slow, while the manner in which Russia had succumbed to weariness and agony, disclosed symptoms which were in some degree to be looked for all over the European Continent. In truth, the nations allied against Germany had by the very narrowest of margins escaped defeat in battle and collapse at home and were in no condition to make rapid recovery.

Despite this obvious circumstance, peoples and leaders boldly affirmed on the morrow of the Armistice, not alone that the defeat of Germany and the consequent liberation of mankind from one of its most deadly menaces was to be made secure, but also that the consequences of the victory were to be extended until war was made next to impossible and a peace of conciliation was to placate the enemies, while a peace of justice was to provide for the reparation due to victims of German devastation.

At the moment when the Russian Empire was consumed by an unparalleled conflagration, the Austro-Hungarian Empire fallen into desperate chaos, the German Empire become the battleground between order and madness, with all its ancient landmarks removed and its traditional leaders exiled, the Paris Conference met to remake the world and to provide a basis for future world organization, while at the same moment it liquidated the most destructive conflict in all human history.

In this Conference, too, America with totally different conceptions, political experience and training, Great Britain with purposes like America's different from Europe and like Europe's different from America, met Europe condemned in the very nature of things to take full cognizance of all its traditions, its history, its peculiar Continental necessities. In a word, three totally different and, in a measure, mutually exclusive ideas met, in the presence of an imperious necessity to restore some sort of order in a stricken world and as an inevitable consequence there emerged, not a fusion of the three views, but a document made up of such compromises as had been inevitable, but were calculated to destroy the efficacy of the three policies represented, each of which might conceivably, had it been adopted in its totality, served to meet the situation with at least a measure of adequacy.

We had then, throughout the long months of the Paris Conference, a never-ending series of confused and confusing reports, opinions, ideas. To America demanding through the President a peace of conciliation, Europe, our recent Allies, responded with

an unanswerable demand for indemnity for the past and security against the future. But in order to pay the just claims of France and Belgium, it would be necessary for Germany to dedicate to this task her earnings and her economic future for a generation and such a labor could only be expected of Germany if she were placed under constraint. Such constraint in itself abolished the idea of a peace of reconciliation.

More than this, while asking for a peace of reconciliation, the United States united with France and Great Britain in the demand that the subject peoples of Germany, the Poles, the Danes and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to their former associations. It was simple justice, this demand, but it meant depriving the Germans of all of the conquests from the period of Frederick the Great to William I, dividing Prussia into two disjointed fragments, taking from the Germans most of their iron, much of their coal and at least one of their most fertile provinces.

Again, this course, founded upon mere common justice, carried with it for the Germans consequences so grave that it was self evident that no German would accept the decision, which seemed to him not unreasonably a death sentence, save as it was enforced by power and only while the power was undeniable. If he consented to evacuate Posen, West Prussia, permit a plebiscite in Upper Silesia and resign the port of Danzig to the League of Nations, he would do all these things only with the clear determination to set aside this whole settlement, when once the chance came.

More than this. Long before the war, at its inception and throughout its course, German leaders had told the German people that the neighbors of Germany sought to destroy the German state and ruin the German prosperity, which had developed in recent years. These neighbors were portrayed as jealous, vengeful, united by a common desire to wreck the German nation. This was false, but the very manner in which Germany had assailed her neighbors, the extent to which she had plundered and devastated their cities and fields, made it inevitable that the compensation demanded should be almost ruinous for the Germans.

Thus the Germans who had taught their countrymen to believe their neighbors planned German ruin, were able to transform the decisions of Versailles into confirmation of this prediction, to convince the German peo[illegible] the [illegible]ust, and easily to pe[illegible]ade [illegible]nly as a necessary subm[illegible]n to force. [illegible]us all chance of a peace of reconcil[illegible]uickly passed and left the old fears and insecurity.

II. The Russian Problem

From the outset then the hope of reconciliation with Germany was impossible, a vain imagining, because it was attainable only by permitting Germany to escape the consequences of her crimes and thus condemning her victims, France and Belgium, to approximate economic and financial ruin and continuing the Poles, the Danes and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine in permanent political slavery. But the German rock was only the first of the many on which the hopes of the Armistice hours grounded. Not less fatal was the Russian obstacle.

If the Conference of Paris, as the executive for the victorious allies, was to restore peace in the world, it could only do it by actually bringing the whole world within its sphere of operations. As long as the greatest European race, occupying the largest single national area in Europe, was not only engaged in a revolution of enormous proportions but was also plotting and carrying on an open war against western nations and western institutions, seeking to upset all political and economic institutions and replace them with Bolshevism, world peace was impossible.

The Paris Conference had, then, to deal with Russia. But it could only deal with Russia in one way; it had in the nature of things to turn its victorious armies against the Bolshevist hordes and crush them—a thing by no means impossible, since Bolshevism had lost strength through its concomitant anarchy and misery. Peace, the Paris Conference could not make with Bolshevism, because Bolshevism itself was a purpose to upset governments and institutions outside of Russia.

It was impossible to make peace with Lenine and Trotzky, just as it would be impossible to make peace with a would-be assassin, who does not renounce his purpose to kill, because there is no method of living with him. It is true that at times the Bolsheviks were [illegible] agree to a truce, but only to p[illegible]e attack, and never were they [illegible]red to [illegible] aside their purpose, whi[illegible]v[illegible]nd [illegible]o [illegible]estroy all western institutio[illegible] su[illegible] the rule of the

lowest elements for that of the higher, the educated, the intellectually superior.

But if it was impossible to reach any basis of agreement and therefore necessary to attack and destroy the Bolshevist enemy, the Paris Conference promptly discovered that all attack was impossible because neither the soldiers nor the publics of the Allied nations would consent to a new campaign. The soldiers mutinied, the publics protested and it became necessary to abandon any operation against the Bolshevists.

Following the decisive failure of a policy of armed intervention the Paris Conference tried many half measures. It sought conference and adjustment through the Prinkipo proposition. It endeavored to use the newly liberated states of the East as a sanitary cordon to shut out Bolshevism from Central Europe. It had recourse to small armies, where only large could have real results. In the end it was compelled to confess utter bankruptcy. It could frame no policy to take the place of forcible intervention, largely if not wholly because no other policy could be discovered, but it was prohibited from employing this single policy which gave promise of success by the state of mind of war-weary publics and "fed-up" soldiers.

But precisely as the inability to frame a peace of reconciliation with Germany destroyed one-half of the hope of re-ordering world relations, the similar failure in the matter of Russia disposed of the other half. Against Germany it was necessary to stand in arms, since Germany in the nature of things would only perform the obligations imposed upon her under duress and saw in them injustices such as would move her to new attacks. Against Russian anarchy, Bolshevist madness, it was necessary not alone to take measures for protection in Eastern and Middle Europe, but also in every country Bolshevist ideas were seized upon by a certain fraction of the population and used with terrible consequences to domestic peace.

Thus, all through the Conference of Paris, France and Great Britain and Italy to an even larger extent, were threatened with internal disorders growing out of a mixture of Bolshevist doctrines with war weariness and exhaustion, while at the same time they had to face the possibility that Bolshevism would conquer the German, the Austrian nationalities, and the Polish people. The reality of the danger was vividly indicated when Hungary suddenly threw herself into the arms of the Bolshevists.

In America the extent of the apprehensions in Paris was never accurately appraised, but it was no less true that the statesmen who were engaged in the effort to restore world peace and lay the foundations for new world amity were constantly oppressed by the fear that at any moment they might be engulfed in a tidal wave of anarchy which would sweep them and their little edifices out of existence. And against this great menace they could take only the most puerile of measures, since their own publics were determined to make no more sacrifices.

Again and again in Paris the Bolshevist spectre created a panic and temporarily diverted the course of negotiations and changed the decisions of the statesmen. The possibility of an alliance between the German and the Bolshevist was always present. Recognizing that the German was henceforth permanently hostile, Paris feared to impose upon the Germans the extreme penalties, which had been deserved, lest Germany should follow the example of Hungary and, in utter madness and hopelessness, cast its lot in with Russia. Conceivably all these fears were exaggerated, but what is really important is the influence they had upon events, not the degree to which they were sound or absurd.

Moreover, and this point is cardinal, in failing, of necessity, to make a peace of reconciliation with Germany, in completely failing to arrive at any *modus vivendi* with Russia, the Paris Conference lost its last chance of establishing in the world any new international system. The maximum of possibility was very plainly disclosed by March to be to reach some sort of settlement embodying just recognition of the claims of these nations which in common alliance had defeated the Germans and hope that such a settlement would create a strong group of nations, bound together by recent alliance and by a common will to preserve order in the world and defend one another against attacks coming either from the German or the Russian Bolshevist.

III. NATIONALISM

Unhappily this third and wholly restricted possibility proved equally impossible of attainment. It was true that the British and the French were able to meet the Americans in some sort of compromise, altho

not until long and difficult debates had almost shaken the Conference to the ground. But this Anglo-French-American concord could only be attained by compromises which seem to have weakened the treaty fatally in America and certainly served to rouse the opposition of all the other nations represented at Paris.

Thus the British insisted from the outset upon the preservation of their sea power, the possession of all of the German Colonies, save those they had by secret treaties assigned to France and Japan, and they demanded reparation from Germany so enormous that in conjunction with French and Belgian demands it spelled the permanent economic slavery of the German. The French on their part, associating themselves with their Allies and opposing America in the matter of reparation, claimed first the frontier of the Rhine and second the right to annex the Sarre Coal Basin.

The British claims were established, subject only to the rather shadowy indirection of mandates in the matter of the colonies and the eventual elimination of most of the financial demands. The French claims were reduced by the creation of a neutral zone on either bank of the Rhine and the limiting of French occupation of the Sarre Basin to fifteen years, with an eventual plebiscite to settle final ownership. But these differences had in no small degree separated the British, the French and the Americans, created resentments and established precedents.

Thus, when it came to the claims of Italy and of Japan, claims founded upon secret treaties which preceded the entrance of the United States into the war, both Italy and Japan insisted upon their bargains and Italy, while demanding that she should have all that was promised her by the Treaty of London, claimed in addition the port of Fiume on the basis of the principle of self-determination. Meantime, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia began to demand territories, possession of which not infrequently carried with it the promise of future struggles.

In sum, with Germany unappeased, rather invested with permanent resentment, with Russia beyond the reach of the Paris Conference, the negotiators in late March and early April saw their own alliance begin to collapse. The Italians presently left the Conference and D'Annunzio at a later time asserted by force the Italian claim to Fiume in defiance of the Paris decision. Rumania invaded H[illegible]d Budapest, annexed [illegible]armies penetrated deeply into K[illegible]zed Lemberg, expelling the Uk[illegible]n Eastern Galicia and maintaining their claim to this portion of their ancient state in defiance of the will of the Peace Conference.

At the same time a deep schism was discoverable among the three remaining allies. The French saw with horror the collapse of the alliance against Germany, the alienation of their two Latin associates, Italy and Rumania, the growing certainty that these two states would in the end make a common cause with Germany and thus appear as enemies of France in any new war, such as was now to be expected. In the same way they viewed with keen disapproval the Allied determination, the Anglo-American course in opposing Polish claims, both with respect of Russia and of Germany, and thus not merely alienating Polish sympathy and removing a corner-stone of new French policy in Europe, but risking a Polish lapse to Bolshevism such as had taken place in Hungary.

Briefly, then, in the presence of a reassertion of nationalism, in the face of an irresistible wave of racial aspirations in the case of smaller peoples, confronted by a renascence of traditional policy and purpose on the part of France, the Conference of Paris lost all authority as the executive of the victorious alliance. Rumania defied it with impunity, encouraged by France and Italy. Italy flouted it not alone with French sympathy but with a certain measure of British tolerance.

Meantime Jugo-Slavia, Poland and Greece looked on with amazement, while the Paris Conference sacrificed their dearest interests to abstract conceptions, become almost fantastic now that the authority of the Conference had been reduced to a shadow. And, as was natural, these states in their turn began to assert their independence, while Greece, less favorably placed and more unfairly treated than all other states, appealed from a Paris decision in favor of Bulgaria procured by American influence and obtained the immediate support of both the British and the French.

Finally, mutual rivalries, jealousies, conflicting clai[illegible]or[illegible]Great Britain and Italy in [illegible]o[illegible]Empire, prevented —and pre[illegible]on of that problem[illegible]t have been occupied by the British and the Ital-

ians, while the Greeks are in Smyrna, but the problem as a whole has not been solved and Europe awaits an American agreement to take as a mandate Constantinople and that portion of Asia Minor which lies outside the immediate sphere of interest of the several powers and is with more or less accuracy described as Armenia.

IV. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It remains to say a word about the League of Nations. With the American phase, with the political discussion, I shall not deal. In all my comment in this magazine I have endeavored to leave to others, far more competent than myself, the task of dealing with American politics and have confined myself to European aspects, nor is there any temptation to depart from this course now.

But from the European point of view the League of Nations represented the *sine qua non* of American participation in European affairs and Europe was eager to have America stay in Europe, naturally and necessarily anxious to have our immediate aid on the financial side and the very great guarantee of our military aid, should the German again attack his neighbors.

For this aid the Europeans were prepared to pay and for them the price was represented in the League of Nations. In turn our representatives called upon our recent associates to make sacrifices to our ideas of a just settlement and a permanent state of justice. We compelled the British to surrender Lloyd George's fantastic figures for German indemnity, made in the heat of his "Khaki" election in the fall of 1918. We compelled the French to abandon all idea of annexing the left bank of the Rhine or even the Sarre Basin. In addition we undertook to compel the Italians to abandon Fiume, the Rumanians to abandon portions of Hungary and Russia, and the Greeks to resign considerable areas in Thrace. Finally we exhausted all our resources in endeavoring to persuade the Japanese to abandon Shantung.

As to the British, they paid the price asked of them. British policy at Paris was inspired by a determination to promote good relations with America at any possible cost. As to the French, they gave up the left bank of the Rhine and agreed to leave the question of the Sarre to a plebiscite fifteen years hence. But the Italians, the Rumanians and the Japanese positively refused to accept our views at any price. With the Japanese we made a more or less complicated bargain, a compromise by which they took but agreed to surrender Shantung, but the Italians and Rumanians would not yield and the Greeks are still unreconciled.

Meantime, as I have said, French sympathy moved toward the Rumanian, the Italian and the Greek, since France was bound to have an open frontier and a corresponding danger on the German side. Moreover, France had only submitted to American ideas because she had been promised American military assistance in case of a new German attack. In other words, America had offered herself as a substitute for the Rhine barrier to persuade France to abandon this claim. But as French confidence in the actual value of this substitute diminished during the Senate debates on the Treaty, French sympathy moved away from the League of Nations covenant, with its Anglo-French-American alliance detail, toward an old continental arrangement.

Now whatever be the merits or demerits of the course in the United States Senate, whether the Senate has acted wisely or wrongly, the effect of the debate and the course of the majority has been unmistakably to deprive the League of Nations in European eyes of its single real strength. It was accepted—with modifications—by Europe as the one price necessary to pay to enlist American interest in Europe. It was believed to be the expression of the demand of the overwhelming mass of the American people.

If it was accepted by the British with only well-concealed mental reservations in certain directions, if it was accepted with enthusiasm by certain Englishmen, sure that it represented a new bridge between American and British publics, it was accepted by the French only in the spirit in which one takes disagreeable medicine to cure a worse disease. It was not accepted at all by the Japenese, the Italians or the Rumanians, nor has it been, in any real sense, submitted to the Germans or put before the Russians.

In America the League was frequently represented as a demand of stricken Europe, but in Europe it was widely regarded as a condition imposed by powerful—all-powerful—America. It is true, true beyond cavil, that Europe needs and asks our present assistance, our continuing participation in its life. But once it be clearly established in Europe that the League of Nations is not an

American demand, that there is, to say the least, a clear division of opinion about it in the United States, an unwillingness to give it official American endorsement with a corresponding commitment of American interests, then, in my judgment, the result will be a swift reversion to old ideas, an actual settlement, so far as settlement is possible, of European questions by Europeans, with greater regard to material and practical concerns than to idealistic or moral considerations.

Moreover, and the point seems to me vital, no matter what the ultimate decision in Washington, whether the treaty be rejected or laden with reservations, the demonstration of the strength of the opposition in the United States will deprive the League of Nations principle of its main European appeal. In the recent journey of President Poincaré to London, in the promise of a new Conference of London to deal with the Turkish Question, in a score of other less considerable incidents, I see the first evidences of an inevitable decision to go back to old-fashioned methods in dealing with European questions.

V. SUMMING IT UP

In a sense, then, the first anniversary of peace sees us confronting many, if not most of the problems of a year ago, seemingly as far from settlement now as then. "Business as usual" has not come, either in the relations of nations or in the domestic conditions of the various states. In so far as the Conference of Paris was expected to put the world back upon a normal basis, solve all the vexed problems of international rivalries and racial and national disputes, it has failed and its early adjournment will serve to demonstrate this fact.

Yet it seems to me this can be only a superficial judgment. We expected a miracle, more than a miracle, we have received instead only a thoroughly human and fallible arrangement. But the greatest vice in the present situation seems to me to flow from the frequent assertion that if this or that thing had been done differently, this or that mistake not made, roses would grow where thistles are now innumerable. The truth would seem to be that in 1918 as always in the past, there existed no short cut to the millennium.

The war defeated the deadliest peril of Modern History, namely, the German aggression founded upon German conception of force j its own achievements and subject to no limitation imposed by right. It will be a generation, it may be a century, it may be forever, before the German attempts to assert his gospel of 1914 again. In this sense we did make the world safe for democracy, but we did not also make it easy, nor did we win victory without sacrifices, the burden of which will weigh upon us for decades to come.

We did something else beside defeating Germany, we set millions of men and women free from tyranny, from oppression, from slavery, politiçal, if not economic. Some 40,000,000 of Europeans, alone, are now free to follow their language, their customs, their political aspirations. In thus making these millions free, we did not make them angels at the same time, we did not endow them with proper and fitting regard for the rights of their own neighbors. On the contrary long generations of servitude and corresponding lack of political experience have rendered inevitable excesses and stimulated ambitions, which constitute a present menace to the peace of the world and will not soon be banished.

But what basis in history or human nature was there for expecting that the newly liberated Pole would come forth from slavery purged of all those aspirations and ambitions which have led other races to endless wars? Who was it said of our Puritan ancestors, driven from Europe by persecution, that they "first fell upon their knees and then upon the natives?" Is it less an enduring fact, a permanent gain for the world, that the forty millions have been freed, granted that it will be long before they learn the just relation of their freedom to their neighbors' rights?

Even in Russia, where the present prospect is most appalling, it is at least true that a stupid and hopeless system has been destroyed. It has been succeeded by something indescribable in its horror, but in the very nature of things impermanent. Bad as it is, it undeniably contains the seed of something better, which never could have been said for the Romanoff régime. Does one think the world much worse off now because there exists a revolution dominated by Lenin than it was when R was a reactionary state, controlled by the l superstition of a Rasputin?

A quarter of a ry separates the French Revolution f he restoration of

that approximate order which followed Waterloo. The convulsion of a century ago was not more complete, more terrific than that through which we have just passed, and the whole of western Europe really found itself in a better material condition at the end than in the beginning owing to the reforms France forced alike upon herself and upon her enemies. But the present war has brought devastation and destruction such as the world has never known and little of it has yet been repaired or can be repaired, in any short period.

After a great convulsion, after a world struggle, the peace which follows seems a mighty poor recompense for the sacrifices and a small return on the hopes and aspirations of the hour. It was true in the case of the Peace of Westphalia, of Utrecht, it was especially true of the Peace of Vienna. Yet in each case the principle established by war, however little recognized by the peace settlement, endured, while the mistakes of the peace conference, itself, were, one by one, remedied.

In my judgment we have touched dead low water mark, in the pessimism growing out of the war. Until the present winter has passed there will be real danger of general disorder and possible expansion of Bolshevism. If the winter is severe in Europe human misery may find expression in some temporary explosion such as Russia has endured for nearly three years. But it is dishonest to assert that this disorder would have been avoided if Japan had not been permitted to occupy Shantung or Danzig had not been separated from Germany.

The disease from which the world still suffers arises out of the war, not out of the evils born since the Armistice. Mistakes were made at Paris, vain hopes were cherished on many sides, whose negation brings disappointment and bitterness, our statesmen the world over promised what the ancient gods of Greek mythology could not have performed, but neither their mistakes nor their failures explain the troubles of today and the peril of to-morrow.

VI. WHAT IS COMING?

I have wandered rather far afield in this article, because I have wanted to deal for a moment with that pessimism which seems to me one great and unnecessary obstacle to real peace. This is the sixth year that I have been reviewing with the readers of this magazine the progress of world events. To me the war was before all else a defense of our institutions and ideals against a fatal menace. I never despaired of ultimate victory, even in the darkest hours of the war, but to me the defeat of the German seemed so tremendous a thing to hope for, that when it arrived and since it arrived, I have remained grateful and, in some slight measure, satisfied.

Such history as I have been able to read in my life has never supplied warrant for any expectation that the immediate termination of a world-wide conflict could be the signal for a total reorganization of international relations, or a complete transformation of human nature. On the contrary it seems almost certain that the Paris Conference was, in advance, condemned to be little more than the first, wholly halting step in the direction of the restoration of world order.

If one chooses to compare the territorial changes made at Paris with those made at Vienna a century before, it becomes plain that the Paris decisions were far more in accordance with principles of justice than those of the earlier session. It may be that all division of European territories in accordance with the will of the various races is idle, impossible in many cases, but at least a genuine effort was made in Paris and, on the whole, with success. By contrast, when did the will of the people determine any important decision at Vienna? Provinces were handed back and forth without any regard to right, Italy was turned over to foreign masters, Belgium joined to Holland, Poland partitioned once more, German states reduced or expanded to suit Prussian and Austrian wishes.

Now we have liberated Poland, Czechoslovakia, expanded Serbia and Rumania into real states, by putting the Southern Slavs and Eastern Latins under their sway. We have given France Alsace-Lorraine, Italy Trieste and the Trentino, Denmark her Schleswig; we have set free more Greeks. Unhappily, along with this great work, we have called into new vitality old racial rivalries, which slumbered but still survived from earlier periods when the people yesterday enslaved were free.

As a consequence the disputes of the Italians and the Southern Slavs, the Rumanians and the Serbs, the Hungarians and the Rumanians, the Poles and the Ukrainians, Lithuanians and the Poles continue. It y

be many years before they are finally settled. The settlement may bring new wars, but it is not less possible that economic necessities will in due course of time contribute to compelling great as well as small nations to compromise their difficulties.

I do not want to seem to prophesy, but it is fairly certain that the Rumanian Question will be to the fore for some years to come. It will take more than some compromise made in Paris or Washington, really to reconcile Southern Slavs and Italians to any conceivable solution of their Adriatic dispute. There is no absolute right or wrong in any of these complicated race differences. If I were an Italian in Fiume I should prefer to fight to the death than become a subject of the present King of Serbia. If I were a Serbian, a Jugo-Slav, I would make any sacrifice rather than permit my country to be excluded from the sea and thus placed in economic servitude to the Italian. Self determination is an admirable principle, but it becomes inapplicable when, as in the Banat, no race has a majority and a separation on the basis of ethnic elements leads to an economic monstrosity.

As to a real world settlement, we shall not have it until Russia achieves some form of order, until Germany decides to live in conformity with the principles of western civilization, until the smaller races of Middle and Southeastern Europe reach a *modus vivendi*. In so far as the Paris Conference undertook to reorganize the world on a permanent basis and become a sort of supergoverning body, it failed. It could not punish and placate Germany. It could not crush and tolerate Bolshevism, it could not preserve the solidarity between its component parts, when the several parts quarrelled over details in the settlement.

The alliance against Germany could, in spite of obvious difficulties, incidental to all alliances, make war, because it was equally a matter of life and death for all the allies to defeat the German. No such unifying influence compelled coöperation in peacemaking, the Frenchman who would fight to save France from the invading German would not go to Russia to crush Bolshevism. With the coming of the Armistice separate nations automatically resumed their own individualities and the effort to preserve the old conditions failed completely.

In the past six months from Paris and later in America I have striven to present to the readers of this magazine the impassable gulf between [illegible] and Continental opinions, each the product of totally dissimilar experience and tradition, the gradual drift of the Continent back to its historic pathways, of America to her normal isolation, and the rather hopeless effort of the British, sharing certain European views and enjoying a measure of American isolation, to bridge the gulf.

The Rumanian episode was the first clear indication of the Continental drift, the Fiume incident the second. Whatever else may be said of it, the course of the United States Senate, so far as the treaty of Versailles is concerned, reveals a corresponding American reversion to a policy, which M. Take Jonescu would describe as one of "national instinct."

But if we are in a state of full reaction to national habit, at the present hour, after the brief subordination of national views to common necessities, it seems to me that we can expect at no distant time a new swing toward some enduring basis of association, less intimate than appeared possible to many a year ago, but more in accord with historical precedents. For I do not believe the United States can permanently regain its old isolation and I know that Europe has too great need of American association not to seek a new basis of co-operation.



A YEAR AGO IN [illegible] ARGONNE
From the *Republic* ([illegible] Louis, Mo.)

PRODUCTION WAITS ON RAILROAD LEGISLATION

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

(Editor of the Railway Age.)

THE railroad situation in the United States is very bad; it is daily growing worse; and unless constructive measures for dealing with it are soon adopted, it is likely to become the cause of national disaster.

The railroads are to be returned to private operation at the end of this year. President Wilson so announced last May, and he has not changed his mind. It has been recognized ever since the carriers were taken over by the Government that if they should ever be returned to private operation there should first be passed legislation greatly changing and improving our system of regulation.

Nevertheless, the special session of Congress has been adjourned and with return to private operation only a month away no railroad legislation has been enacted. The House has passed the Esch bill but it is an entirely inadequate measure. The Cummins bill which is pending in the Senate is much better, but it may not be passed before the end of the year; and it is impossible to anticipate how much it will be changed before the Senate acts on it. The Esch bill as reported from committee was quite a good bill, but was completely emasculated in the House. After the Cummins bill has been passed the two measures will be sent to conference, and subsequently the conference committee's report will have to be acted upon in both houses. The prospects of adequate permanent railway legislation before the end of the year seem very poor.

While Congress is considering railway legislation, evidence of the pressing need for it accumulates. Last spring when the carriers lost the freight resulting from war activities there was a sharp decline of traffic, but the revival of the so-called "non-essential" industries was so rapid that in October the traffic available was larger than ever. The railways were unable to handle all that was offered, as they have been every time in four years when the country has been producing to anything like its capacity. This directed attention once more, and more forcibly than ever, to the positively enormous shortage of railroad facilities which has accrued.

It is now proposed to return the railways to private operation under legislation continuing the existing guarantees of "standard return," in order to give Congress more time to work on permanent legislation. Since the nation has decided in favor of restoring private operation, probably it would be better to return the roads to their owners under even temporary legislation than to continue government operation.

But the fact should be clearly recognized that the return of the railways to private operation under temporary legislation will not have any of the important effects which would be produced by their return under the right kind of permanent legislation. The only effect of temporary legislation continuing the Government guarantees would be the entirely negative one of making it practicable to hand them back without immediately bankrupting many of the companies and precipitating a panic.

Why Reform of Regulation is Needed

If the railways should be restored to private operation without the passage of any new legislation, the system of regulation to which they would become subject would be that existing prior to Government control. A large majority of them succeeded in remaining solvent and in rendering good service under that system, and it may be asked why it is so necessary now to make important changes in regulation. The answer is twofold:

First, developments during the last few years when railways were privately operated demonstrated that under the old system of regulation the solvency of our entire railroad system was being undermined and its ability to increase its facilities enough to keep abreast of commerce was being destroyed. The rate of return earned by the railways as a whole steadily declined in the ten years and especially in the five years ending with 1915. The result was that in the fall of

various systems; that the consolidations which it requires shall be voluntary for seven years and then compulsory.

That many consolidations of the so-called "weak" and "strong" roads should be effected to eliminate wastes due to excessive competition and to promote more uniform development of the various railways clearly is desirable. It is doubtful, however, whether a governmental policy of compulsory consolidation would prove any more beneficial than has the past governmental policy of compulsory dissolution of consolidations. Probably the minimum for which the law should provide is that the railway companies shall be made free to effect any consolidations which the Transportation Board—if one is created, otherwise the Interstate Commerce Commission—shall hold will not be contrary to the public interest.

4. *Settlement of Labor Disputes.*

The Cummins bill provides for compulsory arbitration of railway labor disputes and prohibits strikes or attempts to incite strikes under heavy penalties. The railway labor organizations are in favor of the creation of Boards of Adjustment and a Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions composed equally of railway officers and employes, such as those which have been created by the Railroad Administration; but they are unalterably opposed to any provision which will prohibit strikes. Experience in countries where compulsory arbitration has been tried shows that it is practically impossible to make men work when they do not want to. On the other hand, the public clearly has a right to more protection from strikes and lockouts on railways than it has now. The minimum requirement in relation to this matter which will protect the public interest is that before a strike or lockout can be declared any dispute arising between railway companies and their employes must be submitted to a Board of Adjustment on which the companies and the employes shall have equal representation, and that in case of disagreement by the members of this board there must be appeal to a Board of Arbitration one-third of whose members shall represent the public, one-third the companies, and one-third the employes.

The public has a right to require under adequate penalties that it shall not be made to suffer the terrible consequences of a suspension of the operation of the railro[ads] until every reasonable effort has been to b[e] t[he] settlement of the matters

5. *Indebtedness of [the] ways to Government*

Under government control the railway companies have incurred a substantial amount of indebtedness to the Government, due chiefly to investment which the Government has made in their properties. To require the railway companies to liquidate this indebtedness at once, or in the near future, would interfere with their raising new capital which should be invested in additional facilities, and would financially embarrass many of them. The Government should give the railways at least ten years to liquidate their indebtedness to it; meantime, of course, charging them at a reasonable rate.

Advance in Rates Will Be Necessary.

It is thirteen years since James J. Hill wrote his famous letter saying that unless our policy of regulation was so changed as to encourage and stimulate the increase of railroad facilities it would be but a matter of time until the growth of the country's industry would be stopped by the inability of the railroads to handle its commerce. The nation has persisted since then in the policy of restrictive regulation against which Mr. Hill uttered his warning, and this, together with conditions created by the war, has brought to pass practically the situation which he feared. The railways are to-day limiting the production of the United States, and they will for some time continue to limit it unless there shall be an industrial depression due to other causes.

The only way to remedy this condition is to substitute for the old restrictive policy a constructive one—a policy which, instead of keeping railway rates and earnings as low as they can be without actual confiscation, as has been done in the past, will make them as high as is necessary to enable the railways to compete successfully in the money market with other industries for the capital they need.

The adoption of this policy will necessarily involve raising railway rates substantially and keeping them higher as long as wages and prices remain high. But will it not be better for industry and for all classes of people to have adequate transportation at rates which will be remunerative to the con[struc]s, than to have transportation which will [ine]antly limit production and thereby limit t[he] [pros]rity and well-being

GHTS OF RAILROAD OWNERS

BY S. DAVIES WARFIELD

(President, National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities;
President, Continetal Trust Co., Baltimore.)

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e holders of these obligations include st army of people holding life-insurance s or having deposits in savings banks, h. There are thirty-five million peo- rrying unduplicated life-insurance pol- who have a direct investment through reserve funds in railroad mortgage tions. There are ten million depositors tual savings banks similarly situated. ion honesty demands that the Govern- shall observe both the letter and the of the contract.

s unthinkable that Congress would fail to the full recognition of this obliga- Should the Government ever cease to be the exemplar of good faith in dealing with the people we would be involved in moral bankruptcy. With a clear perception of this obligation there can be little doubt that it will be fulfilled. The practical interest is in the method of fulfillment.

Incident to the war we have seen the aggregate wages paid to railroad employes rise from $1,700,000,000 to approximately $3,000,000,000 a year. There has been a proportionate increase in the cost of materials and supplies, so that when the railroad properties are returned there has been attached to their operations a revolutionary advance in all expenses. While this has been going on with the cost of labor and materials and supplies, the income value of the product (transportation) has been stationary under the Government lease. The same measure of establishing the rental to be paid continues to be the return to the owners of these properties under the Government contract. The aggregate of this rental—approximately $932,000,000 per year—remaining stationary, shows convincingly that the Government policy has been to take care of the increased cost of labor and supplies, not out of the revenues of the roads but from that raised by all of the people, instead of transferring these costs as a charge for service through increased rates where they belong.

Congress in taking up the practical problems involved has held exhaustive hearings as to the essentials for protecting the railroad credit structure. The whole fabric of credit, and with it the fate of our national prosperity, depends upon the solution of this problem before permanently turning back the railroads to private operation.

The solution is found in Section 6 of the Cummins bill, now before the Senate of the United States. The highest authorities, and those who have given exhaustive study to the question, are forced to a conclusion that upon the fate of this one section of the Cummins bill depends the question whether the private operation of railroads may be safely resumed and private ownership perpetuated.

The terms "strong" and "weak" when

various systems; that the consolidations which it requires shall be voluntary for seven years and then compulsory.

That many consolidations of the so-called "weak" and "strong" roads should be effected to eliminate wastes due to excessive competition and to promote more uniform development of the various railways clearly is desirable. It is doubtful, however, whether a governmental policy of compulsory consolidation would prove any more beneficial than has the past governmental policy of compulsory dissolution of consolidations. Probably the minimum for which the law should provide is that the railway companies shall be made free to effect any consolidations which the Transportation Board—if one is created, otherwise the Interstate Commerce Commission—shall hold will not be contrary to the public interest.

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The only way to remedy this condition is to substitute for the old restrictive policy a constructive one—a policy which, instead of keeping railway rates and earnings as low as they can be without actual confiscation, as has been done in the past, will make them as high as is necessary to enable the railways to compete successfully in the money market with other industries for the capital they need.

The adoption of this policy will necessarily involve raising railway rates substantially, and keeping them higher as long as wages and prices remain high. But will it not be better for industry and for all classes of people to have a[illegible]t ansportation at rates which will be re[illegible]erative to the companies, than to have t[illegible]portation which will constantly limit pr[illegible]ion and thereby limit the general pr[illegible]and well-being?

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The Act, has therefore, established the Government's obligation for physical damage to the railroads. This is only a part of the obligation assumed by the Government when private owners lost the control of their properties. The owners had no voice in determining the terms of rental for the war use of their properties. There was not time for negotiations and setting up of values.

The return of the railroads to their owners scheduled for January 1 next is faced with catastrophe should Congress fail to carry out the letter of the contract under which they were taken over. The operating income of the railroads has shrunk under Government control, as of June 1, 1919, to about 40 per cent. of the average for the test period. Where this deficit is being materially reduced it is feared the upkeep of the properties is neglected. To be handed back in such a condition would leave the railroads, as a whole, where their income would be insufficient to take care of a large proportion of the interest upon their bonds.

The holders of these obligations include the vast army of people holding life-insurance policies or having deposits in savings banks, or both. There are thirty-five million people carrying unduplicated life-insurance policies who have a direct investment through these reserve funds in railroad mortgage obligations. There are ten million depositors in mutual savings banks similarly situated. Common honesty demands that the Government shall observe both the letter and the spirit of the contract.

It is unthinkable that Congress would fail to rise to the full recognition of this obligation. Should the Government ever cease to be the exemplar of good faith in dealing with the people we would be involved in moral bankruptcy. With a clear perception of this obligation there can be little doubt that it will be fulfilled. The practical interest is in the method of fulfillment.

Incident to the war we have seen the aggregate wages paid to railroad employes rise from $1,700,000,000 to approximately $3,000,000,000 a year. There has been a proportionate increase in the cost of materials and supplies, so that when the railroad properties are returned there has been attached to their operations a revolutionary advance in all expenses. While this has been going on with the cost of labor and materials and supplies, the income value of the product (transportation) has been stationary under the Government lease. The same measure of establishing the rental to be paid continues to be the return to the owners of these properties under the Government contract. The aggregate of this rental—approximately $932,000,000 per year—remaining stationary, shows convincingly that the Government policy has been to take care of the increased cost of labor and supplies, not out of the revenues of the roads but from that raised by all of the people, instead of transferring these costs as a charge for service through increased rates where they belong.

Congress in taking up the practical problems involved has held exhaustive hearings as to the essentials for protecting the railroad credit structure. The whole fabric of credit, and with it the fate of our national prosperity, depends upon the solution of this problem before permanently turning back the railroads to private operation.

The solution is found in Section 6 of the Cummins bill, now before the Senate of the United States. The highest authorities, and those who have given exhaustive study to the question, are forced to a conclusion that upon the fate of this one section of the Cummins bill depends the question whether the private operation of railroads may be safely resumed and private ownership perpetuated.

The terms "strong" and "weak" when

applied to railroads indicate more truly the territory the respective roads serve than the financial condition of the road to which it is applied. Rates adjusted to the fair guarantee of the roads serving "strong" territory, where traffic is dense, fail to produce sufficient revenue to the roads serving "weak" territory where traffic is light.

The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission are practically limited to making rates of universal application to all railroads in a competitive territory. Rates adjusted only to the fair requirements of the 53 so-called "strong" railroads, in their application to the traffic carried by the 109 "weak" roads, fail to produce sufficient income to preserve the credit and permit the development of the "weak" roads. If rates were adjusted to the fair requirements of the 109, earnings would be produced to the 53 roads in excess of what the public, the shippers, and the Interstate Commerce Commission would or could stand for. This was characterized by Senator Cummins as the "insoluble problem."

Something must be done. The problem was to secure to those 109 railroads serving "weak" territory revenue sufficient to enable them to perform service and produce a reasonable return upon their investment, fairly computed, without at the same time producing more earnings to the 53 roads serving "strong" territory than should be retained.

The National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities suggested to the committees of Congress which have been considering railroad legislation, a simple and effective method to relieve the conditions mentioned and stabilize railroad credit and securities. This method was substantially adopted in Section 6 of the Cummins bill now before the Senate.

The effect of that section is to provide that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall establish a level of rates that will yield "as nearly as may be" 5½ per cent. on the aggregate value of the property and equipment of the railroads devoted to the public use, plus one-half of one per cent., at the discretion of the commission, for unproductive improvements. For the purpose of determining and adjusting rates so that they will yield a living and fair return, the commission shall arrange the roads (as they have done in the past for a similar purpose) into as many groups as they may decide.

Railroads that earn in excess of the given reasonable return of 6 per cent. on their individual property investment or "fair value" will retain one-half of such excess as incentive. The remaining half would create a national fund to be used in the interest of transportation as a whole, in purchasing equipment and joint facilities, etc., to be leased to the railroads but not capitalized for rate making.

Under Section 6 of the Cummins bill the aggregate value of the roads of respective groups is taken, the rates are based on such aggregate value without regard to securities that have been issued by any road. If this Section is passed the idle talk about paying or earning "dividends," or a return on "watered securities" and "shadow dollars," will cease and private ownership and operation will be permanently established.

Many railroads will not earn as much as the 5½ per cent. or 6 per cent. on their individual property and equipment. Each railroad will earn on its own value as much as it can secure through the traffic it handles and through efficiency in operation and management. So a railroad that is over capitalized in securities suffers in the percentage return it may receive on such securities. Those roads that earn over the 6 per cent. have the incentive to make the earnings in excess thereof as great as possible because they retain one-half of such excess (one third after 6 per cent).

There is no *guarantee* of any description, directly or indirectly given. Rates are made that would yield the stated return on the value of the transportation system *as a whole;* and no two roads will necessarily receive the *same percentage* return, because each earns on its *own value* what it can from rates made for *all*. The leveling is accomplished through the regulation of earnings in excess of the percentage return.

No informed person will contest the statement that *in the aggregate* the properties and equipment devoted to the public use of Class 1 railroads (89 per cent. of the total mileage) are worth more in the aggregate than the seventeen and a half billion dollars shown by the books of the railroads.

There has been loss of confidence in railroad securities, due to the impossible conditions under which the railroads were compelled to exist in the absence of power in the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The removal of this d[illegible]t depends upon the preservation, in any railroad legislation adopted by Congress, of [illegible]ection 6 of the Cummins bill.

WAR-TIME HOUSING AND THE GOVERNMENT

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND

(President of the American Civic Association; late Treasurer of the Commission on Living Conditions of War Workers, Department of Labor)

TO many of us "civilians" who invaded and permeated official Washington during the months when the war stress made our assistance welcome to the Federal government, the question as to the fate of the housing enterprises undertaken by Uncle Sam is important. When one has tried to "do his bit" in the endeavor to speed up war production, and has at the same time sought to gain for the nation a lasting peace advantage out of war efforts, the outcome of such efforts seems a proper matter of concern.

The story of war housing endeavors may be briefly sketched as a background to the present difficult situation. It was early discovered—when the urge of necessity made essential the rapid production of munitions, ships, guns, and supplies for our armies—that not only had peace-time industrial housing in the centers of manufacturing failed to keep pace with actual needs, but that labor could not be held by either high wages or patriotism where living conditions were bad. Shelves to sleep upon, or the three-shift beds which never cooled between use; food handled almost in troughs as for swine; the absence of bathing, resting, and recreation facilities; transportation to and from work in continuous discomfort—all these conditions made big pay a mere incident of discontent and migration from one job to another in the hope of finding some place fit to live in.

Upon the federal government, therefore, was forced the defensive necessity of providing more housing and better housing. War restrictions prevented private building; only Uncle Sam could go ahead. Three governmental agencies undertook this work—the Ordnance section of the War Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the United States Housing Corporation in the Department of Labor.

Believing that a long war was upon us, extended plans were made by the eminent architects, town planners, engineers, builders, and sanitarians, who became available not only because of patriotism but because the war suspended the enterprises which ordinarily engaged them. For the first time in the history of the nation, the big men of construction took up the making of adequate and better homes for artisans.

One section studied all existing shelter facilities in the industrial centers, and made available through that study thousands of additional room units.

Whole towns were planned, with the streets, squares, parks, schools, stores, churches, and hospitals all provided for, and such contiguous transportation changes as would aid production of war necessities by conveniencing workers. Desirable new standards were worked out for sewers, heating, baths, water connections, and the varied essentials to efficient housing and community living. Construction went on apace, and this inconspicuous home army accomplished marvels in preparing for war-production housing that was also intended to serve peace times to better advantage.

The United States Housing Corporation alone undertook to care for nearly three hundred thousand workers. Some two hundred sites were plotted, and property purchased into the thousands of acres. Dwellings were commandeered and temporary dormitories and refectories provided. Great hotels were built, including one work of decency and mercy in Washington planned to house some eighteen hundred of the hundred thousand young women who came to the aid of the Government, and were subjected to shameful hardship and discomfort.

The armistice put a "stop order" on most of these great schemes. Only those were continued which were so far advanced that great loss would be incurred by stopping. Yet the nation needed, and still needs, all the permanent and better housing planned, and much more. Congress, recovering from its submissive attitude, has been indulging in a riot of reaction, an orgy of "investiga-

tion". No spirited and honest worker who threw himself into the effort to back up the fighting front with the materials toward victory is safe from aspersion, suspicion, innuendo, and from a sad loss of time spent in attending "hearings."

But a fine persistence in the face of this Congressional assault has held some of the enterprises to completion and occupancy. The Government Hotels in Washington are operating to the advantage of the nation. The notable villages in the Philadelphia shipbuilding radius at Buckman (near Chester) and at Yorkship (near Camden) will remain as examples to be emulated to immense advantage, unless greed and folly prevail to prevent. Other enterprises all over the nation have left some vitality of worth-while accomplishment in social advance.

It is in point to say that the total expenditure for permanent housing—less than $150,000,000—is less than the cost of two days of fighting on the western war front.

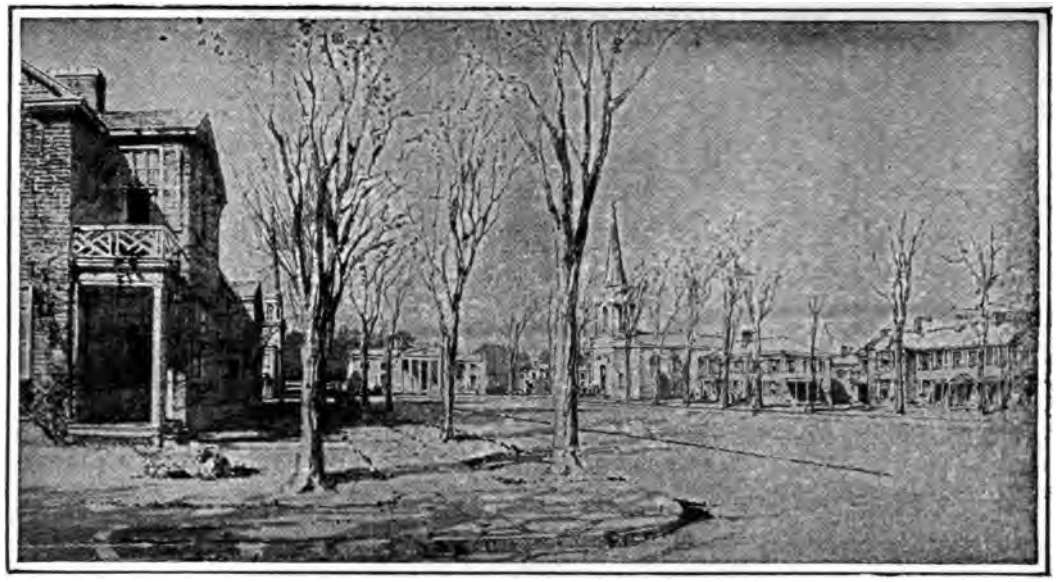
The vast mass of detailed information upon the housing problems of America, the notable plans worked out for meeting the varied needs of varied locations, the engineering discoveries made possible in eighteen months of intensive work of the best constructive brains of the nation—all these data are now in danger of being junked and lost. With the closing down of actual operations, the accumulated experience, plans, documents, etc., will either be destroyed or made inaccessible, unless Congress acts quickly.

So the question is asked, "What About the Government's War Housing?" The answer that needs to be made is that the houses and communities built should be retained in some proper control until this great experiment in human welfare can be worked out. The priceless information gathered ought to be united under one control, classified and made available to a home-hungry country. A continuing study should be made in housing, home financing, industrial living conditions, and in the efficiency of the methods proposed; for surely the half of our population living in cities is entitled to a modicum of the helpful federal attention long and properly given the farmer and his industry!

Such is the purpose of a bill introduced in the Federal House by Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts, and now in the hands of the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. It proposes to establish in the Department of Labor a Bureau of Housing and Living Conditions, charged with the custody and dissemination of the war-housing data, and with the duty of conducting further research in the field of industrial housing and the living conditions surrounding the workers of the land. If it prevails, there will be set up a potent barrier against the "Red" influence of bad housing. The cost would be annually less than one per cent. of that of the war vessels annually junked at one navy yard alone, without comment or complaint. This House Bill 7014 would set on foot agencies to add immensely to the working efficiency and content of American artisans, and would provide a federal source of advanced information on home building and financing. It will not pass unless good citizens insist.



THE SQUARE IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, AROUN[illegible] STORES



THE COMMON IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE, WITH THE TWO WHITE COLONIAL CHURCHES

YORKSHIP VILLAGE

BY ELECTUS D. LITCHFIELD

IN Yorkship Village, at Camden, N. J., there is seen the physical embodiment of a vision. In the spring of 1918, when we were directed to plan and prepare for the erection of a town to contain eventually 2000 or more houses, Mr. Flannery of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and Mr. Eidlitz and Mr. Leland, his advisers—as well as Mr. Ackerman, later head of the Department of Design of the Housing Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the broad-minded officials of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation—saw even as we did the handwriting on the wall and felt the protents of the war after the war, of which to-day we hear the rumbling of the artillery.

The absolute necessity for the creation of shelter in which to house the thousands of additional workmen required to man the enlarged shipyards of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation at Camden, and to provide without delay the answer to Pershing's clarion call for ships and more ships, furnished the opportunity to create there an outpost of defense in the impending war against Bolshevism and industrial discontent.

An outstanding opportunity was presented for the Government to produce an industrial community which should be, as far as reasonable economy and the urgency of the case would permit, an example to private enterprise throughout the land; which would show how, through providing proper homes for its employees, an industrial corporation could lay the foundation for a contented and efficient body of workers. It was to be a place where the worker and his family could be healthy, happy, and contented; a place where the harrassing strain of ill-health and mounting doctors bills might in great measure be eliminated; a place where the toil and drudgery of housekeeping should be reduced to its ultimate limit, and where in exchange there should be offered to the mother and her growing children new opportunities for education and development.

It was to be a place of light rooms and clean yards, with adequate playgrounds and amusement fields; a place of beauty and appropriateness and cleanliness so great that a man returning from his daily toil would receive new strength and recreation; a place where the man who could save a fraction of his income, would be able to obtain with it, for himself and for his children, a share of play and education, literature and music, and other uplifting things.

Finally, it was to afford the physical plant where the worker might quietly and in comfort discuss among his fellows the problems which affect him, thus developing a coöperation, a unity, and a community of spirit between himself and his fellow-workers, which would develop cordial relations between cap-

ital and labor in the industrial organization with which he is connected.

We did not expect to create a new Utopia—the realization of the fond dream of the philosophers of all ages—but we did hope to produce a community providing the opportunity for those things which are so often denied to the worker and which we all will agree are really essential for the development of a true American citizenship.

A Farm Becomes a Village

It is a few weeks less than eighteen months since the actual construction work was started at Yorkship Village, and not much more than twenty months since Chester Allen—of Lockwood, Green & Co., Engineers—walked over the Cooper Farm with me, and we selected it as the most available site for a village. Our dreams of what a town should be have merged so quickly into what it really is, that sometimes I feel as though double the time must have elapsed.

We have in the village to-day about 1400 houses, with playgrounds and recreation fields. The houses have no dark rooms, and they all ve nitary and economic g on the domestic operatio of There are eight miles of streets paved with concrete, many square miles of lawn, twenty miles of fence and hedges, and well-established trees.

There still remains to be built the one building which should have first been erected: the commercial, amusement, and community center of this important town. Plans have been prepared, estimates have been obtained, and the money is available. From the appropriation of $12,000,000,000 set aside for the creation of Yorkship Village, there will be turned back many hundreds of thousands of dollars; and while it may be that the instructions from Congress to the Emergency Fleet Corporation, to retire from the real-estate business, may prevent the erection of that building under Government auspices, sooner or later a way must be found to provide for its erection.

Let us hope that those in authority may not lose the picture of this as an outpost in our industrial defense, and count this potential community a mere group of houses to



THE STREET AND PARK PLAN OF YORKSHIP VILLAGE
(See also the airplane view of the Village, used as frontispiece in this number of Review)



A VIEW ON OCTAGON ROAD, ONE OF THE FEATURES OF YORKSHIP VILLAGE
(The combination of straight and winding streets furnishes many interesting views)

be disposed of to the highest bidder, and thus throw away a great opportunity to show the country what an industrial community should be.

The theory of the Yorkship town plan is that the amusement and commercial features of the village should be concentrated on the Public Square, and that therefore all roads should lead directly there or to the shipyards. These elemental considerations, together with the contours and geographical limits of the town were responsible for the street plan of the village.

A Village for Sale!

What plan shall be adopted for the future of the Village? It has been decreed that all Government housing must be sold. This place cannot be sold piecemeal. The usual rules for the disposal of real estate will not be applicable here. The integrity of Yorkship Village must be maintained. Congress does not direct how the houses shall be sold, or to whom.

There are two plans for the sale of Yorkship, which are practical and reasonable. One is that it be sold directly to the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, which may then operate it as a company-owned town or in any other fashion it may elect. Or, the Village may be sold directly to a Yorkship Village Company, which will operate it for, and sell it to, its inhabitants—not piecemeal, but as a whole.

With the assistance of Mr. Thomas Adams, Housing Advisor to the Canadian Government, and Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York, we have prepared for the New York Shipbuilding Corporation a plan for partner ownership of the Village, which we hope some day will be realized. It provides in the main that the Government and the Shipbuilding Corporation shall agree to a normal rental value of the town and that its present capital value be determined by working back from this total of rentals at a 12 per cent. basis; and that the difference between the capital value and the actual expenditure be written off as a war loss.

The plan provides that the Yorkship Village Company shall be a copartnership organization. The tenant will not become the owner in fee of the definite house in which he lives; but the occupancy thereof will be secured to him, at the rental fixed, except for non-payment of rent or acts or defaults of his tending to serious detriment of the property. In lieu of acquiring the deed to a particular house, he pays a given amount of capital into the company. In other words, members of the company collectively own all of the real property of the village. No member will be able to say "This house is mine;" but they all can say "These houses are ours."





TWO TYPES OF THREE-FAMILY HOUSES IN YORKSHIP VILLAGE
(Each house has a separate entrance—with living room, dining room and kitchen downstairs, and three bedrooms upstairs)

The rentals being based at 12 per cent. of the capital value of the property, which is the percentage counted as reasonable among speculative builders in Philadelphia, it is obvious that under proper management each renter will be paying a sufficient amount to pay to the Government 4½ per cent. upon its mortgage and 2 per cent. on the total face of this sum in amortization of it, together with 5½ per cent. of the capital value of the property for taxes, maintenance and operation, and surplus. How much this surplus will be will depend upon the care which the tenants take of the property, the percentage of vacancies, and the efficiency of the management.

There should be from the start a possible payment of dividend upon the rental. As the Government loan is amortized the tenant acquires a corresponding amount of stock; and when his stockholdings equal the value of the house his dividends, which until then are paid in stock, will be paid in cash. The dividend upon the stock will be limited to 5 per cent. or 6 per cent., and as eventually the town will own itself by retiring the Government mortgage, there will ultimately be an excess income over and above this interest and the sums required for maintenance, taxes, etc., which must be expended for the benefit of the village in extensions or improvements of its equipment and advantages.

There is no other village in this country where exactly this plan of operation has been used, but it is a brave man who will say today that anything is impossible. Indeed, at Yorkship again and again it was the impossible which we had to accomplish.

Coöperation is the watchword of the day —coöperation and, let us hope, conciliation. Those of us who have planned Yorkship Village believe that if this method of operation (or one akin to it) may be adopted, Yorkville Village will be not only an influence for good in the New York Shipyard, but an example to the whole industrial world.



A SIX-FAMILY ROW OF HOUSES
(With four and five rooms in each)



A ONE-FAMILY ACHED HOUSE
combined kitch ing room at the left, at the righ s, and two bedrooms M t left)



THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS IN WASHINGTON, BETWEEN THE UNION STATION PLAZA AND THE CAPITOL

(Providing rooms and meals for two thousand women employees of the Government. There are twelve residence halls, with 162 beds in each, besides various administration buildings)

THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS FOR WOMEN

BY HARLEAN JAMES

DURING the first few months of the war, Washington passed through successive stages of "saturation" which from filling houses already in commission progressed to making use of habitable homes and finally to the repairing of houses long since discarded. Following the ancient law of supply and demand the prices of houses and rooms increased as available living space diminished.

This process bore heavily on the thousands of government employees who had been brought from their homes in all parts of the country to do their share toward winning the war, and difficulties were especially great for young and inexperienced girls who accepted positions at $1000 and $1100 a year, never dreaming that such a sum would fail to pay expenses.

Besides suffering from indecent overcrowding of rooms, lack of sanitary conveniences, uncleanliness and exorbitant prices for quarters, many young women with healthy appetites actually went hungry from meal to meal because the day's allowance for food simply would not cover three hearty meals. Of course, many of these employees had never lived away from homes where there were bountiful tables of home-cooked food, and consequently they did not know how to order to the best advantage in the restaurants and cafeterias in which most of them were obliged to eat. But anyone who tried for $1.50 to order enough food to repair the wear and tear of a war worker's day found it a heavy tax on ingenuity. It does not take higher mathematics to figure that $20 to $30 for part of a room, $45 for board and $3 to $5 for carfare will not leave much out of the $83.33 a month which is exactly one-twelfth of $1000.

It became increasingly difficult to secure meals in private families and boarding houses as the scarcity and cost of service, the high prices and regulation of food made it impossible to produce regulation meals for any price the war workers could afford.

Many war workers rose at 6 A. M. in order to reach the bathroom before the dozen others who had an equal claim on its rather precarious supply of hot water, or they were obliged to spend precious minutes waiting in hallways at a door which seemed perpetually closed and locked. The combing of hair was a dreaded operation when two other faces already filled the one small mirror available. The securing of clean clothes meant a large weekly outlay or a laundry bee at night with damp garments hanging over chair backs in the sleeping room and a hurried pressing out on the floor in the morning if the electric iron could be locked securely from the prying eyes of the vigilant landlady. Some girls sent laundry home and at least one hard-pressed war worker sent laundry to California by parcels post to





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A SIX-FAMILY ROW OF HOUSES
(With four and five rooms in each)



A ONE-FAMILY DETACHED HOUSE
(With combined kitchen and dining room at the left, living room at the right downstairs, and two bedrooms and bath upstairs. Main entrance at left)



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avoid the Washington laundry prices and the slow service.

What wonder if, after a tedious delay in finding foot-room on the crowded street cars, after a vigorous pommelling of sharp elbows in ribs which covered an empty stomach, and after a weary line-up for a cafeteria breakfast of coffee, cereal and cornbread which cost from 25 to 40 cents, the war worker arrived at her office at 8, 8:30 or 9, very poorly fitted to give her harassed superiors the service which they needed so sorely?

Built by the U. S. Housing Corporation

It was this situation that the Government Hotels were designed to remedy. Authorized and built by the U. S. Housing Corporation as a war measure, the cost for buildings, furnishings and equipment comes to $2,900,000, or a per capita cost of about $1450 for the 1950 beds provided. There are twelve residence halls, two administration buildings with modern dining rooms and kitchens, a recreation hall, an infirmary, a heating plant, a laundry, a refrigeration plant, with electrical, carpenter and plumbing shops, a garage and store room.

The gray stucco buildings of colonial type are set in fifteen acres of government ground which, lying between the Union Station Plaza and the Capitol, have been an eyesore for years. Already the clinging ivy, the stretch of greensward, the clumps of shrubs and the hedge rows are giving an appearance of permanence. The land, however, is dedicated to park purposes and manifestly the life of the Government Hotels is limited. The park plan should be carried to completion; but so long as Washington cannot offer adequate food and quarters to government employees and so long as the cost of upkeep is not prohibitive there is much to be said for the continuance of the hotels.

What then, since at best the project cannot be considered permanent, is it the aim to accomplish during the short time of its existence? It is to show that the Government should enter into vaster and more permanent enterprises to house its employees? Is it to encourage states and municipalities to build hotels? Is it to subsidize a limited number of federal workers? Is it an experiment in coöperative management?

An American-Plan Hotel for Women

It has not seemed to the present management that the main purpose is any of these. The central staff holds the aim before it to demonstrate that government workers may be so housed, so provided with those necessities of good health, fresh air, bath facilities, comfortable beds, wholesome balanced diet, physical exercise, recreation and early dispensary attention to colds and threatened illness that they are kept in good condition to do the day's work for the government and to profit by the mental, spiritual and artistic advantages which the city of Washington offers to its residents. The staff has set itself the task to see that this service is rendered at a minimum of cost with as little wastage as possible, and that the Hotels shall continue to be, as they are now, entirely self-supporting.

Before setting forth a detailed description of the service let us review the obstacles to accomplishment.

Administrative Difficulties

In the first place the buildings are conspicuously under the eyes of the Capitol;



STEPPING FROM THE UNION STATION, THE VISITOR'S FIRST GLIMPSE OF WASHINGTON IS THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS, WITH THE CAPITOL DOME IN THE DISTANCE



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

ONE OF MANY COURTYARDS, WITH RESIDENCE HALLS AT THE RIGHT, A KITCHEN AT THE LEFT, AND THE CAPITOL DOME IN THE DISTANCE

and the duly elected representatives of the American people are not by tradition advocates of paternal federal enterprises nor of subsidies to special classes. Many members of the national legislature would be thankful to see the buildings razed and the United States Treasury pocket once for all its war loss of two and a half millions. And there stand commercial vultures ready to bid in the mechanical equipment and furniture at low rates, should the Government abandon the project while yet the paint is new.

Several moves have been made on the part of those "on the hill" to close the hotels, but these have been met with such a storm of protest from the war workers and from the leading women of the country that the operation of the Hotels has continued, though always under the disadvantages attendant upon threatened abandonment.

The second difficulty lies in the inherent difference in standpoint of landlord and tenant aggravated by the custom of appeal to a long line of executive representatives which does not stop short of the President and to the entire Congress of the United States.

Samuel Blythe has divided all men (and presumably women) into two classes—those who believe they could run the railroads better than they are run, and those who know that they could manage the hotels better than they are managed. Of course the railroad business is extremely technical and the hotel business requires a medley of specialists.

In the present enterprise, the largest American-plan hotel in the world has opened and continues to operate in the face of administrative obstacles that often baffle the staff of specialists; and yet to the casual observer it seems a mere question of everyday housekeeping—the housekeeping which appears to the consumer so simple and to the producer so complex whether it be for a family of five or five hundred.

The two thousand women who live in the Government Hotels are homogeneous only in the fact that they are all employed by the federal government. They are of all ages, of all grades of experience, from all parts of the country, with diverse habits of life and divergent desires in food. Some come from sheltered communities and others from free business life.

And because the enterprise is new, because it has not yet "found itself," the women workers have gone to their patient Congressmen with their personal objections and Congress, being besieged with petty details, has been inclined to wash its hands of the whole troublesome business and declare the experiment a failure.

The third difficulty of government operation of the hotels lies in the delays and expense involved in conforming to government red tape. The Government Hotels are not permitted to use their revenues. Since June 30, 1919, these are deposited in the Treasury of the United States and all expenditures are required to be made under the General Schedule of Supplies, a portly volume prepared by the General Supply Committee for the use of Executive Departments and the

use of which in a hotel which operates twenty-four hours a day, 365 days in the year, is as conducive to prompt action as the use of a dictionary for each word of a composition.

In spite of these administrative difficulties, every room in the hotels is filled and there is a waiting list of twelve hundred!

In general any government employee who can find a vacancy may live in the Hotels. There are few rules—only those limitations and inhibitions which it is necessary to observe when two thousand persons live in close quarters. It is true that some women are not constituted to live comfortably in community life, and, after a trial, these are advised to find quieter quarters or living accommodations offering greater privacy. The Government Hotels are not planned for special service. They are suitable only for those who are willing to accept what can be given to all and cheerfully to deny themselves what may not be granted to all.

Exactly what may a resident, who has been assigned to a room expect to receive from the Government Hotels?

The Dining Service

First, in the dining room, the meal plan is American family, with a choice of two meats for breakfast and dinner. Eggs are served as guests request, and with these exceptions the meals are standardized. These are recent menus:

Breakfast

Fresh Apples
Farina Cold Cereals
Panned Fish Bacon and Eggs
Graham Muffins Toast
Coffee Cocoa Milk

Dinner

Bisque of O[illegible] Soup
Baked Salmon, [illegible]ce Tartar
Potatoes au [illegible]Gratin
Roast Beef, Spinach
Tomato and Cheese Salad
Pumpkin Pie
Coffee Tea Milk

Breakfast

Canned Peaches
Wheatena Cold Cereals
Corned Beef Hash Bacon and Eggs
Corn Meal Muffins Toast
Coffee Tea Milk

Dinner

Mock Turtle Soup
Chicken, a la King
Mashed Potatoes Hubbard Squash
Combination Salad
Cream Puffs
Coffee Tea Milk

Breakfast

Fresh Pears
Pettijohn Cold Cereals
Veal Livers Bacon and Eggs
Biscuit Toast Honey
Coffee Cocoa Milk

Dinner

Chicken Soup, Noodles
Tenderloin Steak
French Fried Potatoes Fresh Scalloped Tomatoes
Asparagus Salad, Mayonnaise
Currant Jelly Olives
Chocolate Ice Cream Iced Cake
Coffee Tea Milk

Meal hours are from 7 to 8:30 A. M. and from 5:30 to 7 P. M. on week days and from 8 to 10 A. M. and 1 to 3 P. M. on Sundays.

As there are 1068 seats and nearly 2000 guests, most of the tables are filled twice.



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ONE OF THE TWO DINING ROOMS IN EACH RESIDENCE HALL

(Two meals are served each day, to two thousand guests. Standardized meals are served. Note the general atmosphere of comfort and cleanliness)



(C) Harris & Ewing, Washington

SOME OF THE WAITRESSES WHO SERVE WOMEN GUESTS AT THE GOVERNMENT HOTELS

This means that residents are shown to seats by captains as in any other hotel dining room.

For breakfast the fruit is found on the table, the cereal and main breakfast are served in two courses. Coffee is brought on in large metal pots which are left on the table. This gives a second cup or that valued last hot portion which is so comforting to coffee lovers. Toast, rolls, butter, milk and cream are not limited.

At dinner, as soon as anyone is seated at a waitress' table she starts to the kitchen for her six plates of soup, as the captain will plan to have her table filled by the time she returns. The meats and vegetables are then served, orders for choice in drinks taken, followed by salad and dessert.

The tables, each of which seats six, are covered with white cotton cloths and set up attractively in white porcelain and plainly designed silver.

Features of the Residence Halls

In the residence halls a guest may find a welcome light until eleven at night. She is not met by a forbidding hallway but must pass through a hospitable lobby with comfortable lounge chairs. In each lobby is a small hotel desk where she may claim her key, find her mail and receive any messages. Once in her room visitors and telephone calls are announced by a buzzer from the House desk.

If she comes in after eleven at night there is the night watch woman to admit her without delay or question. When she sleeps she is guarded against danger of fire or trespass.

Needed repairs will be looked after if she reports them to the house manager. If she cares for a reading lamp the hotel electrician will make the proper connections for it.

If she cares to wash her own clothes she may do so in the basement laundry and may attach her iron to the connections there provided. She may send her clothes to the Hotels laundry where she may have them rough-dried for a small price or finished at prices from 25 to 50 per cent less than in commercial establishments.

If she cares to cook something for a "spread" or for a sick friend, she may use the kitchenette.

If she falls ill the nurse from the infirmary will call upon her. The house manager will see that she is sent her meals. If she needs special treatment and still is not ill enough to go to a hospital she may be received at the infirmary. If she cuts her finger, contracts a sore throat, burns her hands, needs a dose of any household remedy, she may call at the dispensary and be "fixed up" with a very strong chance that serious consequences will be avoided.

With the exception of the corner rooms, all bedrooms are single and a resident may



ONE OF THE CORNER ROOMS, FOR TWO GUESTS
(Each occupant has a separate dresser and bed. All but the corner rooms are single, and much preferred by the guests)

claim companionship in the lobbies but find absolute privacy in her own room. She may find hot bath water night or day. There is running water in her room. She may find cold drinking water in her corridor.

There is always some one on duty to call in case she needs assistance of any kind. The corridors are patroled at night by watchwomen who will render assistance in any emergency.

She may invite unlimited company for meals without notice to the cook. She may arrange for a reserved table for a dinner party in a few minutes.

For a fee of $2 a month or $5 for three months' tuition, she may enter recreation classes three nights a week and keep in fit condition to carry on her sedentary occupation.

For these services the residents of the Government Hotels pay $45 a month. No rental or interest on the cost of buildings is charged, but a moderate reserve for replacements is made. Beyond the war contribution of the plant itself, the taxpayers are not being called upon for a cent to operate these Hotels. The appropriation of Congress is made from the revenues of the Hotels deposited in the Treasury of the United States. In the month of July the $45 was spent as follows: Dormitories, $8.42; restaurants, $31.81; infirmary, 27 cents; shop, 66 cents; fire protection, 47 cents; telephone, 42 cents; general office, $2.63; insurance, 32 cents.



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ONE OF THE WRITING AND READING ROOMS, THERE BEING TWO IN EACH OF THE TWELVE RESIDENCE BUILDINGS

JUSTICE BRANDEIS IN PALESTINE

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

Nine years ago the New York garment trade was involved in what seemed a hopeless impasse between labor and capital. Hours, wages, sanitary conditions, and above all, the open or the closed shop—these were the issues. The strikers had been out for months with no improvement in the situation. The matter had risen to national importance because of its effect on general business. Some 250,000 men, women and children were upon the verge of starvation.

Something had to be done, and finally the contending sides agreed on one proposition: That Louis D. Brandeis of Boston should be summoned and asked to try to find the way out. What followed makes one of the brightest pages in our industrial history, for peace came in place of war, harmony in place of discord, and there was born an institution which might well become the object of study for future industrial conferences—the Preferential Union Shop.

That, however, is no part of the present story, except the fact that if Mr. Brandeis had never been called upon to settle the strike of the garment workers there probably would have been no occasion for writing this article. At that time he was a lawyer in private practice, yet with a great place in American public life. He was "the People's Lawyer," cheerfully serving unpopular causes, and forever turning up in court and at legislative hearings with a vigor and pertinacity that was most exasperating, and often embarrassing, to certain powerful interests represented by high-priced attorneys.

Until he tackled this job in New York Mr. Brandeis was almost entirely devoid of race consciousness. He was a Jew, but of an old American family long settled in Kentucky. He enjoyed a liberal education, graduated at Harvard Law School, and entered almost immediately upon a practice which took him into the world of large affairs. In such associations he probably never would have encountered the Jewish Problem.

But when he turned to the study of the garment-workers' strike he entered a new



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HON. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

(Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court)

and different world. There are about three million Jews in the United States and more than a million of them live and work in New York City. Mr. Brandeis lived in the midst of them for several weeks and applied his great capacity for analysis to their situation. He soon found himself interested not only in their social and economic condition as part of the mass of toilers, but in their singular racial isolation. A people without a home on the face of the earth—a people who filled a great place in human history and who were the spiritual forebears of half the world—such a people an outcast race! And he was himself of that race! His pride was aroused, his sympathies deeply touched, and the vision of Theodor Herzl became his vision.



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND

What Zionism Is and Is Not

All this happened before Louis D. Brandeis had ascended to his present place as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was at perfect liberty to fight for his ideals, and he immediately voiced his new-found faith in Zionism in a way that challenged widest public attention. "How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews?" he asked. "How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?" And he answered his own questions as follows:

"Make Palestine once more the home of the Jewish nation. Let Jewish civilization —its industries, its arts, its schools, its culture, its language and its religion—be rooted deeply in its own native and historic soil. There, and there only, can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; and there, alone, can the Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development."

He insisted that nationality was absolutely essential to the complete restoration of the Jewish race to its lost place in the world. "Nationality, like democracy, has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the past hundred years," he declared. "The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived all that was valuable in their past."

Zionism is, then, a spiritual entity, with its feet on the good Palestinian earth, but with its influence diffused like the atmosphere. There has never been any thought of herding the children of Israel from all parts of the world and sending them back to the Holy Land. Such a thing would be physically impossible, for one reason, and Palestine would scarcely contain them all if developed to the highest limit of its possibilities. There are 14,000,000 Jews in the world. From ten to twenty per cent of these, inhabiting the land, speaking the language, following the religious rites, and living the lives of their fathers, would satisfy all the hopes of Zionism. In the meantime, all other Jews would be expected to remain just as good citizens of their adopted countries as those of other races or nationalities.

The movement is strongly organized in all leading countries. The Zionist Organization of America, of which Justice Brandeis is honorary president, fills extensive quarters in two New York office buildings. Its national membership is distributed among 3,000 cities and towns, and covers the entire country. It is thoroughly organized into departments, which are again subdivided, so that every detail of the work is systematically covered. After inspecting its national headquarters, conversing with its managers, and observing the intense activity of its hundreds of clerks, one is not surprised to find that the movement is growing rapidly in membership and power, and that its financial balances make an excellent showing.

The Leader Visits Palestine

Until the summer of 1919 Justice Brandeis had never set eyes on Palestine. Re-



THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, AS SEEN FROM DAVID'S TOWER

membering the glories of his race and land thousands of years before the beginning of the Christian era, the final expulsion in 79 A. D., and all the tragedies suffered by the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in subsequent centuries, yet filled with the great dream of the coming restoration, and the glory that is to be—with what feelings must the leader of Zionism in America have gone forth to the Holy Land last June!

He entered Palestine from Port Said on the military railroad constructed by the British during the War, following upon the trail of General Allenby in his conquest of Jerusalem. He was everywhere received with the honor befitting his high station in public life, as well as one of the world's leading Zionists.

Soon after his arrival in Jerusalem he ascended the Mount of Olives and took his station in a tower of rather hideous architecture, erected by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany on his visit in 1908. It is really a monument to the lost cause—"Berlin to Bagdad." It was, however, a good point of observation. The atmosphere of Palestine is so clear, and the heights so commanding, that from many points one gets an unobstructed view of nearly the entire country.

A few miles south lay Bethlehem; a little beyond it, the deep blue of the Dead Sea; to the southeast, the green valley of the Jordan, flowing down from the Sea of Galilee. Far to the north, Mt. Hebron and Mt. Lebanon, and on the west a broad expanse of shining waters — the Mediterranean. With deep emotion he gazed upon these historic scenes, then turned and exclaimed to his companion: "What a lovable land!" And in this fervent exclamation he spoke for all Zionism, and for Christendom, as well.

Justice Brandeis is known among his friends as a glutton for details. He wants all of the facts, and has a way of getting them at first hand whenever that is possible. Furthermore, he puts efficiency before style. Hence, no one should be surprised that his weeks in Palestine were chiefly spent in a Ford, both night and day. He went over the country from end to end, studying both its town and rural life; its physical resources and the possibilities of future development. Naturally he did not overlook the historic scenes and monuments so closely interwoven with the experience of his own people; and, indeed, of all civilization. What he saw is precisely what any other traveler would see in the course of the same journey.

Like Our Arid America

In climate and topography Palestine is very similar to that portion of the United States which is both semi-arid and semi-tropical—southwestern Arizona and southern California. That is only another way of saying that Palestine is the making of one of the most delightful spots on the face of God's earth, "a land flowing with milk and honey" in the literal sense. To those who understand its spiritual significance, irrigation is a form of prayer. It is thus that they "pray for rain" in the Land of Israel and know that their prayers will be answered with scientific precision. They know, too, that the moisture will fall just when and where it is wanted with due regard to the varying needs of different crops. By the same token, they know they possess the first



A MODERN JEWISH KINDERGARTEN IN JERUSALEM

requisite of intensive cultivation which carries with it the possibility of closely-settled neighborhoods and high social organization.

Right here we find the key to the civilization which is coming back to Palestine. Its dominant note will be coöperative, since men must work together in developing and distributing water. Its farms will be small because the amount of the available water supply rather than of land is the measure of its possible expansion, and water is relatively less abundant than land. Such conditions make strongly against private or monopolistic control, and in favor of fundamental democracy.

Polity of the New Palestine

Consciously or unconsciously, Zionists are aiming to shape their new institutions to fit the peculiar environment of the country. The ideals of the American leaders are set forth in what is known as the Pittsburgh Program, which includes the following:

> To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all the natural resources, and of all public utilities, by the whole people.
>
> All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

It should be explained that the lease is to be hereditary, so that it may pass from father to children or other heirs, and that every provision is made to protect the land-user in the secure possession of what he creates by means of his own labor and investment. Ground values will be reappraised at stated intervals with a view of making the rental such as to compensate society for whatever portion of the new value may be due to increased population or general activities. The method differs somewhat from that of the single tax, but the result aimed at is precisely the same.

There will be no Established Church in the Holy Land, and no restrictions against women in political or other rights. Every possible provision is made for the encouragement of coöperative business and social arrangements in all departments of life. Free public education is provided, and the strongest possible safeguards erected to preserve the revived Hebrew tongue as the language of the people forever.

The Zionist Colonies

The first impulse of modern colonization in Palestine which may be said to have any logical relation to the Zionist movement was felt between 1875 and 1880 in consequence of intense persecution suffered in Russia and Roumania. Most of the Jews who fled from their tormentors at that time went to Western Europe or America, but a few young intellectuals turned toward the land of their fathers and obtained a feeble foothold upon it

[illegible] refugees began in [illegible] continuously ever

since, largely aided by philanthropic members of the race. To-day there are over forty colonies, mostly located on the Maritime Plain, which includes Philistia, the Plains of Sharon, Mt. Carmel and Phoenicia. This plain is of remarkable fertility, and both its past history and its promise of future development make it a matter of peculiar interest to the world. In ancient times it was noted not merely for its soil, but as a great route from the North into Egypt. The hosts of forgotten nations rolled through this land of the Philistines on their way to the granary of the Nile.

Judea is a stony plateau, wholly without running water, yet capable of producing olives and light crops of grain, especially barley. In ancient times it was a land of flocks and herds, but this industry would not be suited to the new plans of intensive development.

The hills of Galilee are interspersed with fertile valleys once thickly populated and likely to be again. To the east, the hills of Galilee, of Samaria, and of Judea fall rapidly into the Jordan Valley, which has been denominated "the deepest trench on the surface of the earth," the Dead Sea being nearly 1,300 feet below sea level.

The storied Jordan River, flowing south, divides Palestine almost in the middle, and practically all historical association, population and development lie on the west side of the Jordan. There are, however, great possibilities "over Jordan" which are likely to be realized during the next few years in connection with the constructive era now at hand. Both the northern and eastern boundaries of Palestine are indefinite at present. Future adjustments might readily double its territory.



TREES PLANTED BY A ZIONIST COLONY SIX YEARS AGO

(Justice Brandeis is the man at the left)

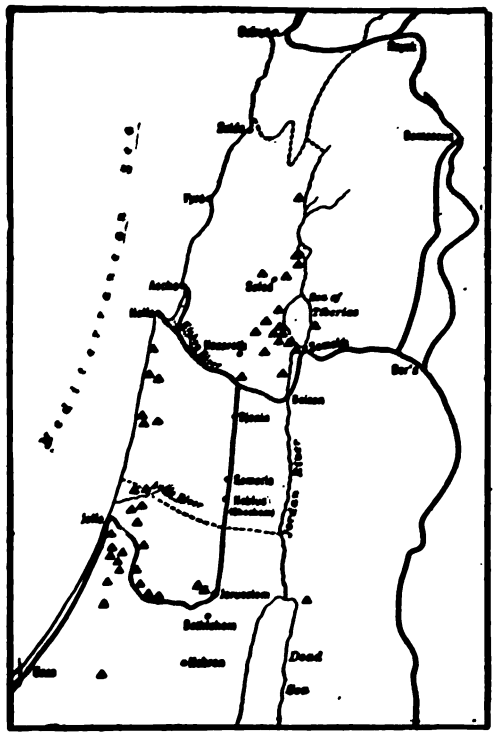


JUSTICE BRANDEIS WITH A ZIONIST FAMILY FROM ST. LOUIS

Elements of Population

In the absence of a good census one guesses at the population of Palestine with such light as it is possible to get from conflicting authorities. The total is probably around 750,000 at this time, of which it is likely that fifteen to twenty per cent are Jews. Of these, perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 live in agricultural colonies, and the rest in about thirty towns, of which Jerusalem is much the largest. The Moslem element still greatly predominates, but the Jews are gaining much faster. Thus between 1880 and 1910 they scored an increase of 280 per cent against 40 per cent for the general population. The Christians are well represented also and probably have about the same number as the Jews.

It is not possible to say how many Americans are represented in the new Zionist settlements, but the movement in this country is energetic and well organized. A very useful instrument of colonization is the American Zion Commonwealth, virtually a department of the Zionist Organization of America, under the capable presidency of Mr. Bernard A. Rosenblatt. It was incorporated five years ago in accordance with



THE ZIONIST COLONIES IN PALESTINE
(Indicated by black triangles)

New York laws, and has adopted plans which make it very easy for thrifty men and women to become interested in the soil of Palestine. The company purchases large tracts of land, subdivides and leases them in accordance with Zionist ideals of land-holding. It contemplates a program of town-planning and garden cities, as an important part of its activities, since it is not intended to send forth colonists to shift entirely for themselves. At least ten per cent of the lands are retained for public uses, which includes industrial purposes as well as sites for cities and villages. Profits derived from the leasing of these public lands will be divided among all residents of the American Zion Commonwealth territory. A careful survey has shown that fifty-five per cent. of the entire territory of Palestine is capable of cultivation, while only a little more than ten per cent is cultivated now; another twenty-five per cent. is well adapted to afforestation, so that in time fully eighty per cent of the country may be applied to useful purposes. Apparently, there are no serious obstacles in the way of a gradual expansion of Jewish ownership, without injury to other occupants, though the process may extend over three or four generations.

A Ty[illegible]n Palestine

Zichron [illegible]d of the life of all the [illegible]xcept that being 37 y[illegible]s old, it has had a better chance to work out to final results. This village is situated on a hilltop, south of Mt. Carmel, overlooking the Mediterranean Sea on the w[illegible]nd the mountains of Ephraim on the [illegible]. As far as the eye can see on every [illegible]e stretch vineyards, orange groves, and waving fields of grain.

It is the custom in all the new villages of Palestine to assemble the homes along one main street, although Zichron Jacob has arrived at the dignity of two streets, crossing each other at right angles. The homes that illustrate the ideal of Zionist colonization—an ideal not generally attained as yet—are set in the midst of gardens of vegetables, fruit and flowers; they are built to suit the climate, with its constant glare of sun and high average temperature. Such homes have their interior courts and roof gardens to furnish artificial shade, for Palestine is mostly a tree[illegible]ss land. Good building stone is everywhere abundant, and this is the material of which many houses are built. They are neatly whitewashed, covered with red roofs, and present a most inviting appearance behind the line of mulberry and melia trees which have been planted along the street.

Zichron Jacob is governed by an unpaid village council, called the Vaad, elected annually by general assembly of all the people—women as well as men. This council, with the aid of a Budget Committee, carefully works out the annual expenses of the village, including all communal needs which are met by local taxation. There is very little use for a police force, except for protection against marauding Arabs, since a high degree of harmony prevails and disputes among neighbors are quickly settled by an arbitration committee, whose decisions are final. In fact, this little tribunal stands so high that the neighboring Arabs frequently submit their disputes to it for adjustment.

All the conditions are favorable for a delightful social life and the people make the most of the opportunity. They are proud of their park and its assembly hall, which is in constant use. They have many festivals, including that of harvest home. There are no great d[illegible]nces in worldly [illegible]. There are no great cl[illegible]s in worldly condition. The people rea[illegible]Solomon's prayer: "Give me neither ri[illegible]r poverty."



© Brown & Dawson

THE DAMASCUS GATE, THE BEST PRESERVED SECTION OF THE OLD WALL OF JERUSALEM

Who can doubt that Zichron Jacob points the way for millions of devoted Hebrews, if at last the day has come when Palestine may live its own life and go its way in peace?

Behind the British Lion

"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this subject."

So said Mr. Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Minister, in November, 1917. And all Zionism, including over 529,000 of its representatives in America, has petitioned the League of Nations to make England the mandatory power over Palestine. There can be little doubt that the prayer will be granted, and that after nearly two thousand years of oppression Israel will lift its head and stand erect, walking in the shadow of the British Lion.

The ideals of Zionism are intensely democratic. Its leaders appeal not to a few rich men, but to all who cherish the thought of restored nationality and respect. And their support is coming largely from the multitude. Now that the Jewish homeland is assured, they ask that every Jew should do his part for the development of Palestine.

Significance for Christians

The Christian world can hardly be indifferent to the rehabilitation of the land that contains Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalam, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Hill of Calvary. While they are not asked to help in the restoration, Christians will inevitably share its benefits. For one thing, the country will become accessible and hospitable. For another, the language and customs of Bible days will live again, and this will go far to revive the psychology of the time in which Jesus walked the earth.

It requires little imagination to comprehend what Zionism means to Jews. Is it fantastic to indulge the hope that it may some time mean nearly as much to the Christian world which is seeking today, as never before, an economic interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount?



ARMED TURKISH GUARD SENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF SIVAS TO RECEIVE THE AMERICAN RELIEF PARTY

AN AMERICAN MISSION IN ASIA MINOR

BY MAJOR WILLIAM S. DODD, M. D., F. A. C. S.

(Medical Director, American Red Cross Commission to Palestine)

THE eyes of America are turned to-day with new interest toward Asia Minor, land of many races, many religions, many sorrows and the land of great opportunity. Throughout its length and breadth American men and women have lived lives of service for a hundred years; in its hostile cities during the last three years scattered Americans, many of them women entirely alone, have held our relief to forlorn refugees; into its very heart Americans have pushed as fast as access was possible after the armistice; and across its eastern provinces from sea to sea Americans have made the first trip since the war.

The Red Cross Commission to Palestine had carried its relief work as far north as Aleppo, the great interior city of Turkey. Lying in the narrow region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Mesopotamian desert, Aleppo forms the neck of the hour-glass through which the deported Armenians from the provinces of Asia Minor were poured in 1915, and scattered to the deserts to die. Now the hour-glass is turned, and the survivors are coming back again in converging lines to Aleppo, thence seeking means of returning to their devastated homes.

The orphans and the women and girls taken into Moslem houses form the two great problems on which the relief worker must fasten his attention. In Aleppo there is an orphanage with two thousand girls



OFFICIAL GROUP AT DIARBEKIR
(From left to right: Kurdish Bey, Dr. James L. Barton, Turkish military commander, and Major Dodd, author of the accompanying article)



PASSENGERS HELPING TO LOCATE THE TRACK OF THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

and boys, a camp orphanage for seven hundred and fifty boys. and many hundreds more ought to be taken in. Of the unfortunate women and girls who have been enslaved in Moslem houses, both Turkish and Arabic, there are estimated to be two thousand in the city alone, while the surrounding villages and towns have many more, and even from the tents of the desert we receive appeals daily for rescue. Conditions in Aleppo were but a sample of what was found in all the region south of the Taurus when the victorious British army came in. Here was the work to be done before the eyes of the Relief Commission.

But these people were not in their homes, not where they belonged. What was the condition of the region beyond the Turkish lines, not occupied by the British, the country from which these refugees had been driven? To go further into Turkey at that time was to go beyond the bounds of British control, into unknown conditions. At this point our Palestine Commission handed over the work, and many of its workers, to the Near-East Relief Commission.

Dr. James L. Barton, of Boston, who was head of this latter commission, felt that the investigation of the conditions of the interior was the first work to be done. It came on at once from Constantinople, and made up a party of five, of which I was the medical and Turkish-speaking member.

At the start we were met by a positive refusal of the British military to allow any relief expedition or workers to go into Turkey, beyond the effective occupation by British troops. Dr. Barton was not to be discouraged. He went directly to Cairo to lay the matter before General Allenby. Our ground was that we would be in no danger from the Turks, or Kurds, and would bring upon the British military authorities no perplexing problem of our rescue, and that investigation of relief needs was a prime requisite for the settlement of evil conditions.

Finally, on condition that we go on our own responsibility and take no guard, the desired permission was granted. Our judgment was proved correct by the trip. We were not molested in any way, and on the contrary were treated almost as royal guests wherever we went.

Difficulties of Railroad Travel

We started on April 24, by the Bagdad Railway, crossing the Euphrates at Carchemish, the southern Hittite capital, whose great mound has already revealed some of its ancient secrets. Beside this ruined monument of a fallen empire stands another great monument, also of a fallen empire, but now serving the purposes of freedom and humanity, the great ten-span iron bridge across the Euphrates, built by the Germans *during the war*.

We had an ordinary box-car for our traveling, as no passenger cars were to be had. Every man had his bedding roll and his traveling bedstead, beside his suit-case, and these we set up in our car. With them we spent a most comfortable week. On two flat cars were loaded a two-ton truck and two Ford cars. The truck carried gasoline, more than a ton of it, for no supplies would be found along the way. The British authorities had taken over a part of the Bagdad railway and were running one or two trains a week, for they had no rolling stock to supply a regular service.

Arriving at Tel Abiad that night, we learned that the Turkish train, which was to meet us there, would not arrive for several days. We occupied the time by a side trip to Ourfa, where relief workers had already been sent, and returned to Tel Abiad.

At last a train of freight cars appeared, of all kinds of varieties, loaded with demobilized Turkish troops, who were brought thus far on their journey home. After resting overnight, the men in charge of the engine, the only one left to the Turks on this railway, consented to add our little party to its empty train for the return trip. But it was a terrible struggle. The water-tank leaked, and when nearly empty the engine must needs leave the train and go on some miles to the next source of supply alone and come back for us. Wood was the fuel, and it was loaded on by hand, a stick at a time. The track was overgrown with grass two feet high, which crushed before the wheels and so greased the rails that progress was halted at times. We got out and pushed up the grades, getting off and on as we pleased. It was one of the most comfortable and joke-producing railway rides I have ever had. We went sixty miles in two days.

Journeying by Automobile

At Mardin we started our automobile journey. The fifty miles to Diarbekir we called a bad road at the time, with its stones and ruts and washouts, but later we looked back at it as part of our easy time. Diarbekir itself was worth the trip. It is the finest example of a medieval walled city that I have ever seen. It is built on a bluff in a bend of the Tigris River guarded by solid stone walls, thirty feet high. Unlike most modern cities that have overflowed their ancient bounds, the entire city is still contained within the walls.



"WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, WE FOUND ONLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN"



A PITIFUL REMNANT

Travel over the ill-kept Turkish roads was by no means easy. Mud reduced our rate to even less than that of the Turkish engine—140 miles in four days, making only twenty-four miles one the those days. At times the roads were so cut by ruts, century-old and worn by ox-carts, or very new and gouged by German lorries in retreat, that the axle and differential dragged on the ground. Often when mud made the fields on each side an impossible resort we had to dig away the high center of the road before we could pass.

In such manner we covered a thousand miles, visiting Harpoot, Sivas, Cesarea, Marsovan, Amasia, and Tokat. At Samsoun, on the Black Sea, we were met by a United States destroyer, sent by Admiral Bristol from Constantinople, and at the rate of thirty-two miles an hour we made a record trip to the Turkish capital.

Throughout the region traversed, the provinces of Diabekir, Harpoot, Sivas, and Angora, we were impressed first of all by the extent of the destruction the Turks had visited upon their own land. In that eastern section, Armenia a nation was swept away. With the exception of a few scattered men here and there, we found only women and children.

In Harpoot, in a congregation of twelve hundred people, less than forty were adult men. From that city the men had been taken out in batches and killed. Among all the thousands of refuges in Damascus and Aleppo, with all cities and towns of Turkey apparently represented, we had found scarcely any from Harpoot. Yet here a remnant was left, and survivors are now coming in from various regions and places of refuge.

The men saved are those in the southern zone where British occupation is effective, in the coast cities like Constantinople and Smyrna, and in the Caucasus; that is, all around Asia Minor, but not in the center of it. There are some exceptions, those who saved their lives by turning Moslem.

Destruction of property also was wholesale. At Oura the houses were completely torn down, after every member of the family had been killed, and the wreckage often carried away for firewood. The ruins, in many places, hardly even show in a picture. Where the Turks had taken over valuable Mission property, they left things in terrible condition.

In the Mission buildings, we found that the first work of renovation was to sweep out the piles of vermin which covered the walls, ceilings, and floors. The hospital cess-pool with its pipes and traps, had always worked well for us. Under the Turks it had become filled and choked and overflowed. They dug another beside it. That, too, overflowed. Still a third did no better. Then they concluded that the only way was to let it overflow, and have the sewage run on the surface of the street. That is Turkish hygienic sanitary engineering.

The Turkish Attitude

The Armenians generally were in a state of anxiety and fear. Oppression and injustice continued, reparation and restoration were still absent, murders of Armenians still occurred, and the murderers went free. The Turk is the same old Turk still.

We failed to find in any official the slightest sign of repentance, the least inclination toward acknowledgment of wrong having been done the Armenians. There were those who said it was a mistake. There were many members of the party opposed to the Young Turks, who disclaimed all responsibility. They put the blame on the former régime, even as that régime had put it back further on Abdul Hamid. There were many professions of intention to restore Armenians to their homes; but except in obvious cases, perhaps where we stood by and might be impressed, nothing was done.

The general attitude among Turks was a determination to keep what they had been able to steal and a hope of doing it again if the opportunity offered. It was done in the city of Aleppo on February 28th, when massacre and looting began under the very eyes of the British. Eighty-five Armenians were killed and much property stolen before the troops could rush in and stop it. The same thing was planned for the cities of Konia, Adana, Homs, Hama, and elsewhere, but the British got knowledge in time to prevent it.

This condition of fear and cause for fear was so marked in Diarbekir that Dr. Barton felt we ought to see the Vali again and say some frank things to him. We had already called on him to pay our respects, and he had returned the call with full ceremony. But even though it was Friday and not the proper time for an official call, we went to his residence, and found him in gown and slippers. The conversation was typically Turkish, full of promises as unstable as water.

"Your Excellency," we said to him, "we find that the Armenians who are left here are in fear. They see no change in the Turkish government, and are afraid that the wicked events of the past three years may be repeated."

"My dear sirs," he replied, "their fears are entirely groundless. The former régime of the Young Turks did terrible things, but *we* are quite different, we are of the Opposition party; we intend to restore the property of the Armenians to them. Tell them they need not have no fear."

"We thank your excellency for this assurance, but we know the ways of the police in Turkey. We wish to inform you that the Armenians who came to see us last night came at our invitation, that all they said to us was in reply to our questions, that we asked how they were being treated by the Turks. We know that an Armenian was killed by some Turks last week, and nothing is being done to punish the murderers. It is not necessary for the police to call these Armenians to examine them as to why they came to us. We have told you ourselves, and we do not wish to hear that after our departure these Armenians have been made to suffer."

"Istafroullah! May God forgive if such

a thing should happen," was his earnest reply. And as long as the fear of the foreigner is before him it won't happen.

Nothing but foreign pressure stood between the remaining Armenians and further destruction. A Turk, meeting an Armenian in the market-place, drew his hand significantly across his throat, and said: "You think these Americans will help you? Wait till they are gone and you will see that we are your masters still." The difference in atmosphere was marked between places which British troops had occupied, where even an American missionary, without any present force, had come in, and places where no foreign influence had been felt.



INDUSTRIAL WORK FOR THE RESCUED ORPHANS IN PALESTINE

The Desire for American Control

The respect for this foreign influence was vast. Everywhere the officials fell over themselves to show honor to the Americans who were thus visiting them. The Minister of the Interior had telegraphed to all the places we expected to visit. The Governors had sent orders to local officials that they were to do everything for Dr. Barton and his party. At Diarbekir they had prepared a house, newly furnished it, and installed a cook and servants to entertain us. The mayor of the city was himself our host at every meal, and the police were at the door to wait on us. The Vali of the province of Harpoot came twenty-five miles to meet us and bid us welcome. There was a tremendous effort to get our favor.

In many places where an American missionary has penetrated alone since the armistice, or where single women remained entirely alone all during the years of the war, the Turks now fawn upon them to such an extent that they are practically dictators of the region. But the desperate fact is that this respect is fast ebbing way, as time goes on and nothing is done to determine the status of the country.

The expression of desire for American control is universal throughout the country, and this control has been absolutely expected. The Armenians recognize their inability to carry on an independent state as yet. The Turks say, "If we can't have our own government we want the Americans." In June, while on a British steamer in Constantinople, I met the Vali of Harpoot, who had been deposed since our visit there. He greeted me most cordially, and in the course of the conversation showed me with pride a letter of "recommendation" from Mr. Henry Riggs, the American missionary in Harpoot. It was as noncommittal a statement of this official's activities as it would be possible to write. But times are changed when a Turkish Governor-General treasures a few lines from an American missionary in the hope that it will be of future benefit.

The country itself cries out for good government, and promises rich rewards. The grain crop everywhere across the peninsula, through this thousand-mile trip, was of splendid appearance and the amount sown was up to normal. The mineral and grazing resources are large. There are many natural products for which Turkey is famous, that will produce large national income. It would take a very small force of Americans to keep the whole of Asia Minor in control. Submission is a Turkish grace where defeat is an accepted fact. It will astonish the world when they know with what small forces the British have occupied regions into which they have gone. Some would call it bluff, but it is really based on a knowledge of the psychology of the Turk; and the best justification of it is its success. If America should take the mandatory for this country, it would in a few years be self-supporting.

Finally, the splendid spirit of the Armenians challenges America not to desert them. Even in their most destitute condition there was always an effort of the poor to help the poorer. It was characteristic of place after place as we found it, that some pitiful attempt had been made to set up an orphanage. The less persecuted coast communities helped all they could to support such efforts. In Cesarea there are two orphanages, one supported by Armenians from that city living in Constantinople, and the other by the Armenian Red Cross Society in Smyrna. A determination that they will not be downed, a faith in their future, a readiness to suffer and endure in order to rebuild their homes and their nationality, an immediate putting forth of all their own resources not only for personal but for community purposes, and in the midst of their poverty and suffering an unconquerable thirst for the education of their children—these are the outstanding qualities we saw.

Clouding over these bright possibilities are the latest developments of strife and hatred and renewed jealousy, growing out of long delay in making a definite settlement of the land. The Italians have moved up their zone of occupation, apparently in agreement with the British, so that they could withdraw, and are astride of the Bagdad Railway at Konia and further north. The Greeks were allowed to occupy Smyrna; and the matter was put on a high plane of honor by all the other Allied commanders of warships in the harbor agreeing that they would not land troops because that might reflect on the ability of the Greeks to keep order.

There is great activity among the Turks to prepare a military force to fight to the death against Greek aggression. Groups of bandits are appearing along the Black Sea to oppose Greek arrogance, and these are intended to be the nucleus of a military organization.

In the northeastern provinces Mustafa Kyamil Pasha has raised an "army" with the avowed purpose of destroying the Armenian Republic of Erivan and recovering the whole region of Turkey, and hardly concealing the intention to massacre all the remaining Armenians in that region if the British troops are withdrawn.

A prompt announcement months ago by the Peace Conference as to what should be done with Turkey would have had immediate acceptance. But we may acknowledge that their labors were too heavy to reach this tail-end subject so soon. Yet even now, if America would take the mandate for Armenia, or for all Asia Minor and Constantinople, it is the one thing that would command universal respect, break up organized opposition, and restore peace and order.

This is not so much a burden of duty for America as an opportunity for service.



THE HORIZONTAL LINES INDICATE THE REGIONS WHICH THIS RELIEF PARTY VISITED

EDUCATION AS WAR'S REWARD

BY FRED L. HOLMES

THE by-products of war are numerous. That there should develop as a result of the war what looks like the beginning of an educational renaissance, is strange. Yet it is evident that the new interest in education is directly a result of the world conflict.

Follow the war from the beginning and associated with it at every step is education. In the beginning it is training of a purely military character. As the war progresses, it becomes more and more a training in mechanics, in chemistry, in engineering, and to the utmost achievements of modern scholarship. It finds expression at one end in the vocational detachments established in the universities for training in all manner of trades, and at the other end in the highest research of the chemical warfare section.

Soldiers Sought Education

It is true that all this educational training and research was for destructive ends during the war period. In its sequel, the symbol of destruction of life and property becomes transformed in its by-products into a beneficent, constructive, recreative energy.

The young men who returned home saw every day in their army life the value of education; saw that in the march of progress enlightenment was necessary. With youthful ambition they determined that they were going to improve themselves by somehow getting an education.

The Public's Gratitude

Home they came. They basked in public appreciation for one brief day. Then they were settled down to the regular routine of business. But the heart of a nation's gratitude was not stilled. There was a persistent demand throughout the country to do something for the soldiers. The Congress of the United States led the way with the bonus of $60 for every soldier who had been in the military service of the United States. States followed this example. But after the money bonus had been received and was spent, it was forgotten. The public generally felt that somehow or other this expression of gratitude of the nation was inadequate; and some of them even went so far as to say that it was unimaginative.

Bonus Laws of the States

The State of Colorado conceived the idea of lending money to soldiers to go to school. Legislation authorizing a loan of $200 to students for the completion of their education was passed. New York went a step beyond this idea and provided tuition of $100 a year, and an additional sum of $100 a year for maintenance. The soldiers, in order to benefit by this law, were to be selected by competitive examination. Minnesota went even one step further than New York and provided that any soldier who was a resident of Minnesota at the time of entrance into the military or naval service of the United States, was to receive free tuition to the extent of $200. North Dakota had the general money-bonus idea, and gave it to soldiers for two purposes—either as payment on a home, or for the completion of an education. This bonus was to be paid on the basis of $25 a month for each month the soldier was in service. Oregon, with more vision of the educational opportunity, provided for its sons who served in the war and returned to their home State an educational bonus of $25 for any one month, but not to exceed $200 a year for any one year for four years.

Wisconsin—Bonus plus Schooling

The most comprehensive piece of bonus legislation offering educational opportunity, however, was passed by the special session of the Wisconsin Legislature in September, 1919.

When the Wisconsin Legislature convened in January, 1919, the question of soldier legislation was immediately broached, but there was confusion of thought in spite of earnest desire to provide some adequate and appropriate reward for the soldiers. The Legislature continued in session for seven months, with this matter continuously before it. The subject was a topic of general discussion in the lobbies throughout the entire session, and the Finance Committee worked hard on the plan.

Out of the confusion there came toward the close of the session two ideas:

First, a money bonus to each man in the service, proportionate to the length of his service, with a minimum bonus of $50, and

Second, a bonus of $30 a month, permitting students to continue their education in the higher educational institutions of the State for a period not to exceed four years.

The money bonus idea of $10 a month for each month in service for the 118,000 Wisconsin men who served in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war, was adopted by the Legislature, subject to a referendum to the people. No concerted effort was made by the soldiers to pass this referendum, but by an overwhelming vote of 165,762 to 57,324 the people of the State approved the legislation, which is estimated to cost $15,000,000.

Senator Ray J. Nye, of Superior, introduced the educational bonus bill in the regular session of the legislature. The opportunity was limited to the higher educational institutions of the State. The measure was passed by substantial majorities in both houses of the legislature, but was vetoed by Governor Emanuel L. Philipp. His reasons were that the educational privilege was restricted to those who were fortunate enough to have a high-school education or its equivalent; that the educational opportunity was not available to everybody who rendered a like service; and that the scheme, admirable in purpose as it was, was a "leap in the dark."

What the Service Men Wanted

Hope was held out. In order to ascertain the wishes of Wisconsin service men, the State Adjutant General, under direction of the Governor, sent out questionnaires to 81,000 men whose addresses were known. By the middle of August the replies clearly indicated an earnest desire to take advantage of the educational bonus. The Governor then advised the State Board of Education, of which he is a member, that he planned to call a special session of the legislature, and turned over to the board the whole question of further investigation, and the preparation of the legislation. This was on August 21.

The State Board of Education had not been much of a factor in the educational affairs of the State prior to January 1, 1919, when Major Edward A. Fitzpatrick, who had just completed his successful work in charge of the Wisconsin Draft Administration, was made Secretary. The Board, however, had possibilities of service. The Educational Bonus plan was its opportunity, which it seized upon vigorously and effectively. Within a week there was placed on the Governor's desk an exhaustive report, containing a summary of the questionnaires, an outline of comprehensive educational program, a cost program, and the proposed legislation, which met all the objections of the Governor, and widened considerably the scope of the original legislation. The executive then called the special session of the legislature for September 4th.

The legislature convened. The State Board of Education immediately placed before the legislature the report which it had prepared for the Governor, and which was made the basis of the Governor's special message. Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, representing the State Board of Education as secretary, laid before the Finance Committee the results of its investigation, the educational program it proposed, the cost, and the proposed legislation. With but slight amendment the proposed legislation was promptly enacted into law by the legislature, and the legislators were home at their usual tasks within two days.

In this connection it may be well to note that of the 81,000 service men of known address to whom questionnaires were sent, 20,000 responded. Half of them wanted the educational opportunity. The detailed summary is given in the following table:

To the University of Wisconsin	3234
To special schools	3826
To normal schools	368
To Stout Institute	93
To the Wisconsin Mining School	66
To the S. A. T. C. or other private colleges	2509
Total	10,096

How the Scheme Is Financed

In the working out of the financial features of the educational bonus plan, the money-bonus legislation was accepted as the basis. Any soldier could accept either the money bonus or the educational bonus, and an opportunity was given him at any time within five years to return the money bonus to avail himself of the advantages of the educational bonus.

These two bills placed a tremendous financial burden on the State. The money-bonus bill requires the raising of $15,000,000 in the

year 1919. One-third of this amount is to be raised by a graduated surtax on incomes; the remainder by a general property tax of not to exceed three mills. Counties under this bill have the option of bonding themselves for their share of the mill tax. The educational bonus bill is estimated to cost in the five years it is in effect $10,000,000 additional. The proportionate amount is to be raised annually on the same basis as the money-bonus bill, without the bonding feature. No State in the Union has ever raised, by way of gratitude or appreciation, so much money for public service rendered by its citizens. That in doing this the State of Wisconsin is promoting its own welfare by improving the capacity for service of its citizens, in no way impairs the generosity of its act.

The Educational Opportunities Offered

The educational bonus bill aims to provide some educational opportunity for every one of the 118,000 soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses who served three months or more in the military or naval forces of the United States during the world war. For persons who can take advantage of the full-time educational opportunity, the law provides a payment of $30 a month for each month in regular attendance, but no individual can receive more than $1080. These persons, by doing this, waive the $10 a month for each month in service, but to those who accept the money bonus, the State offers the opportunity of free correspondence instruction over a period of five years, from the numerous correspondence courses offered by the University Extension Division. This privilege is also open to those accepting the $30 a month bonus during periods when they are not in regular attendance at school, for example, during the summer session.

A further educational opportunity is offered to the money-bonus men. Whenever fifteen of them get together and ask the State Board of Education for any special form of education, the State Board of Education is authorized to provide the form of special education that is requested.

The educational opportunities offered to the men may be taken in any public school in the State, in the State University, in the nine normal schools, in the Stout Institute, in the Wisconsin Mining School, in any one of the 85 high schools, or in any of the vocational schools in the thirty-four cities of the State of over 5000 population. These privileges may also be taken in the eight private colleges of the State having an S. A. T. C., or in any other institution of collegiate or high-school grade not operated for profit.



SECRETARY E. A. FITZPATRICK OF THE WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

SENATOR RAY J. NYE (The Wisconsin legislator who conceived the Soldier Educational Plan)

Special Instruction

The administration of this law is vested in the State Board of Education, with wide powers of administrative discretion. This is a new departure in the educational administration of the State, and one which may become a permanent policy. The attitude of the Legislature is well indicated in its directions to the State Board of Education in the law. The Statute provides that:

> Whenever any person eligible to receive the aid provided in the Educational Bonus Law shall be unable to secure the instruction suited to his capabilities at any of the institutions or agencies referred to in such law, and the State Board of Educat shall so find, such State Board of education thereupon select some other institution or age which is qualified to meet his needs and he all thereupon be entitled to all assistance to wh he would have been entitled as hereinb provided for.

this authority the State Board of has met the needs of certain indias follows: One person wanted to college of photography in Illinois, one in the country; another student gned to a monotype school in Chiools in the coun- assigned to a t. Paul. Others steopathy, chi-

ropractic, and optometry. For special work in architecture, students have been assigned to Cornell, Michigan, Columbia, and other of the larger universities. For post-graduate work in business administration, law or education of a special character, students have been assigned to Columbia, to Harvard, and to Chicago. And so similarly students have been assigned for special work in art, in forestry, and in various trade courses, to other institutions. One student desires a special course in upholstery. The State Board of Education has not yet found an institution to which to assign him. The needs of all other students have been met.

Assignments to Colleges and Technical Schools

Up to November 15th, about 3200 students had been assigned to the educational institutions of the State. Fifteen hundred of these had been assigned to the University of Wisconsin; three hundred to the State Normal Schools; six hundred to the private colleges of the State; and the others to other public and private educational institutions. These demands are laregly for technical and professional higher education and for the completion of work in the regular academic institutions.

To assist the soldiers who desire vocational training or other special training, the State Board of Education, in coöperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, has appointed an adviser who travels through the State, explaining the provisions of the law to these men, and the educational opportunities that are available. He is also organizing special work to meet the needs of the men as he discovers them.

"The continual stream of men into the office of the State Board of Education every day," said Secretary E. A. Fitzpatrick, "who are now availing themselves of the opportunity, indicates that by the time the law expires, the full-time educational opportunity will have been received by at least 10,000 men who originally indicated their desire to take advantage of the law, and the special part-time or correspondence educational opportunity will reach most of the other 110,000.

"Larger numbers would have immediately availed themselves of the educational opportunity but they could not make the necessary adjustments in the few days or weeks elapsing between the passage of the law and the opening of school. These students will enter next term or next year. They may enter any time prior to July 1, 1924.

"The demand for trade and other vocational instruction is just reaching us, and within a month the necessary new schools will be organized and running to meet this demand."

Men Who Have Received the Award

The law is reaching a wide range of people, as shown by the first persons to whom the educational bonus was granted. The first man to be awarded it was Frank Kupris, a Russian buck private, who wants to secure a university education, and at the age of thirty-one enters the Wisconsin High School at the University of Wisconsin. He served with the American Expeditionary Forces, and saw active military service in the battle of the Somme, Meuse-Argonne, Bois de Forges, Bois de la Côte Lemont, and Brabant-Consenvoye, and was with the Army of Occupation in Germany from December 1918, to April, 1919. His attitude toward the Educational Bonus Law is disclosed in his statement to the State Board of Education:

> I attended school in Russia for several years as long as my father could pay my expenses. As far as University education is concerned I could not think of that sort of thing because that was beyond me. In Russia there are no chances for any kind of education for a self-supporting man. But I found that it is not so in this country and it seems to me that any one in this country who remains uneducated has himself to blame and no one else, because here is a wonderful system of schools available to all people. The attitude towards the soldiers in this country is beating the world's records, as far as wages and other rewards are concerned. Especially is this true with regard to opportunities for education.

The second person, Stanley B. Fosse, a sergeant who was wounded in the battle of Château-Thierry, was assigned to Beloit College. The third persons, Carlyle B. Wurster, an officer who also saw overseas service, was assigned to the University of Wisconsin. Several Red Cross nurses have been awarded the bonus to take up public health work and special laboratory work in the University of Wisconsin. Among other distinct classes who have received the bonus are a Chippewa Indian from La Court Oreilles Reservation, who was assigned to a high school; a colored man assigned to the University of Wisconsin and a blind man who lost his sight in battle and who is receiving instruction in a Red Cross hospital school.

Coöperation of Private Colleges

The Educational Bonus Law has inaugurated a new era in education in Wisconsin. The educational institutions are anxious to serve these men and to adjust their courses of study and instruction to their special needs. This is true in all the State institutions and it is true in the private colleges. These private colleges, seeing their opportunity for a larger service, had associated themselves together—the first time this has ever been done in America—and appealed to the people of the State for a donation fund of $5,000,000. Coöperating with the public educational institutions, and adjusting their curricula so as to dove-tail into a joint educational system with the State, and serving practically as junior colleges to the State University, they have the good-will of all the State's public educational authorities.

The educational institutions of the State, in coöperation with the State Board of Education, are furnishing an educational leadership more responsive to the new demands of the era of reconstruction, and the State is looking forward to a program of education that will be more far-reaching than could be normally expected. This inspiration has been caught by other States. Inquiries regarding the Educational Bonus Law and its administration are coming and it is likely that other States which are now watching the administration of the Wisconsin law, will follow its example and bring about a strengthening of the democratic trend in public education in this country in all grades and classes of schools.

THE APPEAL OF WISCONSIN COLLEGES

WISCONSIN, long known as one of the progressive States, is the first to recognize in a practical way the joint financial needs of its private colleges as institutions having claims on the general public for support. Nine voluntarily supported colleges —Beloit, Campion, Carroll, Lawrence, Marquette, Milton, Milwaukee-Downer, Northland, and Ripon—have banded themselves together as the Wisconsin Colleges Associated; and from November 12 to 19 a canvass was made to obtain funds to meet the immediate needs of these colleges in the provision of equipment and salaries of the teaching staffs.

Every community in the State, urban and rural, was reached by this "drive," which was directed by methods similar to those employed in several of the great money-raising campaigns during the war. It was like those campaigns in this also—that it associated interests that had never before worked together in a common cause. Two of the nine colleges thus leagued together are Roman Catholic institutions. Of the seven Protestant colleges five have received most of their support in the past from Congregational and Presbyterian sources, one from the Methodists, and one from the Seventh-Day Baptists. These differences were long ago subordinated to the central ambition of all the colleges to serve the community, each in its own field and in its own way. This note was emphasized in the appeal to the general public.

From pioneer days to the present, Wisconsin has owed much to her privately endowed colleges. Fifty thousand students have attended them for a whole or a part of the course and 10,000 have been graduated. Many of these men and women would never have had a college course but for the little college near their homes. The citizenship of Wisconsin is to-day vastly the richer because of their contribution. It is not strange that the State University appreciates this fact and has earnestly endorsed the campaign from the beginning.

The existing facilities of both the State University and the private colleges are greatly overtaxed to give a higher education to the sons and daughters of the State who require it. The preceding article outlines the new demand that is already made by the Soldiers' Education Law. Both personnel and material equipment must be expanded at once to meet this demand.

The canvass was planned to secure pledges of $1,000,000 a year for the ensuing five years. It was agreed that the proceeds should be apportioned to the individual colleges on the basis of student attendance hours during the academic year 1917-18. Thus five students who carry sixteen hours of class work every week for a college year of nine months would count twenty students who attend but s a week for a college year. Th of distribution was devised by t presidents themselves.

WHEN BOYS LEAVE SCHOOL

"DRAFT" STATISTICS IN MINNEAPOLIS ANALYZED

BY THOMAS J. MALONE

WHAT are the stumbling years for boys in the common school course is indicated in a study of unusual educational value that has just been completed in Minneapolis, based on information given in draft records under oath. Its disclosures, and the conclusions based on them, are believed to be suggestive to every community in America, for Minneapolis may be regarded as a fairly typical city, standing between the small and the large in population and having a wide diversity in people—in racial origins, occupations, and living standards.

The study had to do with registrants under the Selective Service Act of the first draft only, that of June 5, 1917. It involved a classification of more than 30,000 registrants on a basis of extent of schooling received, as stated by them in Government questionnaires. While the classification was made complete through elementary school, high school, and college or university, even to including professional and graduate study, the significant disclosures were as to elementary years.

Grouping registrants by years of schooling gave figures confirmative of what educators have believed for years in a general way but never before have been able to check in so large a definite group—that the public schools, while holding boys fairly well in the lower grades of the elementary school (and in the high school, such as reached it), lost grip woefully in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. It was in those grades, each "grade" corresponding to a year of schooling, that the highest ratios of boys, the study disclosed, left school for good, or bad.

In other words, the predominant weakness of the common school organization—comprising the first twelve years of school from the beginning year to the end of high school—began in the sixth year, became more marked in the seventh, and reached its height in the eighth. Boys from twelve to fourteen or fifteen were the ones affected.

The study suggested that the urgent need for holding boys through this three-year period was for a change in the courses of study and in the teaching method conformable to the changing tastes and demands of adolescents. The school must adapt itself to the psychology of youth.

Utilizing the Draft Questionnaires

Minneapolis's population in 1917 was about 400,000. It registered in the draft of June 5 that year a total of 41,000 men, of ages from 21 to 30 years inclusive. The questionnaires filled out by registrants contained questions as to the number of years of schooling they had had—elementary, high school, college or university, or beyond.

Seeing the possibilities in such an enrolment of so large a district group, John N. Greer, assistant superintendent of the Minneapolis public schools, obtained permission from the war department to consult the questionnaires when returned to division draft boards and to copy for his own use certain information, including that on extent of schooling. So far as known, Minneapolis is the only city to which such permission was granted and that took advantage of it.

Mr. Greer organized a staff of more than three hundred volunteers from the teaching corps of the public schools, prepared cards in blank for gathering the specific information desired, and turned the workers loose among the thirteen division draft boards.

Certain classes of registrants were excluded from the study. They were: aliens, both friendly and enemy; men enlisted as volunteers who had left for service and whose questionnaires could not be returned in time to be available; those whose questionnaires were returned to draft boards so incomplete as to be unusable; and those whose questionnaires were not in the hands of draft boards at the time of compiling.

The excluded classes totaled 10,417 men. Thus 30,583 men formed the basis for the study proper. From their cards containing data transferred from questionnaires something of value could be drawn.

According to Mr. Greer, this deduction of one-fourth the entire registration did not materially affect the value of the study based on the 30,583 total.

"The early voluntary enlistments that

figure in the 10,417 group were mostly of high school and college men," he explains, "so their inclusion, had it been possible, would have raised the 'extent of schooling' line for the whole. The aliens and those who made out incomplete returns or delayed in returning questionnaires would have lowered the line, if included. It is fair to assume that these excluded classes about offset one another."

One in Twenty Without Schooling

A classification of the 30,583 registrants by years of schooling yielded the following result (a fraction of a year being counted as a full year):

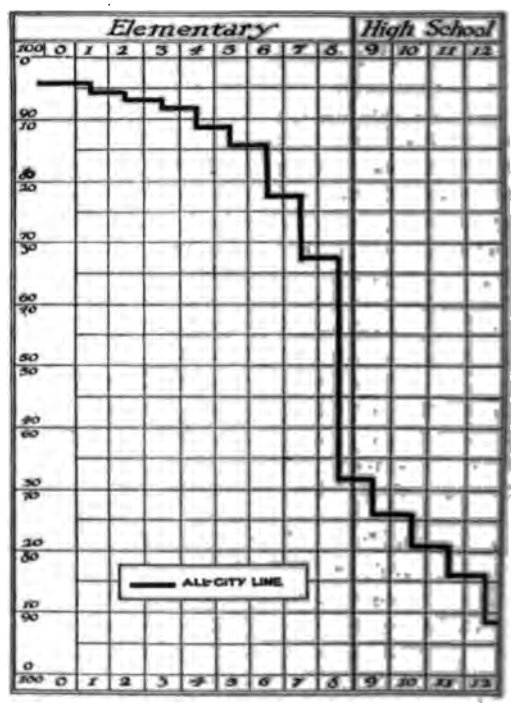
One thousand four hundred forty-eight had never had any schooling whatever; 163 had had not more than one year of schooling; 265 not more than two years; 535 not more than three years; 1088 had four years; 1053 had five years; 2331 had six years; 3144 had seven years; 10,595 had eight years; 1822 had nine years, which was taken to mean one year of high school work; 1876 had ten years; 1298 had eleven years; 2161 had twelve years, while 2804 had college or university training, or higher.

These figures become more significant when arranged tabularly, thus:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	1448	4.734	.....
1	163	.532	5.266
2	265	.866	6.132
3	535	1.749	7.881
4	1088	3.557	11.438
5	1053	3.443	14.881
6	2331	7.621	22.502
7	3144	10.280	32.782
8	10,595	34.643	67.425
9	1822	5.957	73.382
10	1876	6.137	79.519
11	1298	4.244	83.763
12	2161	7.066	90.829
College	2804	9.168	99.997

After recovering from the appalling disclosure that nearly one-twentieth of the men reported never having had any schooling at all, one notes that comparatively few left in the first, second, or third years, that the ratio doubles in the fourth year, is virtually maintained in the fifth, becomes alarmingly large in the sixth, and gets out of bounds in the seventh and eighth. More than one-third of the entire group left after having had eight years of schooling. Nearly one-third left with seven years or less. More than two-thirds quit before reaching high school.

The course of the year-to-year quitters may be more clearly seen in the graph:



This group of 30,583 draft registrants, Mr. Greer points out, constitutes a cross-section of democracy and suggests what may be expected of a democracy so limited educationally. There is no reason to think that any ten-year group above 30 years old would show a higher extent-of-schooling line. In fact, a poorer showing might naturally be expected from any such group.

It is true that members of the two-thirds who left school before the ninth grade, or high school, did so all the way from seven to twenty-four years before the time of reporting in questionnaires, on the assumption that before dropping out every one had covered a grade a year. However, society moves slowly in educational progression and it is not believed that our schools, in the last ten years, or even five, have been doing markedly better in holding boys in the grades—except for [illegible] ence of compulsory education l[illegible] rent States.

Mr. Greer cr[illegible] ulsory education laws in M[illegible] where with having had o[illegible] ith keeping boys

in school through the eighth grade; and he recognizes that they account, to no small extent, for the large ratio of those who quit at the end of that year. In Minnesota, the law since 1911 has required children to go to school until sixteen years old unless they complete the eighth grade before that age.

What the Poorer Residential Section Showed

When the 30,583 registrants were grouped by wards and each ward group was distributed according to years of schooling, the distributions disclosed that in industrial wards and those having the most people of foreign descent the falling-out in grades below the high school was more marked than in the all-city distribution. In the "non-industrial" wards—those comprising the "best residence sections"—the grades held up better and the slump, while emphatic in sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, was not so pronounced.

The First ward of Minneapolis has a population largely of foreign descent—Scandinavian, Pole, Slavonian. Its people are, for the most part, hand workers, employed in railroad shops and factories of various kinds. It showed the poorest extent-of-schooling line. This ward furnished 1723 of the 30,583 registrants. The distribution was:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	265	15.380	1.753
1	35	2.031	17.411
2	56	3.250	20.661
3	96	5.571	26.232
4	117	6.790	33.022
5	118	6.848	39.870
6	167	9.692	49.562
7	172	9.982	59.544
8	490	28.438	87.982
9	64	3.714	91.696
10	39	2.263	93.959
11	42	2.437	96.396
12	36	2.089	98.485
College	26	1.508	99.993

In this ward the number reporting no schooling whatever was more than one-seventh of the group three times as poor a showing as the average for the entire city. Lower ratios left school in seventh and eighth years in that ward than in the all-city distribution; but that fact is not encouraging, for the falling-away was much greater in earlier years—and nearly 88 per cent. of the group had left by the end of the eighth year as compared with 67 per cent. in the all-city spread.

The Best Residential Section, in Contrast

The Thirteenth ward in Minneapolis is typical of the "best residence section" ward. It has a large ratio of professional workers in its population, as well as sales persons, solicitors, and others who gain their livelihood by other than manual labor. The ward does not comprise the homes of the richest folk, but its people are largely of the home-owning class. Its extent-of-schooling line proved the best among the thirteen wards. It registered 1,889 of the 30,583 men. This was the distribution in that "best residence" section:

Years of schooling	Number of registrants	Percent. of registrants	Total percentage who had left school by end of year in 1st column
0	51	2.669	.....
1	5	.264	2.933
2	2	.105	3.038
3	6	.317	3.355
4	15	.794	4.149
5	21	1.111	5.260
6	60	3.176	8.436
7	88	4.658	13.094
8	525	27.792	40.886
9	176	9.317	50.203
10	204	10.799	61.002
11	131	6.934	67.936
12	276	14.610	82.546
College	329	17.416	99.962

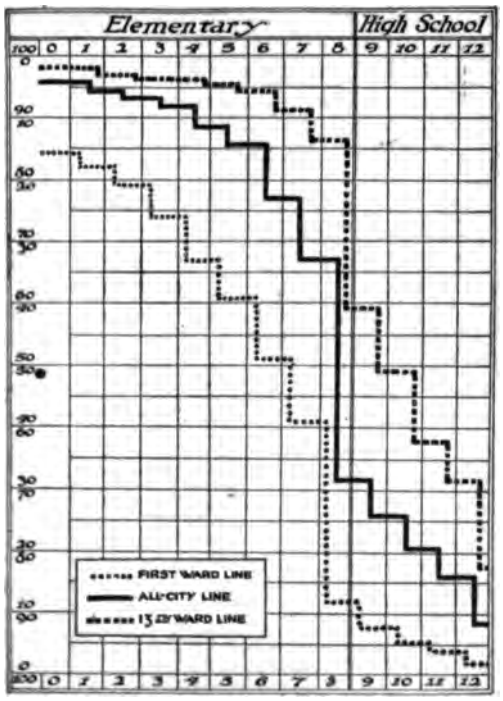
Here while only 13 per cent. had left by the end of the seventh year, nearly 28 per cent. of the entire group left in or at the end of the eighth year, almost as high a ratio as disclosed in the First ward for that year. About 41 per cent. had left before high school, as compared with 88 per cent. in the First ward and 67 per cent. in the all-city group. The traditional school method and curriculum held boys of this type better than of the First ward type.

The First and Thirteenth ward graphs are given together with the all-city graph for comparison purposes:

Where the Public School System Fails

"This is the first time in the history of the United States," Mr. Greer points out, in drawing conclusions from the study, "that we have been able to obtain a cross-section analysis of the facts in regard to the extent of schooling based on testimony under oath.

"In analyzing these facts, we find that



(In this graph a comparison is presented of the extent-of-schooling lines of the First and Thirteenth Ward groups of registrants, the poorest and the best in the Minneapolis study, with the all-city line. Extent-of-schooling lines of the other eleven ward groups all lie between those of the First and Thirteenth. The sixth, seventh and eighth years relations are significant)

the average educational standing of our citizenry, as gauged by time spent in school, is less than what is embraced in the elementary school training. It is plain that the majority of these young men left school before they had any definite civic or vocational intelligence. Combined civic and vocational intelligence is a necessary educational basis for the formation of a proper type of American citizenship. If we are to maintain our country as a successful democracy, the first thing to be done is to raise the intelligence of our citizens in both these respects.

"The passage of the Smith-Hughes Act by Congress and the proposed Smith-Towner bill before the present Congress go to show that the educators of the country are beginning to understand that the present educational system is not adequate, that much educational training of a different type must be developed in connection with the public school system if we are to give our youth the proper measure of both civic and vocational intelligence so to function in their lives that, first, they may become worthy American citizens, and, second, they may become sufficiently skilled in a vocation to earn a living wage."

Mr. Greer holds that his analysis of draft records in Minneapolis shows that our present public school system breaks in two in the middle, and that the break comes before the mind is sufficiently trained for any sort of basis for correct intelligence.

"The lessons of these graphs," he declares, "are clear. The first step of the public school system is to establish a new type of school in grades where these tremendous losses occur. The junior high school is the first attempt to meet the problem. The problem of the junior high school is the most important in modern education.

"The public school should keep control of all youths in some form of educational training and guidance until they are intelligently placed in business and industry. This means continuation schools, trade preparatory schools, trade extension schools, unit trade schools, and part-time schools—all these in addition to the present so-called cultural courses and preparatory schools which lead to college and the professions.

"Eighty per cent. of our youth enter business or industry without adequate preparation of the kind the public schools, if properly equipped, could give them, while less than 5 per cent. of our youth are graduated from college."

The new type of intermediate school suggested by Mr. Greer will induce many of the sixth, seventh, and eighth year "slumpers" to stay in school through personal interest. There is a good deal of sham in the excuse many of these children give for quitting school—that their home conditions require that they "go to work." Most of these children leave through dissatisfaction with the school, not because it is necessary. Most parents, no matter in what hard straits, will keep their children in school if they want to be there. Dissatisfaction with the present courses and lack of opportunity offered in other educational courses account for their dropping out in such numbers when

ulsory education law no longer can

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LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE ARMY WE NEED

IN connection with the suggestions for a national military program, put forth by Generals Pershing and Wood and other experts, a well-considered article on "The Army We Need," from the pen of Major Richard Stockton, Jr., appears in the *North American Review* for November.

Major Stockton, like all of the most competent authorities who have attempted to deal with this question, recognizes the fact that the country is unalterably opposed to a large standing army, but still desires reasonable and adequate preparation. In discussing the subject of preparation, however, some writers seem to have wholly overlooked the requirement that our army must in any event be able to take the field as soon as war is declared, and that we cannot count on having a year of preparation while allies engage the enemy's attention, as was the case in 1917-18. Major Stockton emphasizes this point and does not permit his readers to lose sight of it at any stage of the discussion.

Conceding that public sentiment in the United States is opposed to a large standing army, what are the minimum requisites that should govern its size? Major Stockton states them briefly as follows:

The regular army must be large enough to (a) garrison our colonies, (b) protect our southern border, (c) furnish small expeditionary forces for minor campaigns, (d) guard and care for our military property and equipment, and (e) do such training and administration of other forces as cannot be handled by the officers of those forces.

If the national army is barely large enough to perform the duties named it will clearly fall short of the strength necessary to give adequate preparation for war. It must be supplemented by a citizen soldiery—the one force that meets the requirements of preparedness with a minimum of service. Major Stockton concludes, therefore, that our military legislation must provide for a small standing army, supplemented by a large, efficient citizen soldiery.

Taking into account the speed with which European armies were mobilized at the outbreak of the Great War, Major Stockton argues that we should have at the very least 500,000 combatant troops ready to mobilize in a period that would be counted in hours after declaration of war and that we should have another 500,000 men able to be mobilized in a period of days thereafter.

At first thought this may seem impracticable if we are to have a small standing army, but, as a matter of fact there is one, and just one, sure way in which it may be accomplished *i. e.*, by making the Regular Army a small quickly expandable, skeletonized unit at peace strength, with a carefully planned and tried out system of instantaneous conversion to a completely equipped and trained war strength.

In order that we may have a force of at least 500,000 men ready to move immediately on the outbreak of war, one of the first essentials is that we maintain the divisional organization in peace. To keep the standing army small, these divisions may be maintained at a peace strength of from one-third to one-half of the war strength, with both officers and men of a trained citizen soldiery actually assigned to regiments and companies or corresponding units, ready to join the colors the instant that the necessity should arise. Not only must these citizen soldiers be trained and assigned to organized units *before* an emergency arises, but their arms, clothing, equipment and all the *impedimenta* of war must be with the unit, only awaiting the arrival of the citizen soldier.

Under that system, we can have a small Regular Army and yet be ready to meet an enemy on the outbreak of war. Assuming that the Regular Army strength be fixed at from 200,000 to 275,000 men, organized into from fifteen to twenty skeleton divisions, when war should be declared, presto!—we almost equal the dreams of William Jennings Bryan.

For the second 500,000 men Major Stockton would rely on the National Guard—but on a very different Guard from that of the past. In the Guard of the future both officers and men must have had good previous training. Many of those at present in the organization have been trained in war. In

the time that is available for the average Guardsman it is impossible to train soldiers, but men already trained may be kept in condition with that amount of work.

The reader will doubtless have surmised that Major Stockton depends upon universal compulsory training to supply the personnel of his army. Taking three months as the minimum period of intensive training, we would each year train 650,000 young men. At the conclusion of this training every man would be enrolled in one of three forces, (a) as an inactive member of the regular army, (b) as a member of the National Guard, or (c) as a member of the general, unorganized reserve. In this way the enlisted men of the trained citizen soldiery would be secured. For securing and training the officers to command this army Major Stockton would rely upon West Point, the private military schools, the ranks of the regular army, and would add those young men who, after completing their period of compulsory training, volunteer and are found fit for additional training as officer candidates.

NATIONALIZATION IN ENGLAND —FOR AND AGAINST

DURING the past year the term nationalization, as applied to natural resources, the railroads, and even to large-scale industries in general, has obtained wide usage in Great Britain. It is recognized as one of the most urgent political and industrial questions of the day. With a view to presenting clearly the arguments for and against nationalization, the London *Review of Reviews* publishes two articles by writers who hold divergent views on the question, but whose knowledge of economic and industrial conditions gives special authority to their statements. Sir Leo Chiozza Money states the case for nationalization, while Mr. Hartley Withers summarizes the argument on the other side.

The article by Sir Leo C. Money is devoted largely to an exposure of the failures of capitalism in England before and during the war and the brilliant success of the policy of state action, especially in the matter of munition factories and shipping. The six points advanced in behalf of the policy of nationalization are as follows:

(1) The essential supplies and products of a nation must in the interests of public safety and welfare be nationally owned and controlled.

(2) It is of the utmost importance to take national action to conserve national products such as coal and timber.

(3) It is essential that every transport facility should be removed from commercial (*i. e.*, profiteering) control, and vested in public authority.

(4) The motive of private profit as a stimulus to production and distribution is a proved failure.

(5) Throughout the world public ownership has grown apace in the last twenty years, and everywhere been so great a success that no state or city has ever sold out an undertaking once acquired.

(6) The conception of democracy is inconsistent with the private ownership of the means of work.

Mr. Hartley Withers, the editor of the *Economist,* takes issue with the advocates of nationalization in regard to the claims for successful state action in the war. He asks, "Was not the war won by the efforts of our fighters and civilians, in spite of the muddling and profligate extravagance of the government? The government did great things in the production of shells and weapons, but it had all the resources of the nation united behind it for a great cause, and it had the enormous advantage of knowing exactly what had to be produced. It had not to face the real problem of industry in normal times, of producing goods to meet the fluctuating whims of the world's demands. There was no call on its judgment. As to its conduct of industry, in competition in neutral markets with individual enterprise, one can only feel the gravest fear."

Mr. Withers admits that expert managers, trained in competitive industry, would for a time at least be available in nationalized industry, but he is not at all sure that they would be chosen and he is very nearly sure that if they were chosen "they would soon [illegible] all initiative and enterprise in the dead [illegible]."

The [illegible] nalization of industry secu[illegible]ce has been overturned in [illegible] railway strike, and rather [illegible] new system, the

success of which is at least doubtful, Mr. Withers is convinced that it would be wiser to set about the amendment of the system of private capital, great as the faults of that system may have been. That change would also be easier to make.

Mr. Withers also dwells on the moral argument in favor of competition—that by stimulating each man to do his best so that he may win in the race for profit the capitalistic system produces gains to the community which more than balance the waste of which it has been found guilty. When we compete with our rivals and strive to gain at their expense, the real goal for which we are racing is the service of those who buy our products, in other words, the consuming community. The division of labor has made us all dependent on one another and we produce goods and service to be exchanged for those produced by others. Competition implies coöperation.

AN INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

A USEFUL article on the program of the International Labor Office set up under the Peace Treaty is contributed by Mr. C. Delisle Burns to the *International Review* for October. In view of the General Conference for International Labor Legislation, being held at Washington, a questionnaire was sent out by the International Organizing Committee to the Allied Governments and to certain neutral states, which indicates the subjects to be discussed. These are (1) the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week in industry; (2) the prevention of unemployment and the relief of distress arising therefrom; (3) the regulation of the work of women and children. Mr. Burns indicates the general features of these problems, summarizes what has been done already in various states, and suggests further subjects for international action.

With regard to the eight-hour day and unemployment, this English writer states the case as follows:

> The point to be emphasized is that many states have already adopted the principle in the case of some industries: it may be extended to cover other trades, and other states may agree to establish similar systems within their frontiers. There might be an international agreement applying an eight-hour day to all miners. There is no difficulty as to the facts. More leisure is neeessary for competent citizenship; and in world commerce the shorter hours will compel better organization for production. Again, with regard to unemployment, it is known that the percentage of unemployed in certain trades in all countries varies through a course of years in combination with general fluctuations of trade. It is also clear that there is in all countries an invariable residuum or reserve of labor, in discontinuous occupations and on the "fringe" of the larger industries. The nature of unemployment can probably not be understood without constant reference to the larger issues of industrial, commercial, and financial organization or disorganization. But unemployment in any one country has international effects, restricting exports, and limiting the purchasing power for imports.

Almost all civilized states have regulations as to the labor of women and children, but the system of maternity benefit is not yet established everywhere, and the time of rest is different in different countries.

As regard further question of industrial organization and regulation, Mr. Burns points out that a problem is not international simply because it exists everywhere, but chiefly because it can be understood and solved only in international terms. "Nothing at all can be done if even the parties most intimately concerned continue to think within frontiers and in the terms of trade rivalry, race prejudice, and obsolete nationalism."



THE SANE ELEMENT ON TOP
From the *News* (Dallas Tex.)

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY

PUBLIC opinion, as expressed in the various newspapers and periodicals of Germany during the autumn months, is summarized by the *Review of Reviews* of London.

During the month of September a number of important diplomatic "revelations" were made which concern German policy, and have excited considerable interest in the German papers. The first of these was the disclosure of the German-Danish "conversations" which had taken place at various times between the years 1905 and 1908.

The first indication of these was given in the German press of September 5th. It was followed by further details, and just over a week later, by the issue of a Danish Government White Book giving the documents. This was summarized in the English press and need not be disclosed here beyond saying that the reported views of General von Moltke on the Schleswig question, the solution of which was held out as an inducement to Denmark to join Germany in any war which might ensue, as also the accounts of conversations between the Kaiser and King Christian IX in 1903 and between King Edward VII and the Danish Count Frijs in 1908, were widely noticed in Germany. The same is true of the so-called "Green Documents," published in France and reproduced in the leading German papers (e.g., the *Vossische Zeitung*, in its evening edition for September 12th). These consisted of reports from the German Ambassador in Paris, and his Foreign Office at the time of the Morocco crisis of 1911, and show that at that date M. Caillaux was making personal attempts to secure conciliation with Germany.

On the same day there was published in Germany a document of the highest historical interest and importance. This was the text of the so-called Re-insurance Treaty (*Rückversicherungsvertrag*) concluded by Bismarck secretly between Germany and Russia in the year 1887. The very existence of this Treaty was not certainly known until 1896, and its text, with the secret protocol attached to it, now made known in its entirety for the first time.

An important article dealing with several other diplomatic "revelations" appears in the September number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* from the pen of a well-known Professor of History, now holding a chair at the University of Giessen, Professor Gustav Roloff. He entitles his article "The Negotiations concerning a German-English Alliance, 1898-1901," and bases his study mainly on the fresh material provided in recent volumes of recollections by Dr. Otto Hamann, who was in charge of the Press Department of the German Foreign Office under four Chancellors, and is, therefore, in a position to make a good many interesting revelations. The most important of these is that which concers the offer of an alliance made by Bismarck to Lord Salisbury in November, 1887, and Lord Salisbury's negative reply. For the first time the whole of this extremely interesting correspondence between the two statesmen is given to the world, and the article by Professor Roloff which discusses it ought certainly to be noticed by all students of modern European history. The conscious attempt it makes to justify not only German policy in general, but Prince Bülow's policy in particular, should, however, cause its arguments to be received with caution.

The tremendous anti-Polish campaign in the matter of Upper Silesia which was in full swing in the German papers, particularly of the Right, during the whole of September, has certainly roused German public opinion, and stimulated Nationalist feeling in the country. The protracted negotiations over General von der Goltz's army in Lithuania are also a sign that Junker opinion is not by any means so discredited as many of us would like to believe. The Berlin Government does not appear to be in a position—whether it has the will is also a doubtful question—to remove the growing German forces in the Baltic, and, whatever may be the immediate effect of Entente threats, there can be no doubt to anyone who studies the German newspapers and reviews, that a deliberate attempt on the part of Germans to gain control of Russia through the Baltic will be made sooner or later.

In this connection it is interesting to turn to an article in the review edited by the National Liberal leader, Dr. Stresemann, *Deutsche Stimmen*, for September 7th. This contribution, entitled "Germany and the Eastern Border States," deals with the anti-German factors which are present in the various peoples inhabiting the Baltic Provinces

inces and endeavors to show that the project, ascribed to the Entente, of setting up these nations as a barrier to the spread of German penetration eastwards, must be regarded as utopian. The writer, Dr. Gerhard Schultze-Pfaelzer, says:

> In the last few weeks there has arisen in anti-German circles in Lettland a new plan which aims at bringing about a different solution (*i. e.*, as opposed to the Polish) of the whole Border States question. This plan is advocated by the Ulmanis Cabinet. In particular the new Lettish foreign minister, who is filled with a mortal hatred of everything German, has done much to bring the matter into prominence. The question is one of establishing a federation of all former Russian border territories which shall form a common front against Germany as against East Prussia, Finland, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania, and Poland, shall conclude a close economic and political alliance, shall come to an understanding with Russia, and shall firmly set themselves against the process of disintegration which Germany is alleged to be assisting. Anyone who knows anything at all of conditions in the East will realize that this is a purely utopian scheme. If the Border States wish to develop at all in a European sense they will need to seek communication with the West. . . . German policy must carefully observe all developments which may show themselves in the separate states.

The whole article is worthy of note, not as a description of present conditions—these may alter almost from week to week—but as an indication of that German interest in the Baltic which has been translating itself into action in the propagandist achievements of General von der Goltz's army.

Germany's ambitions and plans direct themselves, however, not only towards the east. There are signs of the efforts which are being made to win back and increase Germany's share in the trade of the new states, above all, for the present, it would appear, Czechoslovakia.

An organization for the encouragement of trade with the United States, too, is in rapid process of formation. One important section of it will deal with cotton, in connection with which the German papers of September report an elaborate scheme for the setting-up of a new Cotton Trade Bank. Finally, the September number of the well-known review, the *Suddeutsche Monatshefte*, is a reminder to us that German attempts to gain the goodwill of neutral countries have been resumed with all the war-time thoroughness. This particular issue is entitled "Switzerland speaks to us" and is made up almost entirely of articles by prominent Swiss writers on the future relations between the Swiss Confederation and the new German Republic. From the use to which other similar numbers of the *Suddeutsche Monatshefte* were put during the war it is not unfair to assume that this issue will be widely circulated in Switzerland with the object of influencing Swiss opinion.

In spite of enormous internal difficulties, the principal of which during the month under review appear to have been the disorganization of the railways and the sinister threats of fresh outbreaks by the pro-Bolsheviks, Germany is keenly appreciative of the necessity for re-establishing her position, morally, politically and economically, in the world.

EVOLUTION OF THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY DURING THE WAR

IT IS certainly gratifying to learn from documentary evidence that the nefarious inception and conduct of the Great War on the part of Germany was not backed by all her people; that much determined opposition was forcibly suppressed by the government, some of it coming to light, but mainly in neutral territory. A highly interesting article on this subject, by Hélène Claparade-Spir, appears in a recent issue of *La Revue Mondiale* (Paris); she supports her statements by many telling quotations. We give below some of the salient features of her summary:

It could for a long time be believed, thanks to the lucubrations of the supposed leaders of German thought, that the whole nation had sunk into a fatal aberration; that the entire people, indeed, were accomplices in the great crime. Gradually it appeared, however, that some men—*rari nantes*—remained faithful to principles of right and justice. These were joined by others whose sight was cleared as they emerged from the "sea of errors" into which they had been purposely plunged. While in 1914 and '15 the declarations of Fernau, Grumbach, and the famous work *J'accuse*—written and published in

Switzerland—were about the only indications of German protest against the imperial régime and its criminal doings, we know now that a number of enlightened Germans wrought on the same lines but were not allowed to be heard.

It was thus, for example, that naught was known of the efforts of Dr. Nicolai, professor of physiology at the University of Berlin, to publish his indignant protest against the notorious manifesto, "It is Not True," which covered German official action with even greater ridicule than shame. He intended to devote the next semester to questions he had at heart; he was drafted as a doctor to prevent his doing so. Subsequently he published in Zurich, in 1917, *Die Biologie des Krieges* ("The Biology of the War"), an authoritative work, containing the matter of his projected lectures.

The heroic attitude of F. W. Foerster, of Munich, is well known. He is one of the chiefs of that valiant advance-guard whose efforts tend to inspire the German people with a new spirit. Another German democrat, sorely persecuted in Germany, is W. Schücking, professor of international law. To those who justified the war by claiming that Germany was encircled he declared that "it was Germany herself who was the cause of her encirclement by refusing to adhere to the Hague Convention."

After recounting the efforts of men like Professor Sieper of Munich, Nelson of the University of Göttingen, and others, the writer singles out Helmuth von Gerlach and Theodore Wolff, men in the foremost rank of the opposition publicists. The former, abroad when war was declared, was dismayed on his return to German at the ravages which had been wrought in the mentality of his countrymen. He sought boldly and steadily in his ultra-Liberal weekly, *Die Welt am Montag,* to enlighten the people as to the errors of their leaders, and was one of the first champions in Germany of a League of Nations. As for Theodore Wolff, the noted editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* it was his subtlety—as a French writer declared—which permitted him to escape the censorship in great part. But it must be noted that, contrary to censorship in other countries, in Gemany no blanks are allowed, so that the reader is often misled as to the author's meaning.

A number of women, too, braved the menace of the police and the rigors of the censorship; and it was not alone the Socialists among n ourage to face a prison. I w especially upon the work of H r, editor of *Die Neue Generation,* and of Annette Kolb.

But it was not only in the rear that a movement of opposition manifested itself; many protesting voices were raised in the trenches.

And with time evidences of Liberal opposition increased. A striking case of change of heart was that of Maximilian Harden, editor of *Die Zukunft,* who from being a fiery Pan-Germanist at the outset of the war soon became an ardent defender of liberty and democracy.

In this brief sketch of the Liberal movement in Germany the action of the Independent Socialists, such as Bernstein, Liebknecht, Haase, and others, representatives of the opposition in the Reichstag, must not be forgotten. To quote a single passage of Haase's eloquent address on the occasion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:

> My party is filled with a profound sense of shame in face of the violence imposed upon a neighboring nation, and that after all the assurances that had been given! . . . Now no one in all the world will have faith in Germany's word! . . . Oh! if you would grant us freedom of the press and of assembly you would see what the people think of your policy!

Outside of the spheres mentioned, it is among the poets, men of letters, and artists that the champions of the Liberal movement are recruited; the writer mentions a number of eminent names in this connection. The well-known political organ, the *Freie Zeitung,* founded and published in Switzerland by German Republicans, likewise calls for mention.

The awakening of the intelligent youth of Germany, the writer comments, ought to be more widely known. The movement was started in 1915 by some young people—who were not dupes of the "great deception"—forming a society, but, watched incessantly by the military authorities, it was dissolved in 1917, after having launched an appeal, "The Future is at Stake," exhorting the younger generation to a moral and spiritual resurrection.

T object of her exposé, necessarily an incom ete one and composed some time before t collapse of Imperial Germany, was sim to coll documents (no easy task and h tempted before), which of the evolution of Li in mpire during the war.

A GERMAN ARRAIGNMENT OF TIRPITZ

CAPTAIN PERSIUS, well known as a free-spoken critic of the German High Command, recently issued a pamphlet entitled "How Tirpitz ruined the German Fleet." A translation of this by Captain F. C. Bowen, published in the current *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* is timely and interesting as a revelation of some of the cardinal causes of the German defeat and of the subsequent revolution. The first point of the indictment deals with Tirpitz's failure to understand and cope with "the powerful mass of inflammable matter which had been accumulating during the course of the war among the ratings and stokers through the conduct of those who were set over them."

Even before the war there were many complaints as to unjust and unworthy treatment issuing from the ranks of warrant officers, petty officers, and stokers. They were just complaints. Ever since William the Second's accession to the throne Prussian militarism had laid ever more powerful hold on the navy The haughty lieutenant, "whom none can imitate," is in a large measure blamable for the discontent of the men. No candid man will maintain that the navy was difficult to handle. On the contrary, it was an easy task to lead and to satisfy this splendid material. It was only necessary to show a little sympathy, to make the men feel that they were of the same flesh and blood as the officers, and they were at once touchingly willing and loyal, ready to suffer any hardships, ready to sacrifice their health—yes, even their very lives.

In addition to this, there was "the failing trust in our army," the irritation aroused by Tirpitz's interference with matters of organization that were really outside his province, and the depressing monotony of life and Prussian discipline in harbor, without the inspiration of active service.

But the gravest charge made against the Admiral is in regard to naval construction. Tirpitz was building Dreadnoughts when he should have been concentrating on submarines, and what is worse, was building them with less displacement than the British, less strongly armed, and of lower speed. Thus, in the battle off the Skagerrack "Had visibility been good, and had there been a resolute chief on the side of the enemy, the result would, according to all human calculation, have been disastrous for us." As it was:

Off the Skagerrack our fleet was preserved from disaster through the clever leadership of



WHAT AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING DID TO TIRPITZ, THE GERMAN SUBMARINE CHIEF
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland)

Admiral Scheer and the unskillful handling of the British fleet under Admiral Jellicoe, bad visibility working in our favor also. Had visibility been good and had there been a resolute chief on the side of the enemy, the result would, according to all human calculations have been disastrous for us. The British guns, with their much greater range, would have completely annihilated our less powerfully armed ships. The losses sustained by our fleet were enormous, in spite of the fact that luck was on our side, and on June 1, 1916, it was clear to all intelligence that this fight would and must be the only one to take place. Those in authority have often openly admitted this!

In regard to submarine warfare, Captain Persius declares:

Tirpitz never realized the power of the submarine. In 1914 he said to the American correspondent, von Wiegand: "Before the war I did not think that our submarines could remain away from their base for more than three days at a time, believing that the crew must by then be in a state of exhaustion." So that it was learnt during the war for the first time that submarine crews could remain for weeks at a time—seven—at sea! It is clear that, as the capablities of the boats were not tested during peace-time no proper appropriation of them could be made in time of war, and no correct judgment formed of their needs as regards provisioning, etc. . . . From August, 1914, to March, 1916, when he was dismissed from office, Tirpitz collected only 80,455 tons of submarine material at our docks. He argued that that was all the docks were capable of dealing with. Contrary to this, the dock-

masters have announced that at that time an almost unlimited number of submarines could have been built.

Nevertheless, Tirpitz was the most violent agitator in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare, and resigned in March, 1916, because this policy, ultimately adopted in February, 1917, was considered premature by the Supreme Command. The trouble was that at neither date, according to Captain Persius, were there sufficient submarines to ensure effectiveness; and neither Tirpitz nor his successor took any strong steps to speed up construction. Not till von Scheer became Chief of the Admiralty Staff in September, 1918, were an adequate number put in commission, when 333 were laid down.

Many people will be astonished at the number I have named—333. During the course of the war many fantastic rumors were current among us in regard to the number of our submarines. One heard of our possessing many hundreds, nay, even thousands. The number of boats ready for use at the front never reached the number 150, even reckoning in large, medium-sized, and small altogether. The submarines placed on order by Herr von Capelle at the dockyards would, if building were still continued, only be ready for use in 1919 and 1920—as far as the large boats are concerned.

GERMANY'S ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"IF you want another war leave Germany out of the League of Nations, and let her be the center of another League of all the nations that are now malcontent. If you do not want another war, then, whether you like Germans or hate Germans, whether you trust Germany or mistrust Germany, have her inside the League, bind her with fair covenants, watch her, talk with her, treat her fairly, leave her no ground for violent resentment, and be prepared to crush her instantly if she breaks her pledges, just as any other pledge-breaker under the League will be crushed. That is the way to safety. It is also the way which gives the best chance of eventually living down the passions of the war, and establishing some decent system of honesty and goodwill between nations."

This is the emphatic conclusion of a very earnest argument in favor of Germany's early inclusion in the League of Nations, which Professor Gilbert Murray, a prominent member of the League of Nations Union's Executive, contributes to the September issue of the *League of Nations Journal*.

The question is [he argues] whether we would sooner have Germany entirely free to do what she likes, or have her bound both by covenant and by inspection. If she is in the League she is bound not to make secret treaties or prepare for war, and she is compelled regularly to sit at table with the rest of the League, and discuss openly her plans and her wishes. If she is outside the League, she goes her ways alone. She is perfectly free to conceal her plans, to make secret treaties, and, so far as she can do it, to prepare for war.

To the objection that Germany cannot be admitted to the League because no one can trust Germany's word, Professor Murray replies that in international politics it is impossible to place absolute trust in anybody.

Moreover, there is no proposal that Germany should be admitted until (1) she has a stable government, which is really responsible for the action of the people; (2) has accepted the limitations of armament prescribed by the League; and (3) has, by whatever guaranties are thought practicable, convinced two-thirds of the members of the League that she intends to observe her obligations. There is no question whatever of an armed and untrusted Germany forcing herself into the League.

Professor Murray insists that there is no reason to fear Germany's alleged desire for revenge. "It is obvious to everyone in Germany that the policy of war has led to ruin; and, further, instead of an Imperial Government, based on the sword, Germany has now a Socialist Government based on universal suffrage, and traditionally hating the militarist party."

On the other hand, the admission of Germany to the League will not mean that she will at once sit on the executive and settle the future of the world, possessing the same influence as her victors in the war.

Admission to the League means admission to the Assembly, not to the Council. The Assembly will consist of some forty or fifty smaller states, with very little executive power, except on the occasions when the interest of [illegible] of them is concerned. Then the state [illegible]ed is summoned to take part in the Council [illegible] the present Big Five, and the four elected [illegible]esentatives of the smaller states. The C[illegible] bound to consist of those states which are, as a matter of fact,

the most powerful in the counsels of the world; and it is, of course, quite possible that a time will arrive when Germany or Russia, or, say, Argentina, may actually be one of the most powerful states. Then the question will arise as to their admission to the Council.

Finally, the world cannot afford to keep Germany outside the League, as she would then be a black-leg power. Germany would then be free from all the obligations regarding open diplomacy, minimum wages, fair trade conventions, etc., which all members of the League have solemnly undertaken; and in competition with the other nations she would have an intolerable advantage by reason of her being outside. Only by bringing Germany into the League can we ensure that she shall be controlled by the same obligations which the Associated Powers have agreed to impose upon themselves.

Remember, too, that if Germany stays outside the League, she will probably not be alone. There is a great deal of discontent in the world. China has at present refused to join the League; and her future attitude will depend on many things. The vast multitudes of Russia are certainly not friendly at present to the Entente powers, who, rightly or wrongly, keep blockading them and making war on them. The Turks can scarcely be expected to like us. There are great Moslem populations all over Asia and in parts of Africa who might be only too glad to join another league which is not ours, and which might help the Moslem world to throw off its Christian rulers. Hungary, Bulgaria, the revolutionary elements in Eastern Europe; all these are possible elements in another league—hostile to the true League—which would probably crystallize round an excluded and embittered Germany.

THE PROBLEM IN SOUTH RUSSIA

A WRITER in the *New Europe* (London) for October 16th outlines some of the administrative difficulties in South Russia which he says are economic rather than political. The Denikin administration thus far has been a weak one and its task is continually rendered more difficult by the extension of the territory over which it rules. The Bolshevists are charged by this writer with the utter destruction of the complicated mechanism by means of which men are able to live and produce. Money has become almost valueless. This year's harvests have been bountiful—the best known for twenty years, but this bounty of nature has not been turned to good account:

The peasants have their barns full of corn, and their sacks full of paper money. Of money they have more than enough, and yet if they part with their corn, it is only more paper that they can get in exchange. So the corn is hoarded, and sacks of money are put away until something useful can be bought with it. And, meanwhile, in the towns there is scarcity of food. The trains, filled to overflowing with men sitting on the buffers and on the roofs, carry their human freight to the villages in search of food, and such food as can be obtained is bought at speculative prices, only to be sold again at a still higher price. This primitive method of food distribution came into existence under the Bolsheviks, and has never been remedied. So long as it lasts no proper use can be made of the carrying capacity of the trains. Food that could be carried on a few railway trucks requires ten times that amount when carried in small quantities by individuals, each with a sack of a few pounds on his back. The trains groan beneath the weight, and while each man in the towns has to struggle for his daily bread, there is little time left for such vital work as the repair of the locomotives and the rolling stock. Under such conditions the ruble becomes of less and less value. In the early summer it stood at 200 to the pound sterling; at the present moment £1 will fetch as many as 500 rubles.



THE DOWNFALL OF BOLSHEVISM

ATLAS-BOLSHEVIK: "If I can't keep it up, it surely will flatten me!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

Suppose that Denikin's army succeeds in liberating Russia from the Bolsheviks, the danger of anarchy remains. The really vital problems that must be settled at once are, according to this writer, the stabilization of the currency, the supply of expert advisers for questions of food distribution, railways, etc., and the encou[illegible]t of export and import trade. Foreign ca[illegible]ital is necessary for the restoration of [illegible] and that capital cannot benefit the country until the currency has been put on a sound basis. In short, the real problem is not so much military or political as economic and administrative.

ARMENIA'S MILITARY HERO



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GENERAL ANTRANIK

ON the first of November the Armenian military leader, General Antranik, sailed from Europe on a mission to the United States. This fact gives special timeliness to an article in the October number of *Blackwood's* by an English officer who was commissioned in December, 1918, by the British command at Baku to set forth for Zangezeur, there to attempt the relief of this Armenian commander, of whom he had not previously heard.

Antranik and his men, besieged by their enemies, was compelled to continue the struggle after the signing of the armistice, and in December, surrounded by 30,000 starving refugees, he was still holding out in the hope that the Allies would even yet send aid.

The English officer's party was the first that had reached Armenian Zangezeur for nearly a year. Met by a cavalry escort and by General Antranik's medical officer, a graduate of Boston University who spoke English fluently, the Englishmen were taken to the house of the president of the Armenian National Council, where Antranik was waiting to receive them.

Antranik was standing at the top of the open staircase [writes the English officer] wearing the undress uniform of a Russian major-general, with several decorations, and my first impression of him was that of a powerfully built man, of rather more than medium height. He has a big head, and large strong face. His hair is gray, and brushed back over his forehead in Bulgar fashion. His mouth, which is partly concealed by a gray mustache with the ends turned upward, seems at first almost cruel, but in his eyes there is humor and kindliness. Character is stamped on the whole face, and the strong grip of his hand, and the straight look in his eyes, made me feel at once that I was in the presence of a man. Later in the evening, when I saw his face in repose, he gave me the impression of being mentally exhausted, worn out by continual strain.

As I walked with him into the reception room, I felt that he was something quite different from anything I had yet met in Caucasia. His soldiers were the first real soldiers we had seen. I understood them now, for here was a man who knew what was meant by a soldier, and they were the reflection of his personality. Whatever he may or may not have done, instinct told me that here was a white man.

At the meal provided for us by our host, the President of the Council, four places were laid together—for General Antranik, S——, myself and my orderly. Not wishing to offend my host, but at the same time being uncertain how the general would take the presence of a private soldier sitting at his table, I asked his opinion "The British private soldier has won this war," was his answer. "I am proud to have one at my table." Later on, when the toasts were being proposed, he rose again and said, "I raise my glass to the E[illegible] and the English mothers who b[illegible] personality overshadowed every one. [illegible]e spoke every one was silent to hear what [illegible] to say. If there was any point under discu[illegible], "Pasha," as they call him, was asked for [illegible]inion. If a story

was told, the speaker addressed himself to their hero. There is some sort of magnetic attraction in him which draws everything to him. I was already in his toils.

After dinner we had a private conference between Antranik, the Mussulman representative, and ourselves, to try to come to some arrangement by which his claims and those of the Tartars could be reconciled, and food brought through to the refugees. Antranik, obviously bitterly disappointed that the British, for whose arrival he had waited and dreamed through the dreadful hardships of the past year, should suggest even compromise with the Mussulmans, finally could contain himself no longer, and burst out in a tirade against the Mussulmans and their devilish massacres of Armenians. Antranik, angry in his country's cause, is a picture I shall never forget. Springing to his feet, the veins in his forehead swelling, his eyes flashing fire, his body quivering with passion, he shouted his defiance of the oppression of his race. Surely the inspired seers of the Old Testament were such as he. The storm quickly passed; once more he was outwardly the same strong, silent man, but his face showed more markedly than ever the physical exhaustion which the intense mental strain was producing in him.

. . . So the day closed. My head remained neutral; my heart went out to this patriot warrior, who had kept his fainting band together with his own great heart and his undying faith in the coming of the British to help them in their need. And now they had come, as it were, asking him to treat with his enemies, and about to sit in judgment on him.

At the midday meal Antranik refused to eat or drink, and was silent all afternoon. Later, with a view to helping these people, I asked him what supplies he could leave behind, if I guaranteed to get food sent to Devalu for his men, to meet him on arrival there. Unable to contain himself longer, he burst out: "Go to the British and tell them that from this day I wash my hands of all dealings with the Allies. What money I have received from them I will pay back by the sale of my horses at Erivan. You have told me to cease fighting and await the settlement of the peace conference for the righting of our wrongs. Trusting in you, we have kept the peace to our own hurt, and waited patiently for our salvation. You say that we are to have an Armenia independent of the Turks. Soon there will be no Armenians left to populate it. You refuse to let us die fighting for our country and our lives, and condemn us to a death of shame by starvation. Thus far I have been loyal to you. I can bear it no longer. I shall go to Echmiadzin as I promised you. On arrival there I shall take steps I think right for the good of my people. If you tell me—aye, even if God shall tell me that here is justice to my people, I will deny it in His presence."

SYRIA AND THE PAN-ISLAMIC MENACE

AN important and outspoken article on the Syrian problem is contributed by "An Anglo-Indian" to the *Contemporary Review* (October). The problem of the Near East, of which the Syrian question is part, has been rendered more complicated, the writer insists, by the fortunes of the war.

The supposed moribund Ottoman Empire revealed a power of resistance, passive as well as active, that was not expected, and that discovery alone upset many plans. It was arranged that the Turkish Empire was to be broken up and distributed, that Russia was to get Constantinople, and that Asiatic Turkey was to be divided, for the greater part, between Russia, France and England. The novel element in the proposed solution was that Great Britain came forward as the champion of an Arab revival. The tripartite arrangement is dead, through the defection of Russia, except in so far as it defines the respective spheres of France and England, the two other signatories. The Arab movement, meanwhile, goes on in full flood, as it were, under the British ægis. It has been followed by an Anglo-Persian treaty, which may well seem to some critics to reveal a settled purpose to swamp the region of the Near and Middle East with British influence.

The revival of the Arab idea, which has been more or less coyly encouraged by the British Government since the beginning of last century, was an ambitious policy.



THE GEOGRAPHICAL RELATION OF SYRIA AND HEDJAZ TO TURKEY AND ARABIA



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SIX ARAB CHIEFS VISITING ENGLAND
(The Arabs are inspecting a captured German submarine)

Arabia had long been in a disturbed state. The Turks had some difficulty in keeping possession of the holy places, but with the aid of their German friends they were building a railway to Mecca that was to make their position stronger. The Grand Sheriff of Mecca, Hussein Ibu Ati, was opposed to this encroachment on his prerogatives. He repudiated Turkish authority, got the better to a certain extent of the Turkish garrisons, and proclaimed himself King of Hedjaz. This event occurred in 1916, just before the signing of the tripartite memorandum, and to some of our politicals it s[illegible] aratively unimportant [illegible] idential means of giving us a sec[illegible] d been surrendered in the North. [illegible]eriff was formally recognized in his new [illegible]itle and welcomed to our arms. We introduced into our Near East policy the task of creating, upholding and extending an Arab state that was to extend to the Mountains of Lebanon and the banks of the Tigris.

For many generations this question of designating the religious Head of the Muslim has been constantly agitated, and the King of the Hedjaz has been one of several possible candidates.

But one of the unexpected results of the war has been to strengthen the Sultan of Turkey's claim to this religious headship among his co-religionists in India. All my information from that great dependency goes to show that the King of Hedjaz counts for even less than when he was merely Sheriff of Mecca. British policy, by coquetting with the unknown, has committed itself to the less popular candidate. Our effort to supply Islam with a new pontiff on the assumption that the Sultan of Turkey was dead and done for, did not look so very wise or promising, but it seems even more dubious with all of us at loggerheads as to what is to be done with Constantinople, and the Sultan sitting tight and trusting to Kismet!

Pan-Islamism is by no means a force that can be ignored; and a Pan-Islamic outbreak may easily offer as great a menace to the world as the Prussianism that we have just overthrown. Now, the British dependencies which are driven like a wedge through the heart of Islam, in Africa as well as Asia, form the first barrier against any such outbreaks.

So long as we provide the curb and the restraint on any movement of this kind, we can count on the support and co-operation of France and other Allied states; but how can this be assured if we provide a new energy and impulse by substituting for the lethargic, if not effete Turk, the aggressive and virile Arab?

THE RISE OF A NEW ARAB NATION

THE admission of Arabia to the family of nations is the subject of an article in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D. C.) for November by Frederick Simpich. This writer is impressed by the far-reaching possibilities of the new situation created by the exit of the Turks and the entrance of British diplomacy:

Ministers and consuls, missionaries and merchants may now reside, explore and trade in this long-forbidden country. Light will fall where darkness lurked, and this vast geographic unit of the old Ottoman Empire will no longer be merely a blank space on the world's map.

Arab tribal wars will end. Bedouin clans, like the Jebbel Shamars and the Anaeza, nomad outlaws since the wild days of Ghengiz Khan and the invading Timur, will now have to be good. British supervision will protect the trading caravans, and pious pilgrims may go to Mecca in peace and safety.

Whether the new [illegible]ead of Islam actually resides in Mecca [illegible]iro will not affect the pre[illegible]ce [illegible] and Medina, so famous in [illegible]y. For the British will be there; [illegible] faith has always been as much of a [illegible] religious force.

This writer sees in the founding of a new Arab state under British control the beginning of closer and more confidential relations between Christian and Moslem nations. It also seems to signify a gain to civilization in Britain's increased prestige over Moslem peoples in India, Asiatic Russia, Persia and elsewhere.

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for October on "The Future of Arabia," Lieutenant-Commander Cyril Cox discusses some of the political and diplomatic aspects of Arabia's new status among the nations. He argues thus:

> To restore Arabia to the Turkish Government is out of the question. Turkey in Arabia has already ceased to exist, to the advantage of both parties. Arabia has been a white elephant to Constantinople and Turkish rule has been the curse of Arabia. To leave the people of Arabia to their own devices is equally unthinkable, for such a course would condemn the country to a perpetuation of the present state of medievalism and internecine warfare.
>
> Administration by some civilized power, combined with full recognition of the autonomy of the various tribes, affords the only chance of the regeneration of Arabia. The task is not going to be an easy one. Before anything can be done toward agricultural and industrial development it will first be necessary to establish an armed police force of considerable strength to suppress brigandage, and to guard the property of the settled population from the ravages of the predatory nomad tribes. Concurrently with this establishment of a police force, the work of building roads and railways and of constructing harbors must be carried out. Until lines of communication have been prepared, the maintenance of order will be extremely difficult, and isolated units of the police force will always be in jeopardy. When, however, all these prelminaries have been accomplished, the development of the country will follow rapidly and spontaneously, especially in Yemen and Asir, where the national resources offer every prospect of a rich reward for the introduction of civilization.
>
> What is to be the *quid pro quo,* how the mandatory power is to receive compensation for the responsibilities and expenses incurred, are questions which do not appear to have been seriously debated up to the present. Presumably there must be some kind of financial agreement between the mandatory and the other members of the League of Nations whereby the expenses at any rate will be shared. But this and many other questions remain to be settled by the delegates in Paris. The first thing is to find the nation which will volunteer to become the mandatory for the administration of Arabia, and the next thing is to persuade the many rulers of that country to forget their quarrels and to lend their aid to the great work of regeneration. The makers of the new Arabia may well be said to be undertaking a task compared with which the labors of Hercules were trivial, but they may rest assured that, if only they can persevere until success crowns their efforts, their memories will some day be blessed by many thousands of thriving and contented people.

SCANDINAVIAN UNITY

FROM time to time a league of the Scandinavian states has been discussed as a political possibility, and in the general resettlement of Europe, now taking place, the question assumes a new interest. The similarity of the peoples of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in regard to racial type, language, and culture has always been regarded as an argument in favor of union. During the world war, moreover, these countries were obliged by the suspension of normal international commerce to rely very largely on each other for the necessaries of life; and this fact, involving a much closer personal intercourse and coöperation, has been hailed as a step towards the achievemen of a political league.

Apart, however, from the new situation created by the League of Nations, there are serious obstacles to any such policy, and these are admirably put by Mr. Chr. L. Lange, the Secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in an article on "Scandinavia: Past and Future Policies," contributed to the *International Review* for October.

Mr. Lange begins by pointing out that though, during the war, the three Scandinavian countries found a common demonination in a policy of neutrality, their conception of neutrality had a very different tinge in each case. Thus, in Denmark, popular sentiment, influenced by financial connections with Great Britain, was "overwhelmingly anti-German." Norwegians, also, were decidedly pro-Ally, notwithstanding the fact that their commercial interests were about equally concerned with both sides. The depredations of the German submarines on Norwegian shipping meant a tragic loss to Norway; but on the other hand great inconvenience was caused to her by the blockade, and England adopted the drastic measure of stopping the import of coal and coke to the country. The pro-Ally "tinge," there-

fore, of Norwegian neutrality may fairly be regarded as due to high principles.

Sweden, as we know, at any rate up to the autumn of 1917, when Mr. Branting took office, leaned, at times very flagrantly, to the other side. Besides these underlying differences in sentiment, Sweden is credited with having regarded "Scandinavianism as a chance of hegemony in the North"—Sweden being by far the most powerful of the three states—and this has always been a cause of Norwegian hesitation to adopt the idea. Mr. Lange sums up the position as follows:

The absolute necessity of political and economic co-operation during the four years of war has, of course, powerfully influenced the Norwegian attitude toward "Scandinavianism." Especially the intense inter-Scandinavian commerce during 1917 and 1918 created the necessity of common consultation in the most different walks of industrial life. Stock had to be taken of wants and of possibilities of mutual help. A host of "inter-Scandinavian commissions" were at work, and closer personal relations were created than perhaps ever before. In the wake of this followed a Swedish proposal, at once enthusiastically supported from Denmark, of creating three parallel associations, under the common name of "Norden"—the autochthonous word for "Scandinavia"—destined to serve as centers, in each of the countries, of all efforts toward Scandinavian unity and fellowship. The undertaking had a rather difficult birth, due to Norw[illegible]pticism and hesitati[illegible] When, ultimately, [illegible]sing number of rep[illegible] sentative Norwe[illegible]alities joined, all [illegible] erence to *politica[illegible]* tion had been str[illegible] out, and the stress was laid on the need for mut[illegible] information as to social and economic conditi[illegible] and to currents of opinion in the other countri[illegible]

I think this may be taken as significant of [illegible] prospects for "Scandinavia" in the near futu[illegible] Nobody expects the intense coöperation duri[illegible] the war to cease at once; this would be b[illegible] ungrateful and ungracious. Besides, in ma[illegible] walks of life coöperation is natural and w[illegible] certainly continue. Universities will excha[illegible] lecturers; scientists and authors, students a[illegible] workmen, will meet in congresses and excha[illegible] ideas and experiences; where practicable, [illegible] parallel legislative efforts will be continued [illegible] order to avoid conflicts of law; possibly a[illegible] facilities may be created for interchange of pr[illegible] ucts in so far as this is possible without infringi[illegible] on the prospects for a fuller measure of int[illegible] national free trade.

"But here the coöperation will certai[illegible] stop." A customs union "would entail [illegible] stringent conditions on the economic freed[illegible] of each of the partners." The idea of arra[illegible] ing a Scandinavian "group" within [illegible] League of Nations has met with no fa[illegible] in the countries concerned. In short, [illegible] symptoms point to a continuance of vol[illegible] tary coöperation rather than to any org[illegible] ized political grouping.

PEACE AND COMMERCIAL STRUGGLES IN PAN-AMERICA

THE Spanish review, *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid), in a recent article by Vicente Gay, gives us another angle of the "Pan-Hispanic" movement which, fostered by German intrigue, is ostensibly aiding a closer union between Spain and Central and South America, though in reality it is designed to sever relations between the United States and the countries south of her. The danger of such propaganda against this country can hardly be overestimated, particularly at this moment of world reconstruction and the resultant clash of national interests.

The Great War, says Gay, had its real foundation in the commercial struggle between England and Germany—though various reasons have been given. Germany's rapid invasion of the commercial field threatened England's "commercial hegemony" (established during the Napoleonic wars) because "her (Germany's) methods were surer than England's and her penetration in trade more rapid."

"England noted Germany's commerce [illegible] supplanting hers, making her lose grou[illegible] and the question arose of introducing s[illegible] method stronger than competitive comme[illegible] in the struggle: the force of arms!" In [illegible] way England could eliminate Germany [illegible] dominate the markets of the world (!)

During and after the war the Al[illegible] formulated economic barriers against G[illegible] many. Once the war was over, idealism f[illegible] out the window and greed entered the d[illegible]

The United States gained great trade [illegible] portunities owing to its late entry into [illegible] war; its merchant marine, built for [illegible] purposes, was greatly augmented by [illegible] seizure of German ships. The great ar[illegible] now existent has vastly strengthened [illegible] United States' hold on world affairs. F[illegible] viously, "the United [illegible]tes had no army—[illegible] lack of land (military) power forced it [illegible] restrain its desire to i[illegible]ade Mexico, inte[illegible] fied its action agai[illegible]panish America, [illegible] therefore to put off [illegible] question of Japa[illegible]

influence in the Pacific." To-day all this is changed.

Will the United States renounce its advantageous trade position created by the war? Most certainly not. German statisticians figured (1912) that the United States had the greatest combined export and import trade with South and Central America, with England a close second and Germany third. The United States led in goods imported from South America, England in goods exported to this territory. With Germany now almost eliminated from the field most of its former trade will probably go to the United States.

The traditional tendency of North America is well known. Pan-Americanism, which was propagated by the United States, holds as its final aim, not a tendency to form a commercial culture of all America, but to better reserve all action in America to the North Americans. . . . The Monroe Doctrine should be interpreted "America for the Americans—of the North!"

The United States, according to Señor Gay, desires to convert all America into a "vast sphere of Yankee influence," not only by diplomacy but by "violent annexation" as is shown in the case of Porto Rico and Panama!

An American publicist, Manuel Ugarte, has written an open letter to President Wilson in which he complains of the oppression of South and Central America by the United States. He states that an attempt is being made by United States business interests to oust French, German, English, Belgian and almost all other *"respectable"* merchants of our time. He complains of the present condition of Cuba, Nicaragua, Porto Rico, Colombia, Panama, the Port of Guayaquil, the archipelago of Galapagos. He desires the freedom of the heroic Philippines (although Aguinaldo himself does not want this), the withdrawal of "the sword of Damocles suspended over Mexico," non-interference in Putamaya, the unhanding of Santa Domingo. He concludes: "We seek, in short, that a star-spangled banner may not be the symbol of oppression in the new world!"

The United States is now, in effect, the banker for Central and South America. Even in 1915 a bill passed by Congress convoked a conference of American republics to treat the common financial interests. Thus to-day is realized the "gigantic plot of Yankee capitalism" against North and South America!

Germany's success in American commerce depended on two factors: superior goods and better terms of sale. Her commercial successors have not followed this splendid system, says Gay.

At the economic conference of the Allies at Paris Mr. Gide (a French professor) and the publicist Gustavo Le Bon both expressed their opinions as favoring "interdependence of countries" (in opposition to tariff barriers). A natural conclusion to this stand is that America needs Germany.

Should Germany succeed in establishing internal peace, its force will be enormous. Such a peace must come, from the very nature of the German people, and its advent will have the following consequence: with its mottoes "cheap and practical" and "Necessity sharpens genius" Germany is sure to regain its lost commercial position—unless high tariff barriers are raised against it throughout the world.

Let us suppose Germany shut out by tariff walls—shall we not see from fifteen to eighteen millions emigrating beyond the sea? It will be a world calamity if Germany is not allowed to feed its numerous population! While England holds the seas she can strangle all foreign commerce: this in spite of "the pretended freedom of the seas which Wilson included in his fourteen points." An English official (writing in the *United Service Institute,* 1909) admitted that England's wars were based on commercial considerations. Trotsky says that an English writer recently confessed to him that the economic future of the world was based on capitalism.

Señor Gay concludes: "The future war will come in a well known and more intimate circle between the English fathers and English sons, and America will be the scene of the contest."

The readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will note in the foregoing article the whole vicious circle of German reasoning: In brief, England was to blame for the Great War because Germany was outstripping her commercially! Next comes the familiar misrepresentation of the United States, as a greedy, vainglorious nation profiting by Gemany's elimination from American commerce and forcing Pan-Americanism on the other republics as a purely selfish measure. Finally, the preposterous "freedom of the seas" is dragged forward by the scruff of its neck and the world threatened with war between England and the United States caused by commercial jealousies (and, apparently, the elimination of German competition).

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER MAN ON BRITISH NEWSPAPERS



MR. CHARLES H. GRASTY (CENTER) LEAVING THE FRENCH MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

NO one connected with American journalism has had better opportunities of late to observe and appraise British newspapers than Mr. Charles H. Grasty, of the New York *Times,* whose work as correspondent during the war took him frequently to England and brought him in touch with the leading newspaper staffs of London and the Provinces. The comparative study of British and American daily journalism that Mr. Grasty contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* for November is therefore of peculiar interest and value.

At the outset Mr. Grasty admits that the British press has several marked advantages over our own. First among these he places the vast range of interests of the British Empire which form subject-matter for daily comment in the British press. Of even greater advantage to that press is the British system of government. This point would not be so clearly understood by the American layman as by the journalist. As Mr. Grasty explains it, where Parliament acts directly as agent of the people and they have the power of enforcing their views at any moment, all news about the government is decidedly live matter. As Mr. Grasty p it: "A big debate in the House of Co l ıe sporting interest of a prize fight. is ror blood and not mere 'Hippodrome.' T Ministry may fall and if it does a new must be provided, largely by newspa readers." Contrast with this situation t lact of interest in the debates of our Congress.

Since our American reading publics are interested in the same things that appeal the readers of the British newspapers, newspapers are compelled to find ways interest and educate their publics. In Engl those ways are ready made for them. Grasty thinks, for example, that we probably do not print a greater volume of crim news than does the British press, but more in the foreground here. The Bri papers all use the same kind of matter, bu is snugly tucked away, always on the s page and under modest headlines where British reader never fails to find it. In Grasty's opinion this kind of matter is more carefully read in British than in Am ican papers. Our tendency to sensationali produces an inferior make-up in Ameri newspapers. Mr. Grasty finds that the L don papers "may have a high degree of without any sensationalism at all." For and other reasons they are better made than ours. So too, our headlines, in opinion, are inferior to the British.

On the average, the London papers to Mr. Grasty to be better written than American, and this is especially true of torials, or "leaders," as they are called there. Writing is more of a profession England than in America and writers bred from generation to generation. Bu conceding superiority on the average Grasty excepts the editorial writing that be found in a few of our American pap "which is of a high literary quality perhaps excels in force." He greatly mires the pictorial quality in the Eng leader that makes the points more e understood. As an illustration he re a single sentence in the *Morning Post* torial on the Cabinet just before fall: "Asqui hands; Sir Edw Grey wrings and all the rest their hands."

THE PRO AND CON OF DAYLIGHT SAVING

THE Daylight Saving Law was repealed by an overwhelming vote in both houses of Congress, notwithstanding the veto of the President. Prof. T. W. Patrick, of Iowa State University, is not content to see his measure pass into history as a freak of the times, and he takes pains, in the *Scientific Monthly*, to explain the psychology, not only of the law but of the conditions which led up to its passage.

The theory of gradual transposition of night and day as a result of perfecting the electric light and substituting the automobile for the horse-drawn vehicle is interesting; and makes it apparent that the daylight saving law attempted to meet a condition, not a theory. The eight-hour day has arrived, and the large majority of persons living in urban and suburban communities will spend their hours of play after the end of the working period. This will tend still further to advance the hour of retiring, with a consequent later rising hour.

It was unfair, said the opponents of the plan, to force the whole country to get up an hour earlier simply because city folks didn't know enough to rise and retire early. But it was a war measure. The opponents of the plan obeyed the law, in the emergency, because they knew that the City of Vienna reduced gas consumption in one summer through the daylight saving plan by 158 million cubic feet, saving $142,000; that England saves annually $12,500,000 of coal; and that the United States was estimated to have saved $25,000,000 annually. Our coal is not going to last forever, and we can save enormous economic loss.

Nearly the entire country approved the plan, and almost the only exception was the embattled farmer. Professor Patrick, who comes from the center of the district most strongly opposed to daylight saving, proceeds to dissipate the objections by explaining the psychology of the situation. First, he takes up the contention that the farmer must work in the fields in the hottest hour of the day instead of retreating from twelve to one (old time) to lunch in the shade. Professor Patrick says that this savors of newspaper ink rather than new mown hay, and that every farmer knows and every thermometric chart will show that the hottest part of a summer's day is between two and four in the afternoon (old time), usually between two and three.



WHERE "DAYLIGHT SAVING" NOW RESTS
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

In midsummer, in the Mississippi Valley, the maximum temperature occurs at about three o'clock, while even at six the temperature has fallen often only three degrees Fahrenheit. The great difference between the temperature of the first morning hour of the working day and the last evening hour reveals the advantage of the new plan to all workers during the hot weather, since it substitutes the cool morning hour for the hot evening hour.

The next argumentative ten-pin which Professor Patrick knocks down is that of the mothers, to the effect that they could not get their children ready for school in time, since it began an hour earlier. He says:

The reply to this is, of course, that school does not begin an hour earlier but at precisely the same time, namely, at nine o'clock. If the children are accustomed to get up at five, six, seven or eight o'clock, they should continue to do so under the new plan and would have the same time for preparation as before. It is probable that the children slept later under the new plan and they slept later because they sat up later. In other words, they did not fully accept the daylight-saving plan, but made a change in their hour of retiring, when it came into effect.

The dairymen raised perhaps the greatest protest with what seems to some the least cause. Although Professor Patrick does not take the position that the city people are the dairymen's customers and hence entitled to a great deal of consideration from the dairy-

men because of business reasons, it seems strange that barbers, who open their shops at seven and hence must arise at least an hour earlier, are among the advocates of the plan. If the new schedule compels the dairyman in some instances to get up before daylight in the summer, he gets up before daylight all winter anyway. It must not be forgotten that the farmer works long hours and is none too highly paid; but it must be remembered that in order to get milk to the door of his city customer in time for breakfast, the farmer must get up before daylight in some instances. Professor Patrick says:

> Seen in this light, the other difficulties experienced by the farmers fall into their proper perspective. In advocating the repeal of the law the farmers have laid special stress upon the difficulties. First, owing to the dew, the early morning hour is favorable for farm work. And second, if to avoid this the farmer begins and ends his day's work at the former time, his hired men make trouble, since they wish to stop work when the town and city people do. Furthermore, if the farmer works an hour longer than the city people, he is late for any entertainment or meeting which he may wish to attend in the city in the evening. As these difficulties were presented to the country, they were offered as separate and cumulative objections. They are, of course, alternatives. If the farmer begins his work an hour earlier than formerly and experiences trouble from the dew, he does not experience the other troubles, and *vice versa.*
>
> Perhaps none of these difficulties is so serious as was imagined. The complaints about the dew came principally from the farmers of the Mississippi Valley and pertain only to haying and harvest time. The dew does not interfere with other farming operations, such as plowing, disking, seeding and planting and cultivating corn. During harvest time, as the dew is sometimes on the grass and grain until nine or ten o'clock, it is often in any case necessary for the farmer to begin and end his work at later hours. The need of synchronizing farm and city hours of labor during three or four weeks of the year is not so great as to ask a whole nation during the whole summer to begin its day's work an hour later in the morning and live by artificial light an hour later at night. . . .
>
> It is probable that the farmers themselves, when the matter has been accurately presented to them, accustomed as they are to rise and retire early, will welcome a change which shall encourage other people to do the same.
>
> It turns out, therefore, that the objections to the daylight-saving law are rather petty and not of serious moment.

Professor Patrick goes so far as to say, in his study of the psychology of daylight-saving, that if the clock were shifted for the entire year, instead of only part, we would soon be getting up still later, simply because of the psychological fascination of artificial light and certain predilections for night life. As life becomes more complicated and interesting, it is increasingly difficult to get through the day's duties in the usual time; we sit up later at night, and sleep later in the morning.

The undisputed benefits to health in general from spending waking hours in sunlight rather than artificial light; the advantage in saving of eye strain by the use of natural light for one hour more during each day of the summer months; and the increased opportunity for persons employed in the nervous industries to get out doors and indulge in the physical exercise so necessary for the prolonging of life in the sedentary occupations are only part of the advantages to be gained. Another hour of sunlight will help.

EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE SERVANT PROBLEM

THE perennial servant problem has recently become so acute that no one can fail to be interested in any plan that holds out the slightest prospect of affording a solution. The shortage of servants in the United States at the present time may be gauged in somewhat definite terms by means of data reported by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor. The Woman's Division of that service has recently declared that, according to figures at hand, the 1920 census will show "an accelerated shift in 'females engaged in gainful occupations' over the 27 per cent. shift of the thirty years preceding 1910, out of domestic service." It is further stated that "domestic work is the one industry for either sex in which Employment Service offices have had labor surplus at no time during the past year and a half." A tabulation for two typical weeks in recent months shows that in one week the net excess of demand over supply of servants was 2492, and in the other week it was 2941; indicating a labor short[illegible] of 40 per cent.

These figures are [illegible]d in an article on "Efforts to Standardize [illegible]e Working Day for Domestic Service," by Mary T. Waggaman, published in the *Monthly Labor Re-*

view (Washington, D. C.), by way of introduction to a summary of "recent movements which indicate that the servant problem is being analyzed and practical efforts are being put forth to solve it." The article deals especially with experiments recently made in New York.

The organization in January, 1919, in New York City of the Committee on Household Assistants under the auspices of the United States Employment Service was the outcome of the constant shortage of domestic servants, which was found not only in every New York City branch employment office but also in similar branch offices in various parts of the State. This shortage ran from 50 to 66⅔ per cent.

In the late fall and winter months of 1918 numbers of women had been dismissed from munition factories who had formerly done domestic work, but when such work was offered them again it was rejected. They preferred the factory, with its shorter working day and Sundays off, and an improved social status. If housewives were to get any help in their homes it was clearly to be seen that they would either have to draw such help from the group available from stores, offices, and factories or from a class of women having their own homes and families who could do part-time work but were not able to meet business and industrial requirements. The United States Employment Service therefore organized the Committee on Household Assistants.

The efforts of the committee were first directed to the task of educating public opinion in behalf of a plan which was so novel that it naturally encountered much opposition, due alike to prejudice and inertia. It is set forth in outline as follows:

Regular eight-hour assistants engaged to be exclusive employees for the housewives (preferably working for no one else at the same time) and engaged to work quite as permanently as ever servants do. They give eight hours a day, six days a week. They eat and sleep at home. They agree to give extra service whenever required, for which they are always to receive extra pay. The wage is determined according to a sliding scale of efficiency and length of time in employment, and does and should compare favorably with that which obtains in factory, shop and office. These assistants are engaged for regular specific duties, just as resident maids are, but—and here is to be found the safety valve never existing in our present order of domestic service—never, under any condition, is specialization permissible. During the eight hours they hold themselves ready to do whatever the circumstances of the particular day require.

Although the Committee on Household Assistants soon exhausted the funds available and was therefore obliged to discontinue its experiments, its final report contains the following optimistic statement:

The five weeks' effort has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the reliability and responsibility of the home assistant. The task which lies before us is that of training her and making her efficient. The experiment has accomplished its fourfold purpose. An enormous demand on the part of employers has been established; a new source of applicants has been tapped; public interest has been demonstrated, and most important of all it has been clearly proved that the eight-hour day home assistant is a solution of the domestic problem and capable of adjustment to many different homes, while a definite method of establishing this system has now been satisfactorily worked out.

The same report is perhaps especially noteworthy as indicating the enlarged field from which it is possible to recruit "household assistants," as compared with the available supply of servants of the traditional type. The applicants are thus grouped in five natural classifications:

1. The married, trained, and heretofore, resident domestic who seems to be the best adapted at present for the home assistant, principally because of her long years of training.

2. The high-school graduate interested to take up this profession instead of going into business.

3. The young business woman who really likes housework and finds she can be a part-time home assistant while studying.

4. The married woman who has her own home and understands the problem of household work. One or two of this type have even had their own maids. One or two have grown children and wish to become wage-earners.

5. The business women and school teachers who can get the benefit of a change of occupation by becoming home assistants during the summer months at the seashore and in the mountains.

The household-assistant system is also under trial in Philadelphia, Providence and Hartford.

The article here abstracted deals briefly with "cooked food agencies" as a help toward solving the servant problem from the employer's standpoint, and with the organization of domestic workers as a help on the servant's side of the problem.

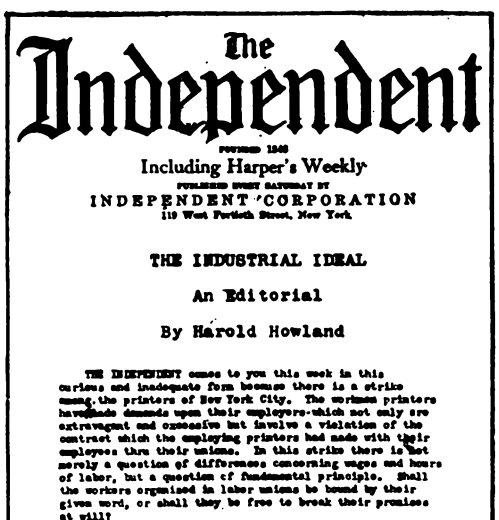
A unique association of workers is the Progressive Household Club of Los Angeles, organized to provide "a cheerful and welcome home for the domestic" out of service or taking a rest. The club is a recreational center with educational features, lectures being frequently given to the members. Prior to the war, classes in English for foreign girls were held twice a week, but these classes were abolished as immigrant pupils were no longer forthcoming. The members of the club are reported to be of a high-grade type and expect first-class wages. The employment office of the association procures jobs free to its membership.

PRINTING WITHOUT TYPE IN NEW YORK CITY

THE printers' walkout in New York City, beginning on October 1, led to new and strange developments in the production of periodicals. It was found that the ordinary processes of typesetting, whether by hand or machinery, could be eliminated through the use of photo-engraving. Typewritten manuscript was photographed and etched on zinc plates. This having been done, lithographic presses (not involved in the strike) could be employed for reproduction in quantity. The *Scientific American* transferred its editor's long-hand copy directly to its editorial page by this method.

A leading trade journal, the *Dry Goods Economist,* scored a triumph of persistent effort by utilizing the mimeograph for its entire edition of 13,000 copies and turning out a 64-page periodical. All of the work was done by hand, from typewritten stencils placed on an ordinary rotary mimeograph machine.

Some of the weekly periodicals missed as many as half-a-dozen issues. Others used ingenuity, energy, and substitute processes to maintain unbroken service to their readers. What new methods will survive in competition with the old, time alone can tell.



The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

Including Harper's Weekly

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY

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119 West Fortieth Street, New York

THE INDUSTRIAL IDEAL

An Editorial

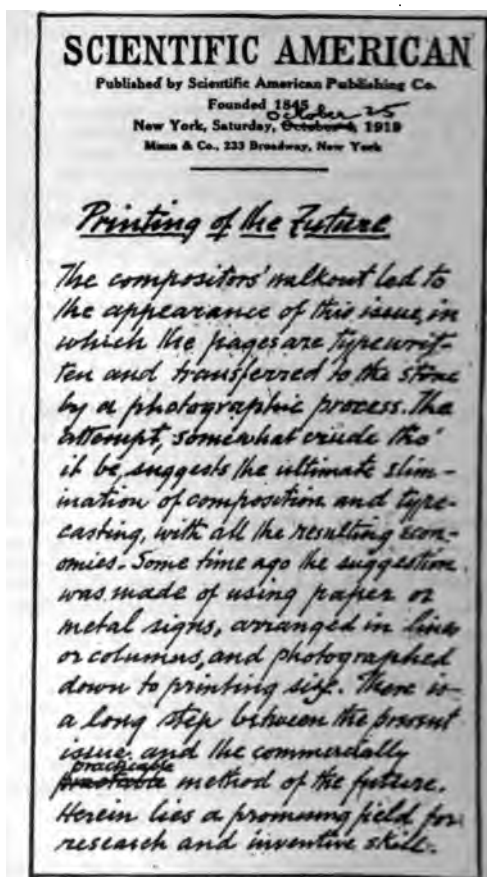
By Harold Howland

THE INDEPENDENT comes to you this week in this curious and inadequate form because there is a strike among the printers of New York City. The workmen printers have made demands upon their employers which not only are extravagant and excessive but involve a violation of the contract which the employing printers had made with their employees thru their unions. In this strike there is not merely a question of differences concerning wages and hours of labor, but a question of fundamental principle. Shall the workers organized in labor unions be bound by their given word, or shall they be free to break their promises at will?

This printers' strike is only one of many which are disturbing industry, not only in this country but in England and other countries of Europe. We are in a time of acute industrial unrest. What will the outcome be? An even more important question is, What ought the outcome to be?

A PORTION OF THE "*INDEPENDENT*" AS ISSUED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SEVENTY YEARS WITHOUT TYPESETTING

(The typewritten manuscript of this editorial was photo-engraved on a single plate.)



SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

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Munn & Co., 233 Broadway, New York

Printing of the Future

The compositors' walkout led to the appearance of this issue, in which the pages are typewritten and transferred to the stone by a photographic process. The attempt, somewhat crude tho' it be, suggests the ultimate elimination of composition and type-casting, with all the resulting economies. Some time ago the suggestion was made of using paper or metal slips, arranged in line or columns, and photographed down to printing size. There is a long step between the present issue and the commercially practicable ~~practicable~~ method of the future. Herein lies a promising field for research and inventive skill.

PART OF THE *SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN'S* EDITORIAL PAGE AS IT WENT TO ITS READERS ON OCTOBER 25

(The editor's "copy" reproduced in fac-simile.)



DRY GOODS ECONOMIST

Published weekly by Textile Publishing Co

231 WEST 39th STREET ---- NEW YORK

TURNING OUT PAGES—2500 AN HOUR!

A COMPLETE MAGAZINE MIMEOGRAPHED

(Not having missed an issue in more than seventy years, the *Dry Goods Economist* made itself independent of both typesetters and printing presses.)

RAILWAY TRAVEL AT HOME AND ABROAD

A FEW years ago most Americans would not have admitted that there was room for a difference of opinion concerning the relative merits of American and European passenger trains. The European visitor to this country was expected to bracket our railways with Niagara Falls and the stockyards in paying homage to American institutions to which the Old World boasted no rival. If he did not, it was because he was a hopeless victim of prejudice and old-fogeyism.

At that period a mild sensation might have been created by such assertions as are offered by our cosmopolitan fellow-citizen Owen Wister in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title "According to a Passenger." Mr. Wister has a very comprehensive acquaintance with railways on both sides of the ocean, and he sums up a comparison of passenger trains in the two continents in the words: "They have borrowed our good points, while we could still borrow to advantage one or two of theirs."

The three requisites of passenger service, he says, are, in the order of their importance, safety, comfort and speed. In the matter of safety a pretty general impression has grown up among us that we are far below the European standard, but Mr. Wister's comparisons under this head are comforting. In 1914,

> On the Pennsylvania Railroad there were 16 collisions and 12 derailments of passenger trains according to reports made to the Interstate Commerce Commission, as compared with 109 collisions and 73 derailments of passenger trains on English railways according to reports made to the Board of Trade. There were no fatalities and 563 injuries to passengers from train accidents on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and 33 fatalities and 723 injuries to passengers from train accidents on the English railways.
>
> There were 9 fatalities and 873 injuries to passengers exclusive of those occurring in train accidents on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and 117 fatalities and 2918 injuries on the English railways. As the English railways carried only five times as many passengers one mile as did the Pennsylvania Railroad the numbers of fatalities both in train accidents and from other causes on the Pennsylvania Railroad compare favorably with the English railways.
>
> As to speed, they have always surpassed our quickest schedules, and these were slowed down a good many years ago. Before the war we no longer had the five-hour trains between Boston and New York, the eighteen-hour trains between New York and Chicago, the hour trains between Philadelphia and Atlantic City; and now the hour-and-fifty-minute trains between Philadelphia and New York are no more. Those fastest Atlantic City trains beat anything in Europe, but this was over a short course; we had nothing equal to the two-hour London and Birmingham schedule, 112 miles; the 118-mile run in two hours from London to Bristol over the Great Western, or the 150 miles in one hundred and fifty minutes—excluding two minutes' stop at St.-Quentin—between Paris and Ercquelines over the Northern. Their list of fifty-miles-an-hour trains was longer than ours; and of forty-five-miles-an-hour trains they ran easily four or five times as many.

Mr. Wister complains that American trains have a habit of starting and stopping with a violent jerk; that we have few high platforms from which to board our cars, while in England, even at small wayside stations, you step in and out on a level; that our roadbeds are less solid than those of English roads, and hence we fail to achieve smoothness of motion at any speed. All this applies only to long-distance express trains; local and suburban accommodations in England and on the Continent are said to be inferior to ours. As to other details that affect comfort he says:

> During the years from 1870 to 1919 I have traveled in the trains of every important railway in the United States, England and France, not to speak of other countries. This period has seen many changes in the appearance of cars both outside and in, the introduction of many important appliances and in general a great stride toward perfection. This is true of engines as well. The best European train you could find in 1870—with negligible exceptions in Switzerland—locked up its passengers six, eight or ten, according to class, in a compartment, wherein you sat far less privately than you sat here among a crowd of sixty, and whence you could not get out for any purpose whatever until the train stopped and the conductor came along outside and unlocked the door for you.
>
> On the other hand, the separation of passengers into first, second and third classes was a sensible recognition of differences in purse, precisely like that of our hotels, which have always had rooms of various prices according to their size, furniture and locations. On our trains the poor man had to pay just as much as the rich for his journey, and more than the poor man in Europe. We presently camouflaged classes by parlor car and sleeping car. Later we added tourist sleeper, thus establishing three classes without embarrassment to democratic consistency. We bury our head in the sand of phrases and beat any ostrich going.

SOME YOUNG WRITERS OF COLOMBI

AN interesting fact about most of the literary men of South America is their ability to write good poetry as well as prose. It does not surprise us, therefore, to find this true of many of the young authors described by Gonzales Pans, the well-known writer of Bogota, in a recent issue of *Cuba Contemporànea.*

Were one to meet Cornelio Hispano quietly pacing the streets of Bogota one would hardly suspect the wayfarer of the "refined spirit" mingled with "Attic brilliance" that he possesses. His work—both prose and verse—approaches a Hellenic ideal. He himself ascribes his chief inspiration to Lucianeo Rivera Garrido, "that fine Caucan" (inhabitant of the district of Cauca), all heart, all nobility, all love for beautiful things." Hispano's first verses were written at Garrido's death. From him he received his admiration for Reman, whose cult he follows.

His prose works on Bolivar, the Liberator, are written in a solemn key, but are calm, serene, clear. His poetic trilogy is divided into three schools of thought. "The Garden of the Hesperides" is pure Hellenic; "Legenda de Oro" is the early Christian period; "St. Jerome" and "Elegias Caucanas" are present-day pastorals of Cauca. His prose is limpid, fluid, full of sense and sweetness—even in his historical studies and such works as "De Parisal Amazonas."

The "Periodistas" (writers of periodical literature) show the dual faculty of verse and prose writing above mentioned. Miguel Morena Alba is an Atlantic Coast writer most of whose work is in *La Naciòn* of Barranquilla: his forte is political prose and poetry. Hernando Zawadzky presents military policy and the complicated affairs of his country in *El Relator;* his style is notable for its fire and beauty. Benjamin of Moreno, as director of *La Epoca* (a daily published at Cartagena) has strong influence on local politics. Emilio Robledo raises, in Manizaleo, a voice which has great force in the department of Antioquia. "He has written good verse in addition to his valuable contributions to political literature."

Carlos Arturo Pinzen (son of the celebrated author of "Idolo fori") is, primarily, an essayist. His "Prosas of Esbozos" is a compilation of critical essays of the first rank. He is a gallant cultivator of *belles lettres* of present-day Colombia.

Editor, literary critic and hist sociologist—such is Gabriel Porras conis, editor of *La Revista Contempor* His caustic satire has been a strong infl toward national culture.

In Gustavo Arboledo R. we find a student of history who is publishing temporaneous history of Colombia. style of his "Brazil Throughout Its Hi is marked by an unusual richness of mentation which betokens a vast coll of material.

Louis Concha Còrdoba (the son of President Dr. José Vincente Concha new palladin of Catholicism. He is a in tendencies and of undisputed talen his magazine, *Catholicism,* he is figh modern battle for his faith.

One finds novel and short-story w rather neglected in Colombia. Fra Nino Torres occupies his leisure at th versity by writing psychological stories A. Gutierrez seeks to portray Colo life in the warmer portions of the cou but rather unsuccessfully. Enrique Farelo (pen-name "Luis Tablanca") little tales, genuinely national, of the ular classes."

Arturo Suarez, born in the mounta Antioquia, has written two Creole "Montanera" and "Rosalba," both s Colombian in flavor, excellent pictu types, personages and customs of his mountains. He is an able dissector of acter.

Cromos (an illustrated weekly) scope to the varied ability of Miguel tiago Valencia, poet and playwright. "Adela" was produced in 1913 in B He is genuinely Parisian in his know and refinement.

El Grafico—an illustrated weekly b tle inferior to *Cromos*—is a strong fac the work of civilized Colombia. *Voc* Barranquilla, has published the wo many young authors. Some of thes Julio Enrique Blanco, a young philos and follower of Kant; Enrique Reste profound and caustic writer; Hector P whose poems in prose are notable; Gomez de Castro, writer of fine criti and literary evaluations, and Ramon Vi a Catalan transplanted to Colombia, w appreciation of authors, books and plac beautifully set forth in numerous writ

THE NEW BOOKS

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, REMINISCENCE

Elizabethan Sea-Dogs. By William Wood. New Haven: Yale University Press. 252 pp. Ill.

Colonial Folkways. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press. 255 pp. Ill.

The Quaker Colonies. By Sydney G. Fisher. New Haven: Yale University Press. 244 pp. Ill.

The American Spirit in Literature. By Bliss Perry. New Haven: Yale University Press. 281 pp. Ill.

The editors of the "Chronicle of America" series have succeeded wonderfully in selecting widely separated chapters and episodes of American history and presenting them in a way that attracts the present-day reader. The authors of the books, in several instances at least, are dignified professorial gentlemen whose literary efforts heretofore have been hardly known outside of strictly academic circles. In this series, however, they do not appear as pedants but as men who have really interesting stories to tell, and to help them reach an audience the editors have seen that the stories are not long drawn out, that they are clearly printed on good paper, embellished with the best of illustrations, and in every way made to "look readable." One would have to go far to find a more entertaining book of adventure than "Elizabethan Sea-Dogs," by William Wood, or a more delightful and intimate account of the life and manners of our forefathers than Professor C. M. Andrews' "Colonial Folkways." So, too, the chronicle of "The Quaker Colonies," a story that has been told before, is related by Professor Sydney G. Fisher with just the modern touch that is needed to give it actuality with the reader of to-day. As to Professor Bliss Perry's volume on "The American Spirit in Literature," we can best describe it as an interpretation. Its modern viewpoint is indicated by the choice of Walt Whitman's portrait for a frontispiece. Professor Perry's incisive comment on American authors has been made familiar to thousands through the medium of the magazines. Such readers will in no way be disappointed in the present volume.

A Golden Age of Authors. By William Webster Ellsworth. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 304 pp. Ill.

Mr. Ellsworth's book of recollections of the *Century*, its editors and contributors, and the group of American authors who flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, is easily the most entertaining volume of its kind, from the biographical standpoint, that has appeared during the present year. Mr. Ellsworth saw the whole history of the magazine, its development from the old *Scribner's Monthly* under the editorship of the late Richard Watson Gilder and Dr. Holland and the building up of the Century Company under the leadership of Roswell Smith. The glimpses that Mr. Ellsworth gives us of Mark Twain, Frank Stockton, John Hay, Joseph Jefferson, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and other notables of their generation are so thoroughly life-like that the reader's only regret will be that Mr. Ellsworth has not given more of them.

Canon Barnett, Warden of the First University Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, London. By His Wife. Houghton, Mifflin Company. Vol I. 392 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 415 pp. Ill.

Not a little of the inspiration for work in university settlements in America came from the example of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, London. The warden of that settlement, the late Canon Barnett, exerted remarkable personal influence in London for many years. Mrs. Barnett, who was known quite as well as her husband in settlement work, is the author of these two very interesting volumes describing his life, work and friends. We have here the whole story of the university-settlement movement as it developed in London.

A Pelican's Tale. By Frank M. Boyd. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 315 pp. Ill.

A volume of chat about London personalities of the past half-century on and off the stage. The author is the son of the Very Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, of St. Andrew's, whom some of our older readers will identify as the author of "Recreations of a Country Parson."

Dunsany the Dramatist. By Edward Hale Bierstadt. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 244 pp. Ill.

In view of Lord Dunsany's visit to this country, publication of a new and revised edition of Mr. Bierstadt's authoritative account of his work and personality is especially timely. Mr. Bierstadt outlines Lord Dunsany's plays and gives their history, together with a critical appreciation of each.

Old Days in Bohemian London. By Mrs. Clement Scott. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 272 pp. Ill.

The widow of the famous dramatic critic, Clement Scott, gives in this volume recollections of many of the stage celebrities of the opening twentieth century in London. Gilbert and Sullivan, Ellen Terry, Sir Henry Irving, Beerbohm Tree, Sarah Bernhardt, and Mrs. Patrick Camp-

bell were among the personal friends of the Scotts with whom these reminiscences are concerned.

Mr. Punch's History of the Great War. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 303 pp. Ill.

The War in Cartoons. Compiled by George J. Hecht. E. P. Dutton & Co. 207 pp. Ill.

Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War. Compiled by J. Murray Allison. Volume II. 216 pp. Ill.

"I Was There": With the Yanks in France. Sketches by C. LeRoy Baldridge. Putnam.

Readers of this periodical will be especially interested in various collections of war cartoons which are making their appearance. Chief among those of recent publication is "Mr. Punch's History of the Great War," containing 170 drawings and a narrative resumé of political and military events from month to month throughout the conflict. *Punch* may not have developed a worthy successor to Tenniel, but its staff has maintained its reputation as the world's foremost cartoon journal. The drawings selected include many in lighter vein, which perfo a useful functio in interpreting living c at home and in the trenches. One hundr ican cartoons, representing some of the l rk of twenty-seven illustrators, have been b together in a modest attempt to tell the story of "The War in Cartoons." Mr. Hecht, who compiled the book, served with the Committee on Public Information, at Washington, in charge of its Bureau of Cartoons. The most widely known of all the war's cartoonists is Louis Raemaekers of Holland, whose drawings are being published here in four volumes, two in the series having already appeared and the third being about ready. Opposite each cartoon in both Mr. Hecht's and Mr. Raemaekers' collections the reader finds text explaining the situation which suggested the cartoon. In Private Baldridge's volume there are brought together the numerous sketches he made on the battle front and in camp as cartoonist for the American army's paper, *The Stars and Stripes*. Some of his spirited drawings are already familiar to the folks at home through their subsequent use on Liberty Loan posters. Private Baldridge was without doubt our leading soldier cartoonist.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Holland of To-Day. By George Wharton Edwards. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 293 pp. Ill.

We have had occasion in former years to direct the attention of our readers to the descriptive volumes written and illustrated by Mr. George Wharton Edwards. Of these, "Vanished Towers and Chimes of Flanders," "Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France," "Alsace-Lorraine," and "Some Old Flemish Towns" are among the most noteworthy. The present volume, "Holland of To-Day," while dealing with a more static topic, in no wise falls behind the others in artistic charm. The sketches of Dutch scenes, several of which are reproduced in color, are all distinctive and executed in the best of taste. As in his earlier works, Mr. Edwards has concerned himself quite as much with the people themselves as with the land that they occupy and the buildings and other public works that they have erected.

My Italian Year By Joseph Collins. Charles Scribner's Sons. 306 pp.

This is not merely another war book, although it is made up of observations and reflections by its author during the last year of the war. Dr. Collins was an important official of the Red Cross in Italy during that year, but he had been a visitor to the country many times in preceding years. He has long been a keen student of the land and the people, and in this book he describes Italian political and social conditions and analyzes the Italian temperament and tendencies.

Wanderings in Italy. By Gabriel Faure. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 291 pp. Ill.

In reading the descriptive passages of M. Faure's book one wanders with him far from the established routes of Cook's Tours and encounters names that do not frequently appear in the conventional gazeteers, but as a guide-book in the broader sense the enlightened traveler could hardly do better than adopt M. Faure's suggestions. The reader quickly discerns his love of nature and in his pages the artistic sense of scenic values is irrepressible.

Paris and Her People. By Ernest A. Vizetelly. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 316 pp.

Mr. Vizetelly's acquaintance with Paris spanned the whole period of the Third Republic, from the war and the Commune of 1870-71 to the close of the Great War in 1918. Probably no man of English birth has had a more intimate knowledge of Parisian life during that entire period than the author of this volume. He knew nearly all types of celebrities—actors, authors, artists and politicians—but he also knew and loved the common people. His recollections of a remarkable generation of Parisian life have gone into the making of an unusually interesting book.

The Paris of the Novelists. By Arthur Bartlett Maurice. Doubleday, Page & Company. 299 pp. Ill.

A few years ago, in "The New York of the Novelists," Mr. Maurice showed us how easily and naturally a study of the haunts of authors in a great city may develop into a kind of glorified guide-book for all whose sympathies and tastes are fed by literature. In his new book, "The Paris of the Novelists," he employs similar methods, and in the greater range of interests attains even more fascinating results. He has chapters on "The Paris of Victor Hugo," "The Paris of Thackeray and Dickens," "About Paris with Alphonse Daudet," "Bohemian Trails," "Zola's Paris," and "The Paris of Some Americans."

Through Egypt in War-Time. By Martin S. Briggs. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 280 pp. Ill.

Those who think they know their Egypt from travelers' accounts written before the war or even from their own experience as tourists will find much entirely fresh material in this volume, the work of a Sanitary Officer of the British forces in Egypt, who traveled thousands of miles over territory not hitherto frequented by Europeans. He gives a vivid, picturesque account of Egypt as the British soldier saw it.

California Desert Trails. By J. Smeaton Chase. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 387 pp. Ill.

A readable, humorous account of a horseback ride in the Colorado Desert of Southern California —a region that heretofore has largely escaped detailed description by travelers, but which is likely to be visited more frequently in the future, since the Government has begun the marking of roads and water holes.

The Wilderness of the Upper Yukon. By Charles Sheldon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 364 pp. Ill.

Mr. Sheldon's account of his explorations for wild sheep in sub-Arctic mountains, which originally appeared in 1911, has become one of the standard books of its class, and the present revision, with new preface, maps and appendix serves to supply still more completely the demand for reliable accounts of this wild region.

BOOKS OF SPECIAL TIMELINESS

The Adventures of the Fourteen Points. By Harry Hansen. The Century Company. 385 pp. Ill.

Mr. Hansen shows us how even so serious a topic as the Peace Conference has its humorous aspects. Of course if his book were merely amusing we should not think it worth while to commend it to our readers, but it is far more than that. Without being argumentative or dogmatic it presents controversial matters in an informational way. In other words it reports the intensely serious debates at Paris not for their own sake but rather because of the relation that they bore to the things that really happened—the ultimate decisions of the Conference. It does this brightly and dramatically—in short, as if it were just what the title indicates, a story of adventure. Mr. Hansen has been fortunate in his selection and grouping of materials. Not every writer is gifted with so keen and unerring a sense of proportion.

The Strategy of the Great War. By William L. McPherson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 417 pp.

A reprint of studies of the campaigns and battles of the war in their relation to Allied and German military policy which originally appeared in the Sunday issues of the New York *Tribune*. The first six chapters of the book deal with the general principles underlying German and Allied strategy, while the other fourteen chapters analyze the battles and campaigns in which the working out of these principles is illustrated.

The Remaking of a Mind. By Henry de Man. Charles Scribner's Sons. 289 pp.

This unusual book attempts an interpretation of important issues now before the world in the light of the development of the author's own ideas under pressure of war experience. Mr. de Man was a Belgian soldier, but before the war he had been one of the leaders among the International Socialists of Europe. With Liebknecht he founded the Socialist Young People's Federation and endeavored to throw the weight of international labor organization against the war. When his country was invaded he enlisted in the army and served throughout the war, winning the Belgian War Cross and the British M. C. His internationalism is not merely nominal, for before the war he had lived and studied in Germany, Austria, England, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. That his views were profoundly influenced by the war is shown by his frank admission of a conscious departure from Marxian socialism.

The Strategy of Minerals. Edited by George Otis Smith. With an Introduction by Franklin K. Lane. D. Appleton & Company. 371 pp.

The pressure of war brought to many of us for the first time a realizing sense of America's controlling position as producer and possessor of mineral wealth. This position is preëminent in peace as well as in war, and if we are to profit as a nation from the dearly bought victory we must so organize our industries as to make the most effective use of these great natural resources. With this end in view, "The Strategy of Minerals" has been prepared by a group of experts in the Government service and edited by Director George Otis Smith of the United States Geological Survey, with an introduction by Secretary Lane. It forms a serviceable compendium of up-to-date information regarding America's mineral wealth.

Creative Chemistry. By Edwin E. Slosson. The Century Company. 311 pp. Ill.

Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, of the *Independent*, is better known as a journalist than as a chemist. But as a matter of fact, he had been a professor of chemistry long before he became the literary editor of the *Independent*. His experience in journalism, however, has apparently given him a new mode of approach to the popular treatment of scientific subjects. Technicalities have no place

in his book, but his simple, straigthforward account of modern chemical processes leads in every instance to a practical result. Many who have never supposed that they could penetrate the mystery of modern chemical science will find in Dr. Slosson's chapters clear and convincing explanations of much that has never before been presented to them in a language that they understood.

Industrial Mexico. 1919 Facts and Figures. By P. Harvey Middleton. Dodd, Mead and Company. 270 pp. Ill.

A series of up-to-date answers to many questions that American business men have been asking of late. We often hear assertions as to the great natural wealth of Mexico but until recently the facts have usually been wanting to support these generalizations. Mr. Middleton knows the country thoroughly and is an optimist regarding business conditions there. In this volume he writes on "The Mexican Oil Industry", "What Mexico Needs", "Mining in Mexico", "Agriculture in Mexico", "Sugar and Coffee", "Mexican Timber", "Manufacturing", "Railways", "Shipping Facilities", and "Credit and Banking".

Who Are the Slavs? By Paul R. Radosavljevich. Boston: Richard G. Badger. Vol I. 538 pp. Ill. Vol II. 601 pp. Ill.

These vo[illegible] n answer to a [illegible] tion [illegible] d more interest [illegible] the Eng[illegible] during the past [illegible] years than in [illegible] g five hundred [illegible] merely the su[illegible] of the Slavic people but the fund[illegible] al and mental characteristics of the race are discussed with gratefulness. The handicaps with which the Slavs have been loaded through all the centuries have not prevented the emergence of great individual leaders in various spheres. They are proud of Copernicius, the discoverer of our solar system, of Tolstoi and Turgenyev, of Paderewski—to mention other names almost as famous in modern civilization. There are more than 160,000,000 Slavs, and it is important that we of the western nations should understand their race psychology.

Ireland and England. By Edward R. Turner. The Century Company. 504 pp.

Professor Turner has sought to present both sides of the Irish question fairly and in so doing must perforce displease extremists in both camps. Yet in the main his statement of the historical relations between England and Ireland will be generally accepted as accurate. He believes that Ireland will get self-government as soon as Irishmen agree among themselves.

TEUTONS AND TEUTONISM

Modern Germany. J. Ellis Barker. E. P. Dutton & Company. 496 pp.

The author of this work is an Englishman who has devoted practically a life-time (he was born at Cologne) to the detailed study of German political and social conditions. The first five editions of the present work were published before the outbreak of the Great War, and indeed pointed to the probability and danger of an attack by Germany upon European civilization. The present volume, as the title-page announces, has been "entirely re-written and very greatly enlarged." It is, in fact, a new book under an old title. The book has already been used as a textbook in certain American universities, and will doubtless have an even wider range of usefulness in the future.

Germanism from Within. A. D. McLaren. E. P. Dutton & Company. 383 pp.

This volume also is the work of a British author who has been for thirty years a close student of Germany. He attempts here to analyze the German character as revealed in those tendencies that culminated with the war. His knowledge is based on intimate contact with the German people in every part of the Empire.

German Social Democracy During the War. By Edwyn Bevan. E. P. Dutton & Company. 280 pp.

The data chiefly drawn upon for the preparation of this volume are the printed utterances by the German leaders from the outbreak of the war up to the fall of the Michaelis Ministry in October, 1917. This material is now presented in English for the first time as a consecutive narrative of events.

Germany's New War Against America. By Stanley Frost. E. P. Dutton & Company. 190 pp.

A clear statement of the present situation, as respects German competition with American industry and commerce. Especially illuminating are the chapters on "Dyes and Chemicals," "The German Metal Octopus," and "The Huns' Trade Spies in America." An introduction to the volume is supplied by Attorney-General Palmer, who was former Alien Property Custodian.

Germany's Moral Downfall. By Alexander W. Crawford. The Abingdon Press. 217 pp.

A series of essays on German materialism and militarism.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS, DECEMBER, 1919.
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fair or foul, to bring him to his death.

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expectedly hoping to put the c neone else—never suspecting
woman the most beautiful in his court— ied, hidden but a few feet away

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MISSOURI PACIFIC GENERAL MORTGAGE BONDS

I noticed in the **Review of Reviews** some time ago that you recommended Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cent. bonds as a safe investment. Do you still regard them so, and do you consider the present a good time to buy them? Will you explain about how they are secured? Is there anything else in this class of securities that you would recommend?

As you suggest, we have on a number of different occasions referred to the general mortgage 4 per cent. bonds of the Missouri Pacific as being in our opinion a good investment of their type and class. However, we would not be understood as giving these bonds the rating of an altogether high-grade, conservative investment. They are relatively new and unseasoned and, while appearing to possess some pretty strong equities, are not without certain essential elements of risk. On the reorganized Missouri Pacific property, these bonds are a lien junior to $128,000,000 of underlying bonds which were undisturbed in the reorganization, and also junior to about $47,000,000 new first refunding 5 per cents.

A bond which occupies very much the same kind of market position as the Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cent. bonds, but which seems to us to possess in some respects stronger security, is the issue of St. Louis & San Francisco prior lien 4 per cents. These are also the obligations of a reorganized company which have not yet become seasoned. They are selling in the open market almost on a par with the Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cents.

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Will you kindly tell me how to invest in some long term securities to the best advantage of my children, to yield at least 5 per cent., exempt from Government taxes? I have three children, aged twelve, eight and five, respectively, for each of whom I wish to invest several thousand dollars, with the provision that they shall not receive the principal before attaining the age of 35. It is my desire to have the interest money from these securities invested and added to the principal until each child has reached the age of 25, after which the annual interest can be paid over to the beneficiaries, in case of need. How can I best arrange these and certain other provisions of the trust which I have in mind? And what classes of investments are best?

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That part of your plan involving the rei ment of the interest accumulations is not go be an altogether easy one to provide for und strictions such as you have in mind. The dif arises from the fact that on a relatively small fund the semi-annual interest accretions woul be sufficiently large to make possible their p reinvestment and proper distribution without a deal of painstaking consideration. One of the r lying reasons for this difficulty is that there ar atively so few investments of the proper q available in sufficiently small denominations; deposit of proceeds of the bond coupons at in would scarcely enable you to compound the yi the rate of the original investment.

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FIXING PRICES FOR LIBERTY BONDS

Enclosed is a clipping of a communication addr to one of our Philippine newspapers, apropos the count which holders of Liberty bonds are compell accept in selling the bonds at the present time. will note that the correspondent says: "What all ers of these bonds would like is for the Govern to fix a minimum at which the Government would them back, thus ensuring the profit to the country not to the individual capitalist;" and that he ap to be under the impression that the banks and di in bonds can practically fix their own prices at w to buy. Are not these suggestions good?

No, we cannot agree. First, as to the sugge that the Government itself ought to get the p involved in buying back the Liberty bonds at a count. It is in fact taking advantage of the op tunity to get this profit by buying bonds in the o market probably to the limit of the financial reso of the Treasury, using for this purpose the sin funds provided for by law or by the authorizat of Congress.

We do not believe the market prices of Gove ment bonds can be permanently and arbitrarily fi any more than the market prices of commodit

(Continued on page 8)

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It will be to your advantage to understand the *Straus Plan*, which now is being widely imitated. Valuable investment literature will be sent you on receipt of your letter or postcard. Write today for

Circular No. L-906

S.W.STRAUS & CO.

Established 1882 — Incorporated

NEW YORK
150 Broadway

CHICAGO
Straus Building

DETROIT
Penobscot Bldg.

MINNEAPOLIS
Metropolitan Bank Bldg.

SAN FRANCISCO
Crocker Bldg.

PHILADELPHIA
Stock Exchange Bldg.

ST. LOUIS
Boatmen's Bank Bldg.

MILWAUKEE
First National Bank Bldg.

BOSTON
Shawmut Bank Bldg.

INDIANAPOLIS
Merchants Bank Bldg.

WASHINGTON
National Metropolitan Bank Bldg.

BUFFALO
Ellicott Square

LOS ANGELES
Merchants National Bank Bldg.

PITTSBURGH
Keystone Bldg.

Thirty-seven Years Without Loss to Any Investor

of any kind can be so fixed. Such prices are bound to be determined by the inexorable law of supply and demand.

You must bear in mind the fact that the total amount of the various Liberty Loans is extremely large; that in the stress of the various campaigns to dispose of the bonds, thousands of people committed themselves to purchases beyond their ability to meet out of accumulated savings; and that there have been, therefore, thousands of people who, subsequently finding themselves in need of cash, have sought the open market to dispose of their holdings. In such a situation it has been necessary, of course, to find thousands of new buyers for the bonds, and with the supply continuing thus far ahead of the demand, it is perfectly natural that prices should have yielded.

Nor do we think that the banks anywhere are able to fix arbitrarily and independently of prevailing market conditions the prices they will pay for Liberty bonds. And as for the bankers' profits in handling these securities, I not know of another class of investment which the average margin is so small.

BUYING BONDS WITH FRENCH MONEY

Is it possible to purchase A- -French 5 per cent. bonds in the American market with French money?

It is, but the transaction is at the disadvantage of the purchaser for this reason:

The bonds in question are payable principal and interest in American dollars. At the normal rate of exchange it takes approximately 5.18 francs to make the equivalent of a dollar, but at the present time the exchange situation between this country and France is such that it takes over 9 francs to make the equivalent of a dollar. Francs are therefore standing at a discount of about 42 per cent. In other words, in buying bonds like the Anglo-French 5 per cents. with French money under these conditions you would be paying 42 per cent. more than under normal conditions.

A STATE BANK
GREENEBAUM SONS
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
CHICAGO
FOUNDED 1868

6% First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds in denominations of $100, $500 and $1000, with maturities from 2 to 10 years. Write for current offerings.

Greenebaum Sons Bank and Trust Company
OLDEST BANKING HOUSE IN CHICAGO
La Salle and Madison Streets
Correspondents in Many Cities
CAPITAL and SURPLUS $2,000,000

ADDED ASSURANCE

For Those Who Invest in Real Estate Mortgage Bonds

Real investment safeguards. There is such a thing for the prudent investor—the man who invests in real estate bonds—sound securities approved and recommended by a safe, time-tested bank. For him there is an increased margin of safety, an ADDED ASSURANCE of SECURITY.

This state bank — Chicago's oldest banking house — with its large resources and the wealth of experience that comes with sixty-five years of operation, is able to secure the very choicest first mortgage 6% real estate bond issues.

"Greenebaum Investments" are purchased by thousands of conservative investors throughout America—thousands of satisfied patrons. Similar advantages are open to you through this system of safeguarding your money, a system growing out of an actual test period of nearly three-quarters of a century.

"ADDED ASSURANCE," our latest booklet, carries a NEW MESSAGE to investors in first mortgage real estate bonds and to those who contemplate such sound investment. It demonstrates the advantages of buying these bonds from a reliable bank.

Write for copy of Booklet A-3.

"The Bank of Proved Safety"

Industrial Preferred Stocks

Exempt from Normal Federal Income Tax

Preferred Stocks of established, well-managed companies offer a sound, convenient and profitable avenue for the investment of surplus funds.

We offer the Preferred Stocks issued by companies financed by us after careful investigation as to

Security of Principal	Stability of Earnings
Continuity of Dividends	Market for Product

Management

A—Integrity	*C—Capacity for Growth*
B—Experience	*D—Reliability*

Preferred Stocks are especially attractive at this time in view of their exemption from the Normal Federal Income Tax, affording a large saving to investors.

Our circular VR-39, explaining this feature, accompanied by our current offerings will be sent to investors upon request.

Merrill, Lynch & Co.

Members of the New York Stock Exchange

120 Broadway New York

Chicago Detroit Grand Rapids Los Angeles

INVESTMENT SECURITIES

We specialize in Government bonds and other investment securities. This firm was founded in 1865 and we have always endeavored to recommend to our clients conservative investments. As members of the New York and Boston Stock Exchanges we are prepared to execute orders for the purchase or sale of securities on a cash basis in large or small amounts.

A circular describing several issues of desirable investment securities will be sent on request

Kidder, Peabody & Co.

115 Devonshire St.
Boston

17 Wall Street
New York

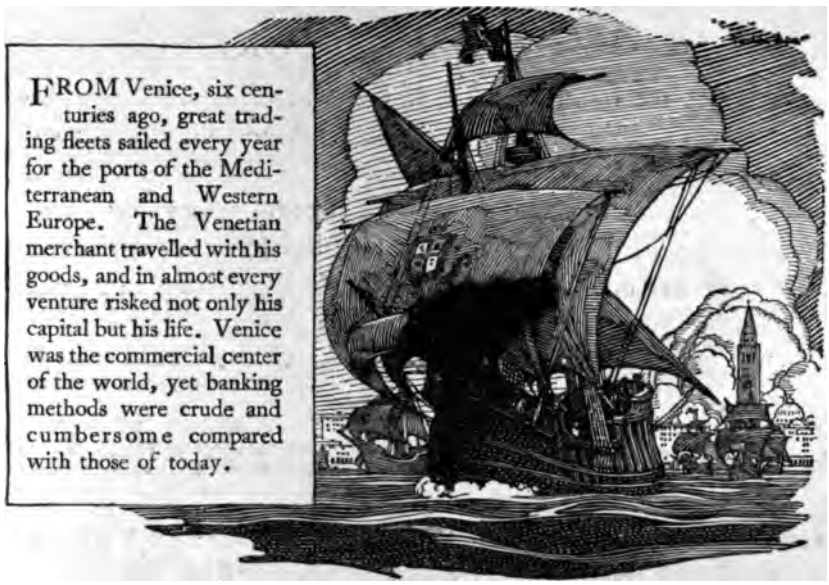
Invest in Pittsburgh Industries

PITTSBURGH'S central location, bountiful natural resources of fuel and unlimited rail and river transportation have made this district the thriving centre of the world's basic industries.

The Pittsburgh District produces 25% of the coal, 30% of the pig iron, 50% of the crucible and high grade steel, 50% of the steel cars and 60% of the glass products of the United States.

Naturally such a district affords exceptional investment opportunities of a sound nature. We are intimately in touch with the industrial activities of this district, consequently are able to purchase and offer bonds that appeal to the careful investor. Write for our latest bond circular.

Mellon National Bank
Bond Department
Pittsburgh, Pa.



FROM Venice, six centuries ago, great trading fleets sailed every year for the ports of the Mediterranean and Western Europe. The Venetian merchant travelled with his goods, and in almost every venture risked not only his capital but his life. Venice was the commercial center of the world, yet banking methods were crude and cumbersome compared with those of today.

Modern International Banking

MERCHANTS may now send in a single ship more than could be carried in a whole fleet of Venetian argosies six hundred years ago.

The development of our world commerce has been due not only to modern shipping facilities, but also to the modern bank, which has made international trading as practicable as buying and selling at home.

Today, shipments to any part of the world may be financed as soon as they are dispatched, and thus capital is released for further operations.

The fully-equipped bank also gives comprehensive information as to markets, credits, and other phases of foreign trade.

Service of such broad character is offered by this Company.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

New York London Liverpool Paris Havre Brussels

Capital and Surplus - - - -	$50,000,000
Resources more than - - -	$800,000,000

The Value
to You of Our
Good Name

6% FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS

The good name of this company and its fine business record is of important value to the man or woman with funds to invest.

It serves as a sure guidepost to the experience of thousands of other investors.

For no company can acquire a good name over a period of years without having earned it.

So that right from the moment you begin to think of a place for your funds you find yourself possessed of a definitely favorable opinion toward the Federal Bond & Mortgage Company.

Again, we say to you, carry the name of this company with you in your thoughts as an institution where you will be accorded pleasant treatment, given experienced advice, and dealt with honorably.

Mail your request today for

"Questions and Answers on Bond Investment"

Federal Bond & Mortgage Co.

90 R Griswold Street Detroit

(102)



The Safety of Your Investment
Is Our First Consideration

The greatest privilege, and the greatest responsibility, of investment bankers is that of analyzing securities and forming opinion, instead of following it. With ever a mind for the safety of our clients, the following tests are put to every new security:

Will it pay its interest promptly?

Will it pay its principal at maturity?

A satisfactory answer to these two questions following our own exhaustive research determines whether we lend them our sponsorship.

For example, it was only after the most thorough examination that we purchased the present issue of

$5,000,000
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.
First Preferred 6% Cumulative Stock

It is because this amply secured stock pays 6% interest every 90 days that we now offer and recommend this security to our clients at a price to yield 6¾%.

Write to our nearest office today for an illustrated booklet DR that tells you the story of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Also ask for list of our latest offerings

BLYTH, WITTER & CO.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, MUNICIPAL & CORPORATION BONDS

San Francisco
Merchants Exchange

Los Angeles
Trust & Savings Bldg.

New York
61 Broadway

Seattle
Alaska Bldg.



Investment Securities

WE offer for investment various Government, Municipal, Railroad and Industrial bonds and notes, yielding from 4¼% to 6¾%. These securities have been purchased for our own account after careful investigation and analysis. Many of these issues have attractive tax exemption features.

We have prepared a circular describing these securities which we shall be glad to forward upon request.

You are invited to consult with us regarding the securities best suited to your requirements.

Commission Orders Executed

HORNBLOWER & WEEKS

BOSTON
PORTLAND
PROVIDENCE

Investment Securities

Founded in 1888

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
DETROIT

Members of the New York, Boston and Chicago Stock Exchanges

ESTABLISHED 1865

A Sound Investment Netting 7¼%

We have available and recommend a small amount of 7% Cumulative Preferred Stock of a nationally-known, old-established company. Total assets $318 per share. Net quick assets alone $128 per share. Present earnings nearly 3½ times preferred dividend requirements. No mortgage or funded indebtedness. Exempt from Normal Income Tax. Liberal sinking fund provision to retire part of issue each year.

Send for Circular No. 1051 N

Peabody, Houghteling & Co.

(Established 1865)

10 South LaSalle St., Chicago

Branch Offices: Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, St. Louis

ESTABLISHED 1865

Information of Service for Intelligent Investment

How to Make Use of the Services of the Review of Reviews Investment Bureau without Cost or Obligation to You

In addition to the individual investment service on page 4 of this issue, there is a supplementary service by which our readers may secure information of vital interest in the matter of investment. On pages 14 and 16 you will see booklets issued by financial houses. Choose by number those you wish to see, fill in the numbers on the coupon, and we will send you, without obligation on your part, the literature that you desire. Unless otherwise stated, the information will be sent direct from the financial houses publishing same.

Investment Literature for Your Information

1. Banking Service for Foreign Trade—Guaranty Trust Company.
2. Bonds As Safe As Our Cities—William R. Compton Company.
3. Bonds That Always Pay—Kauffman-Smith-Emert Company.
4. Cities Service Preferred Stock—Henry L. Doherty & Company.
5. City of Copenhagen (Denmark) 5½% Bonds. Descriptive Circular with Map of Copenhagen—Brown Brothers & Company.
6. Why Irrigated Farm Mortgages Are Safest—Western Securities Investment Company.
7. Joint Stock Land Bank Bonds—Halsey Stuart & Company.
8. Seven Per-cent Cumulative Preferred Stock of Northern States Power Company—H. M. Byllesby & Company.
9. Farm Mortgage Bonds—A. G. Danforth & Company.
10. First Farm Mortgages—E. J. Lander & Company.
11. Added Assurance—Greenebaum Sons Bank and Trust Co.
12. Southern Municipals—Mortgage & Securities Company.
13. Forman Farm Mortgages and the Monthly Payment Plan—Geo. M. Forman & Company.
14. Government, Municipal, Railroad and Industrial Bonds and Notes—Hor[illegible]wer & Weeks.
15. Government, Municipal and Corporation Bonds—Continental Trust Co[illegible]y.

(*Coupon on page*)

Seek the Advice of Specialists
as a
Safeguard to Your Investments.

We live to-day in an age of specialists. In all professions there are those who have risen to their present dominance because of years of experience and study along certain lines. So is the investment profession divided into specialists.

The wise investing of money requires patient study which few have time to give; knowledge of special conditions which few can secure; facilities for research which few have available.

Many men, successful in one line of business, have incurred heavy losses in their investments because they have trusted entirely to their own judgment, rather than seek the advice of specialists.

For nearly thirty years the William R. Compton Company have been Municipal Bond Specialists. Every bond which we offer has been purchased by us, only after careful investigation of its merits. In this way our interests are identical with those of our customers.

Our Service Department is available for those seeking consultation on investment matters. Our years of experience and our force of specialists are at your disposal.

Our free booklet, "Bonds As Safe As Our Cities," which explains the security of Municipal Bonds, will be sent upon request. You will assume no obligtaion. Kindly address Department R-12.

William R. Compton Company

GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL BONDS

"Over a Quarter Century in this Business"

New York Chicago St. Louis Cincinnati New Orleans

Profits

Profits are made by accumulating goods when they are cheap and holding them for future rise.

The Dollar to-day is about the cheapest article to be found.

Save now and profit later on when prices drop and the dollar is again worth 100 cents.

Discrimination, however, should be observed in the placing of the funds you save. You would do well to consult our booklets before investing as they may be the means of protecting you against possible loss. Either sent upon request.

"What Securities Mean"
"Incomes" monthly publication

Breed, Elliott & Harrison

High Grade Investment Securities

Chicago Cincinnati Indianapolis

High Class Bond

Corporation	yielding	6.25—7.00%
Drainage	"	—6.50%
Funding	"	4.65—6.00%
Government	"	6.01—6.00%
Park	"	4.70%
Public Utility	"	6.30— 6%
Road	"	4.50— 6%
School	"	4.00—6.00%
Water	"	4.00%

Circular C 12 will give complete list.

Bankers Mortgage Co.

Capital $2,000,000

CHICAGO
112 W. Adams St.

DES MOINES
521 W. Walnut St.

NEW YORK
512 Fifth Ave.

INVESTMENT (*Continued from page 14*) LITERATURE

16. Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations—Mortgage Trust Company.
17. Conservative Investment 6% and Safety—Peabody, Houghteling & Company.
18. Incomes—Breed, Elliott & Harrison.
19. Industrial Preferred Stocks—An Analysis of 45 Leading Industrials—Dominick & Dominick.
20. International Banking Service—The Continental & Commercial Banks.
21. Getting the Most Out of Your Money—Babson Statistical Organization
22. Investments of Liberal Yield—National City Company.
23. Investment Opportunities—Mellon National Bank.
24. Mortgages on Money Making Farms—Capital Trust & Savings Bank.
25. Our Public Debt—Liberty Bond and Victory Note Values—Bankers Trust Company.
26. Pacific Gas & Electric Company—Blyth, Witter & Company.
27. Poor's Investment Service—Poor's Publishing Company.
28. Questions and Answers on Bond Investment—Federal Bond & Mortgage Company.
29. Preferred Stocks of Strans Standard—The Strans Brothers Company.
30. Safety and 6%—Investment Guide—S. W. Strans & Company.
31. High Class Bonds—Bankers Mortgage Company
32. Seven Per cent Real Estate Bonds—G. L. Miller & Company.
33. Six Per cent and Safety—Calvert Mortgage Company.
34. Real Estate Holding Company—Frederic H. Hatch.
35. Falls Versus Utilities—A. H. Bickmore & Company.
36. U. S. Government Bonds—Kidder, Peabody & Company.
37. Preferred Stock—Merrill Lynch & Co.

—CUT THE COUPON—

INVESTMENT BUREAU, REVIEW OF REVIEWS, 30 Irving Place, New York City Dec., 1918

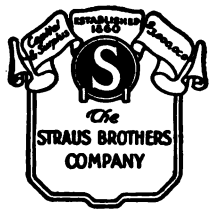
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Share in America's Industrial Prosperity

TODAY is the conservative investor's opportunity to share in America's prosperity without risking his capital in speculation.

By the purchase of carefully selected Preferred Stocks, the small investor, quite as much as the large, may surround his capital with every safeguard and at the same time enjoy a rate of income made possible by unusual business conditions.

When the present prosperity recedes and speculative dividends shrink, the high return on good preferred stocks will continue for the man who buys them now.

"Preferred Stocks of the Straus Standard" require a basic industry, established earning power, a high ratio of net quick assets, and capable management, as essential factors in the business underwritten.

Write or call for descriptive booklet "A"
"Preferred Stocks of the Straus Standard"

In Business FIFTY-NINE Years

THE STRAUS BROTHERS COMPANY

INVESTMENT SECURITIES

Capital and Surplus $3,000,000

OTIS BUILDING CHICAGO

Ligonier, Indiana Farwell Building, Detroit Fort Wayne, Indiana

General Motors

The remarkable advance in the market price of General Motors Common Stock—amply justified by earnings and business—serves to emphasize the value of

General Motors
6% Debenture Stock

as an investment. This stock, ranking ahead of the Common, is a preferred obligation of the leading corporation in America's third largest industry.

Earnings are at the rate of over 13 times dividend requirements. Net quick assets over $200 a share. Yields, at present prices, nearly 7%.

Circular GR gives facts and figures about this excellent investment.

DOMINICK & DOMINICK

Members New York Stock Exchange

115 Broadway **New York**

Established 1870

Thr ctors of Safety

Three factors make certain the safety of

Guaranteed First Mortgage Participations

These factors are—

First—The direct obligation of the Mortgage Trust Company.

Second—The guarantee of the Mortgage Guarantee Company.

Third—A special deposit of First Mortgage Loans on improved income producing city real estate.

Write for booklet showing how safe, adaptable and profitable these investments are.

Mortgage Trust Company

Broadway and Pine **St. Louis Missouri**



FORMAN FARM MORTGAGES

Their 35 Year Record

From 1885 to 1919 inclusive George M. Forman & Company have negotiated more than 14,000 farm loans, in 16 different states, involving over $34,000,000.

So carefully has every transaction been handled that no investor has lost a dollar of interest or of principal invested in these mortgages.

That is why Forman Farm Mortgages are held by banks and institutions, and why you should invest your funds in them.

These investments described in two booklets:

"How Forman Farm Mortgages are made."

"Forman Farm Mortgages and the Forman Monthly Payment Plan."

Either booklet, and list of current offerings, free on request.

GEORGE M. FORMAN & COMPANY
EST. 1885
FARM MORTGAGE BANKERS
11 South La Salle Street, Chicago.

Get Acquainted!

BEFORE being admitted to the financial department of the Review of Reviews every advertiser is ry carefully and thoroughly inves- ated. This rule has obtained for a great many years. The advertise- nts you see here are those of iable concerns. The offerings they ake you are good offerings—real w rthwhile investment opportuni- s. These advertisers are spending oney to do you a service. Their ggestions and advice may prove aluable. Write them for invest- nt information. Send for their li erature. Get acquainted. These people are good to know.

Address

REVIEW OF REVIEWS VICE BUREAU
39 IRVING PLACE EW YORK, N. Y.

BROWN BROTHERS & CO.

Established 1818

Philadelphia NEW YORK Boston

INVESTMENT SECURITIES

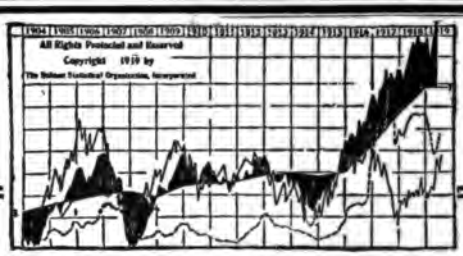
Liberty and Victory Bonds
Certificates of Indebtedness
Federal Land Bank Bonds
Municipal and State Issues
Foreign Government Loans

BROWN, SHIPLEY & COMPANY

Established 1810

Founders Court, Lothbury
LONDON, E. C.

Office for Travelers
123 Pall Mall, LONDON, S. W.



What's Ahead for Railroad Securities?

If you now hold—or expect to hold any railroad securities, Babson's Barometer Letter of November 11th carries a message of vital importance to you.

Babson's

Reports, based on fundamental conditions, forecast market changes for you with uncanny accuracy. They enable you to increase the return on your capital without the worry, loss of time, or risk involved in ordinary speculation.

Report on Request

A request on your letterhead will bring a copy of the above letter "What's Ahead for Railroad Securities" and booklet "Getting the Most Out of Your Money." Sent gratis.

Simply Ask for Bulletin No. D30 of

Babson's Statistical Organization
Wellesley Hills, Mass.

The Largest Organization of Its Character in the World

Rails versus Utilities

WE have prepared in pamphlet form a careful comparison of price changes and income return of high grade railroad and public utility bonds for a twelve year period showing that *safety and high yield are not incompatible.*

Sent upon request. Ask for pamphlet R. R. 350.

A·H·Bickmore & Co
111 BROADWAY, N.Y.

Southern Municipals—

Offer an extensive field for the buyer of tax-free bonds as they provide a

High Yield

In addition to their other desirable features of safety of principal and regularity of income.

We are equipped to offer you high grade bonds of this class.

ASK FOR CIRCULAR No. 216-B

Fifteenth Year—Never a Loss to a Client

MORTGAGE & SECURITIES CO.

CAPITAL PAID IN $600,000.

CANAL & CAMP STREETS, NEW ORLEANS

5% TO 7%

Municipal, Government and Corporation Bonds

CONTINENTAL TRUST COMPANY

220 Fourth Avenue *Pittsburgh, Penna.*

THE FARMER NEVER STRIKES

He is always on the job. That is why our 5½ and 6% First Mortgage Loans on improved and producing farms in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana offer a profitable and sound investment, 29 years without a loss to any investor is our record.

Write for booklet and list of offerings.

CAPITAL TRUST & SAVINGS BANK

Saint Paul, Minnesota

Real Estate Holding Company

owning several large office buildings and other properties in the Financial District of New York City, where all available space is in great demand at constantly increasing rates and where values have greatly enhanced in the last few years.

The common stock of this company affords an unusual investment opportunity.

Information furnished by request.

FREDERIC H. HATCH & CO.

Established 1888

74 Broadway New York

INVESTMENT ESSENTIALS

Facts—plus impartial and Competent Counsel

Investment advice is of value to you only in so far as it is disinterested and based on a knowledge of intrinsic values and fundamental conditions.

Poor's Publishing Company is not interested in the sale or purchase of stocks or bonds on which recommendations are made to subscribers of Poor's Investment Service. Our attitude is thoroughly disinterested and impartial.

The value of our counsel, which we offer to you as an investor, was demonstrated in the last, long, upward swing of the market during which many of the securities we advised, gave clients profits ranging from 100 to 300 per cent. Only 2-7/10% of our recommendations over the same period failed to make good.

Send for full information about Poor's Investment Service. Ask for booklet B4.

Poor's Publishing Co.

Boston 33 Broadway New York Chicago

Publishers of Poor's Manual of Railroads; Moodys Manual of Industrials; Moodys Manual of Public Utilities; Poor's Daily Digest Service; Poor's Classified Investment Holdings.

The Investment Bureau

A department offering its services without charge to readers of the Review of Reviews. All letters to the Bureau are treated as personal and confidential and are answered in full by mail.

The Financial Directory

Pages 4 to 22 of the December issue are reserved for the announcements of reputable banking houses, trust companies, savings banks, brokers, and other financial institutions. Inquiry is made concerning the institutions seeking to advertise in these pages and none is accepted that is found to be of questionable character. When writing these institutions please mention the Review of Reviews.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO.

30 IRVING PLACE :: NEW YORK, N. Y.

A Strong Preferred Stock

THE 7% Cumulative Preferred Stock of Northern States Power Company is issued by one of the country's large and successful electric companies, serving Minneapolis, Saint Paul and 200 other communities of the central northwest.

Full dividends have been paid regularly since organization in 1909.

At the present price this stock yields the investor about 7.50%.

Northern States Power Company has upwards of 10,000 shareholders, the majority of whom are residents of the communities served by the organization.

Ask for Circular R

H. M. BYLLESBY & CO.

Incorporated

Investment Securities

111 Broadway, NEW YORK | 208 So. LaSalle St., CHICAGO

First Mortgage Serial Payment Gold Bonds

Netting Buyer 7%

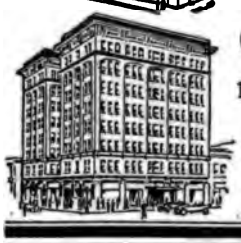
Secured by Metropolitan business structures, Apartment buildings, Hotel-Apartments and other well-located, rental-income structures, situated in the larger and more substantial cities of the rich and growing South.

Denominations: $1,000; $500; $100. Maturities: 1 to 10 years. Interest Semi-annually. Annual retirement of mortgage through monthly payments; prompt payment of interest insured through sinking fund requirements by monthly payments.

The following structures are located in leading Southern cities and secure First Mortgage Bonds now offered for investment.







Each bond bears certificate of strong National Banks and Trust Companies, certifying the correctness of the bonds.

Interest and principal payable at the Guaranty Trust Company of New York or Third National Bank of Atlanta. Bonds may be purchased on the partial payment plan.

Write for illustrated circulars giving further details.

G. L. MILLER & CO.

Incorporated

110 Hurt Building, Atlanta, Ga.



Safety Paramount

High prices and unparalleled prosperity have forced interest rates above the point ordinarily regarded as safe.

A period of depression will mean reduced income and probable loss of principal to holders of highly speculative securities.

Long-term Municipal Bonds yielding from 4½% to 5½% will assure regular income for as long as twenty years.

Inquiries solicited
Interesting booklet on request

Kauffman-Smith-Emert Co.

Security Building, St. Louis, Mo.

An Investment Strongly Safeguarded Yielding 7½%

Cities Service Co. in addition to being one of the world's largest producers of oil, controls and operates 84 public utility properties in the United States and Canada.

This diversity in business as well as location provides unusual safeguards for the investor.

Preferred Stock Dividend Requirements were earned five times over in 1918.

Statement of Earnings sent to stockholders each month, keeping them in close touch with the company's progress.

Dividends payable monthly.

Ask for Circular AR-4

Henry L. Doherty & Company

Bond Department

60 Wall Street, New York

Danforth Farm Mortgages

represent the highest type of investments. They have stood the test of wars and business depression since 1858—60 years, and always worth 100%.

Interest paid promptly at maturity.

FARM MORTGAGE BONDS in $500.00 and $1,000.00 denominations.

For further information regarding our Farm Loans and Bonds write for Booklet and Investors' List No. 51.

A·G·Danforth·&·Co

BANKERS FOUNDED A. D. 1858

WASHINGTON • • ILLINOIS

Colorado Farmers will add 6% to Your Income! The richest sugar beet country in the United States secures your investment in our

FIRST FARM MORTGAGES and
FIRST FARM MORTGAGE GOLD BONDS

On Colorado farms in the irrigated and rain belt regions. A sixteen years' successful record without a penny's loss. *Have us send you our booklet.*

The Western Securities Investment Co.

FARM MORTGAGES

C.C. Bennett, Pres. H.A Bradford, Treas

First National Bank Bldg.,
Denver, Colorado

The CONTINENTAL *and*
COMMERCIAL
BANKS
CHICAGO

COMMERCIAL BANKING. FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC. SAVINGS. PERSONAL TRUSTS. CORPORATE TRUSTS AND CORPORATE AGENCIES. SAFE DEPOSIT. SAFEKEEPING FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SECURITIES. INVESTMENT SECURITIES. FINANCING GOVERNMENT ISSUES. FINANCING INDUSTRIES. MUNICIPALITIES. RAILROADS. UTILITIES.

THE SCHOOL SERVICE BUREAU

IS LIMITED TO inquiries concerning private residential schools. We cannot answer general inquiries on special schools owing to the great amount of correspondence we receive.

Therefore we must caution our readers that our School Service gives information RELATIVE only to the following classes of institutions:

1 Boys' college preparatory schools
2 Girls' college preparatory schools
3 Girls' colleges
4 Girls' finishing schools
5 Residential schools of arts and music
6 Military academies
7 Schools for backward children
8 Tutoring schools
9 Technical preparatory schools
10 Residential schools of domestic arts
11 Camps

THE SCHOOL SERVICE BUREAU

30 Irving Place New York City

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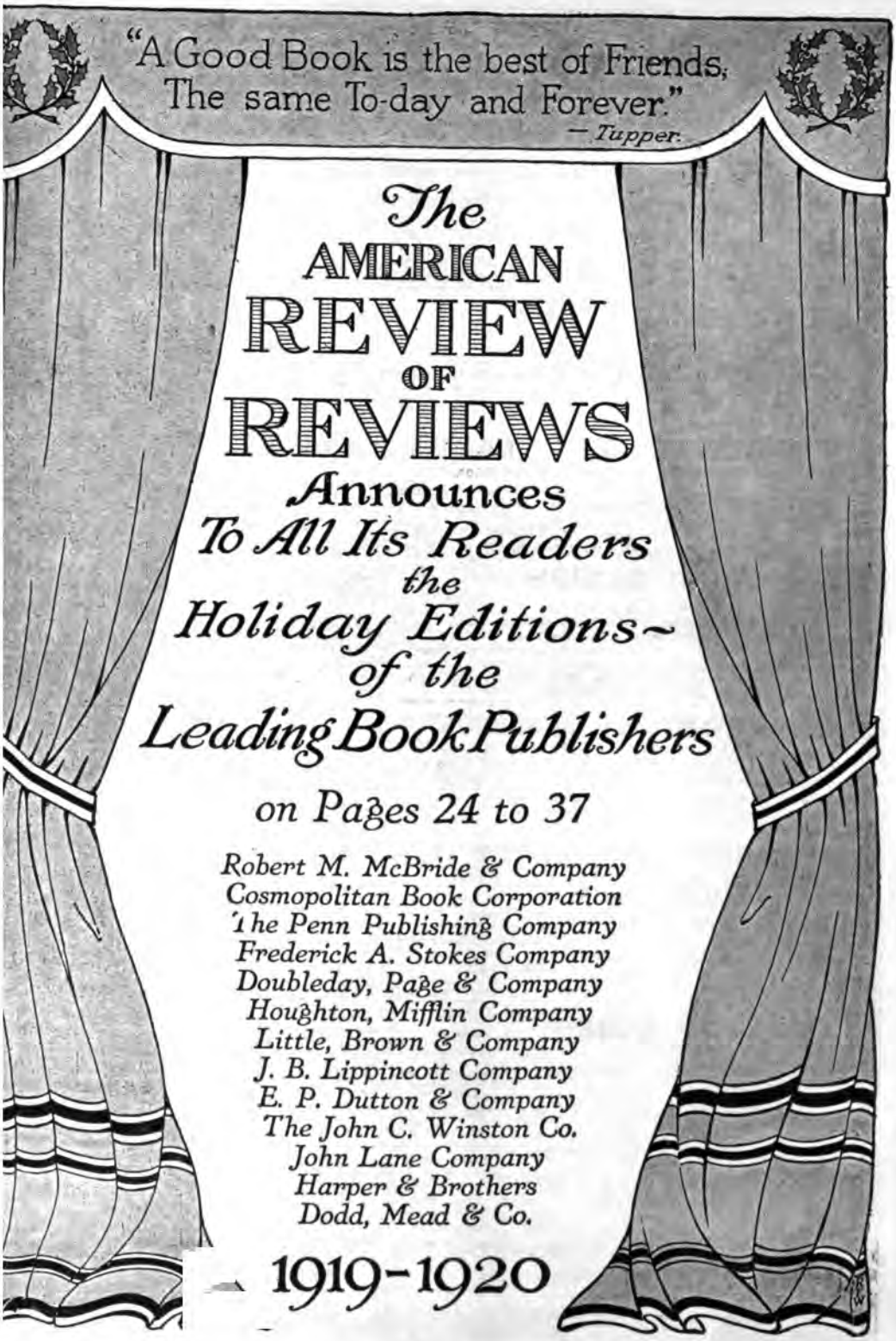
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It all came about in this way. At a convention in New York I met two old friends who had at one time worked for the same firm. Each of these men had since won remarkable success. As we sat in my room at the hotel, my two friends—Perry and Gordon—got to talking about old times and the men they used to work with.

The talk turned to what their former associates were doing now, "Let's see," said Gordon, "there's Bill Baley—now he's vice-president of a bank at $10,000 a year. Lawrence is general manager of a machinery house at $18,000 a year. Yawman is foreign Sales Manager for an automobile concern and makes $40,000 a year. Stanton is manager of the New York branch and last year made in salary and commission over $28,000. Burton is in the wholesale business for himself and tells me that in the past three years he has cleaned up a fortune. Even old Harry Carter, whom everybody thought a dub, is Secretary of a concern down south and knocks out $8,000 a year. And Zimmerman, our old boss, is director of more concerns than I can think of and is rolling in money."

"FUNNY thing," said Perry, "every man who worked in that department under Zim has made a conspicuous success. In the ordinary course of events you'd naturally expect one or two of the men to win out while the others would plug along and never amount to anything unusual. But every one of these men has since made a name for himself. I wonder if it just happened or if there is a reason."

"I used to think about that a lot myself," cut in Gordon, "and I believe I've found the answer. It's Zim, our old chief. That's who we've all got to thank for our success.

"Remember what a slave driver we used to think him. When he wanted a thing done it had to be done, done quickly and done right. He'd tell us some of the most impossible things and he *made us do them*. Excuses didn't go. We nicknamed him 'Old Must.' *Must* do this—*must* do that. No excuses. Simply *must* do it. We knew it couldn't be done. *Yet we got it done—always!*

"We couldn't kick because he drove himself as much as he drove us. Remember the line of talk he used to hand us day in and day out. 'It *must be* done. You *can* do it. Get a grip on yourselves, boys. Throw your Will into action. *Drive!* Will-power will carry you through.'

"I never took much stock in that Will talk those days. I thought it was just one of Zim's pet theories. But now I see that Zim was right—wonderfully right.

"The reason why our department always broke records, and why every man in that department has since made a big success is because Zim put the *drive* into us—he taught us how to use our Will-power. That's what put us all where we are—the *winning drive* that comes from Will-power."

WHEN you come right down to it the only real difference between men is not birth nor education, but Will. The successful man has learned how to use his Will. The unsuccessful man is unaware how to

use his Will and is forced to meekly bow down to circumstances.

Not one man in a hundred knows how to use his Will. That is why more men are not successes. Nearly every successful man has a highly developed Will—the stronger the Will the greater the success. Natural ability amounts to but little unless backed by a dominant, compelling, driving Will.

The Will is the motive power of the brain. Without a highly-trained, inflexible Will, a man has about as much chance of attaining success in life as a locomotive has of crossing the continent without steam. The biggest ideas have no value without Will-power to "put them over." Yet the Will, although heretofore entirely neglected, can be trained into wonderful power like the brain or memory. And by the very same method—intelligent exercise and use.

If you held your arm in a sling for two years it would become powerless to lift a feather, from lack of use. The same is true of the Will—it becomes weak from lack of use. Because we do not use our Wills properly—because we continually bow down to circumstances—we become unable to assert ourselves. What our Wills need is practice.

Develop your Will-power and money will flow in on you. Rich opportunities will open up for you. Driving energy you never dreamed you had will manifest itself. You will thrill with a new power—a power that nothing can resist. You'll have an influence over people that you never thought possible. Success—in whatever form you want it—will come as easily as failure came before. And those are only a few of the things Will-power will do for you. Just how to develop the Will into a mighty, irresistible force—how to make it do all these things for you—is fully explained in that wonderful book Power of Will.

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In a little town in New York lives a man who two years ago was pitied by all who knew him. From the time he was fourteen he had worked and slaved—and at sixty he was looked upon as a failure. Without work, in debt to his charitable friends, with an invalid son to support, the outlook was pitchy black. About this time he ran across a copy of "Power of Will."

In two weeks he was in business for himself. In three years his plant was working night and day to fill orders. During 1916 the profits were $20,000. During 1917 the profits ran close to $40,000. And this genial 64-year-young man is enjoying pleasures and comforts he little dreamed would ever be his.

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How Howard Lindsay and His Wife Discovered an Easy Way to Save One-Third of Their Income. *A* Secret That Applies to Any Income.

By HARRISON OTIS

WHO should walk into the room but Howard Lindsay! Of all men perhaps was the last I had expected to find as the president of this great new company. They had told me that Mr. Lindsay, of the Consolidated, was looking for a fine country home and was interested in buying the Dollard Place in Englewood; so as executor of the Dollard estate I had come to discuss the terms with him.

But Lindsay! Surely some miracle had happened. For it was the very man who had come to me "dead broke" about four years back and had asked me to help him get a new job.



"You are surprised, Mr. Otis, I can see that without your telling me. Let that real estate matter rest for a moment while I tell you how the miracle happened. It won't take five minutes. It all seems simple as A B C, as I look back on it now.

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"When I asked myself the reason f all this I found that I did not know t reason, and no more did my wife, becau we hadn't the faintest idea what o money had been spent for.

"Then we looked around among o friends and learned a great lesson.

"The Wee I knew, we getting mo than $8,000 year. The lived in a mo est apartme did not we fine clothes, s dom went the theater, d little entertai ing, yet knew the barely h money to p current bills.

"In the case of the Wells, I found very different story and one that set t thinking hard. Their income was $2,0 a year, yet, to my amazement, they co fided to us that they had saved $600 a y ever since they were married. They didn't h any grand opera in their program—except their little Victrola—but they did go to t theater regularly, they wore good clothes, ent tained their friends at their home and w about the happiest and most contented cou of all our married friends.

"The difference between these two famil was that in one case the expenditures were m without any plan—while in the other the come was regulated on a weekly budget system.

"We sat down that evening and made up budget of all our expenses for the next fi two weeks. We discovered leaks galore. W found a hundred ways [illegible]e little amounts co be saved.

"In one short month [illegible] had a 'strangle ho on our expenses and l[illegible] just where we w

going. In one year my wife proudly produced a bank book showing a tidy savings account of $800.

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The girl got $6 a week and was lonely. "Piggy"—you can imagine his kind—was waiting downstairs. He knew where champagne and music could be had. But that night she didn't go. That was Lord Kitchener's doing. But another night?

O. HENRY

tells about it in this story, with that full knowledge of women, with that frank facing of sex, and that clean mind that have endeared him to the men and women of the land.

Out of the poverty and struggle of his own life O. Henry forged these stories of the people. He was one of the disinherited—and he knew their problems. He called all men brother. Of economics he knew nothing—of life he knew all.

No writer of any country has ever been so truly of the people as O. Henry. To him the little shopgirl, who barters bread to buy her hat, is a far more important member of society than the millionaire's wife who is bored with too many dinner parties.

When O. Henry's stories first began to stir the literary world they were read in colleges, in literary societies. They were hailed as great American classics, but to-day they have the greater tribute of being read and loved by the real workingman. Mechanics, shipbuilders, trainmen, clerks, shopgirls—workers of every kind—all read O. Henry. They laugh and cry over his stories because in them they see themselves mirrored, with their very souls shining through the pages.

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5 VOLUMES

Jack London's name has spread over the earth. He was the founder of a new literature. Through him we may drop our weight of everyday fears and deal with men—for he was bolder than all his heroes. See life with him in the rough—life, palpitating—latent—real. Get his best work **absolutely free of charge.**

Your Last Chance to Get a FREE Set of JACK LONDON—Final Edition Going Fast

This is the last edition of Jack London's works we can get at the special price which permits of our giving them FREE with O. Henry.

When this one edition is gone (and there are only a few hundred sets now left) you will be able to get Jack London's wonderful stories only at their regular price of a dollar or more a volume.

Now, while you can, get the O. Henry at the low price with the Jack London FREE. Never again can we give you such a chance. Don't miss it. Cut the coupon. Send it TO-DAY.

Review of Reviews Co.

30 Irving Place, New York

R. R. 12-19

Review of Reviews, 30 Irving Place, New York.

Send me on approval charges prepaid by you, O. Henry's works in 12 volumes gold top Also the 5 volume set of London's bound in cloth. If I keep the books I will remit $1.50 in one week and $1 per month for 18 months for the O. Henry set only and retain the London set wihout charge Otherwise I will, within ten days return both sets at your expense.

Name.....

Address.....

I Owe My Success to Wilson M. Taylor

BY S. J. FRANK



Sales Efficiency Expert and Counsel to large business Organizations

ONE evening about six months ago I left my office at 507 Fifth avenue very much discouraged, for that afternoon I had lost a large sale on which I would have netted a handsome commission.

This was one of many such incidents where I had failed in my method of selling to do the right thing to close with my prospect, and I was practically ready to admit I was a failure as a salesman.

After I had told my troubles to a close friend of mine that evening he said: "Frank, I know the man who can help you," and he named Mr. Wilson M. Taylor. He told me that he had known Mr. Taylor for a long time, and of his tremendous success in one organization in particular in taking a score of salesmen who had never sold this firm's line before and developed them in three weeks' training to become supersalesmen and to earn double and triple their former salaries.

Naturally, I lost no time in looking up Mr. Taylor. I was in his office promptly at 9 o'clock the next morning. I told him how I repeatedly lost sales for some unaccountable reason, and that I had reached a point where I had lost faith in myself, was discouraged and ready to quit.

He then explained his scientific method of selling, as outlined in his book "The Science of Approach." In an hour I discovered why I had lost my large sale the day before, why I had repeatedly failed in the past and why hundreds are failing day after day in the great business of selling. I bought a copy of his book "The Science of Approach," studied it carefully and began to apply it.

In a week I knew I had found the key to successful selling, for I had reopened and closed the large sale I had previously lost. I continued to study and apply Mr. Taylor's method with amazing success, for in one month I had earned in commission more than I had made in the previous 6 months. That was 5 months ago. Up to now, I have earned in commissions 10 times that amount, a thing I never dreamed possible.

I am positive today that I know how to sell—I am sure of myself—I know that I have found the solution of the greatest problem of selling. Is it any wonder that I grasp this opportunity to endorse Mr. Taylor in his selling method to which I clearly owe my success?

Therefore, I say unreservedly to everyone, man or woman, whose life work is selling or in any way affiliated with selling or aspires to become a real salesman or saleswoman, to get this book, to apply it, and you cannot fail to greatly benefit therefrom.

I feel that if I can persuade you and thousands of ambitious people to send for this book, I will have been instrumental in putting others in a way to greatly increase their selling capacity and their earning power. If I have accomplished this, I have attained my object in giving this unqualified endorsement of Mr. Taylor and the big work he is doing.

Mr. Taylor, in "The Science of Approach," tells you how to judge men, how to know the type of man you must sell slowly, the type of man you must sell quickly, the type of man who procrastinates, the type of man who is emotional, who is non-emotional, the type of man who is conservative, the type of man who will take long chances. He outlines his plan in such a simple, practical way that anyone can understand and apply it in his daily work.

On 5 Days' Approval

To secure the widest possible distribution Mr. Taylor will send the book on 5 days' approval, and should you not feel it is worth more than the price (only $2.00) you can return it in 5 days without obligation.

Your opportunity is presented in the coupon below. Use it. A little initiative will determine whether or not "The Science of Approach" will benefit you as greatly as it has Mr. Frank and hundreds of other men. You take no risk in determining this; and in all probability you will find in this book the solution of your big selling problems, and you can run its value to you up into the thousands.

NOTE

Send for this book to analyze yourself.

Find out what type you are. What are your latent forces, and how you can utilize them best so as to direct your energies more successfully.



FREE EXAMINATION COUPON

Wilson M. Taylor,
Sales Efficiency Expert,
35 West 39th St., New York.

Please send me "The Science of Approach." I will either remail the Book to you within five days after its receipt or send you $2 in full payment therefor.

Name .....

Address .....

..... R. R. 12-19



Does not depend upon opportunity or intellectual brilliancy of any kind, because it is well known that uneducated people often acquire great wealth, while cultured and talented people remain in poverty.

Again, it does not depend upon capital, because many men with large capital lose it, while others with no capital acquire phenomenal wealth.

Nor does it depend upon getting into any particular business. Men secure independence in every business, while others in the same business remain in want.

Whatever finds a place in human experience is the result of the thinking process, and the determining factors are therefore within your own control.

This may seem "too good to be true," but if you will consider that by the touch of a button or the turn of a lever science has placed almost infinite resources at the disposal of man, it becomes evident that there may be still other laws not generally known which contain even greater possibilities.

"The Master Key" is a key with which many are converting loss into gain, fear into courage, despair into joy, hope into fruition; a key with which many are finding health, self-reliance, power; the key which thrills, fascinates, carries conviction, understanding, perception, inspiration; a key which is changing the lives of thousands, and may have an almost unbelieveable influence upon your life.

A MASTER KEY will be sent to you, without cost or obligation of any kind, if you address

Charles F. Haanel, 204 Howard Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

This Advertisement *contains a message of such transcendental importance that no reader of this magazine, whether man, woman, or child, should fail to answer it.*

NERVE EXH[illegible]TION

How We Become Shell-Shocked in Every-Day Life

By PAUL VON BOECKMANN

Lecturer and Author of numerous books and treatises on Mental and Physical Energy, Respiration, Psychology, Sexual Science and Nerve Culture

THERE is but one malady more terrible than Nerve Exhaustion, and that is its kin, Insanity. Only those who have passed through a siege of Nerve Exhaustion can understand the true meaning of this statement. It is HELL; no other word can express it. At first, the victim is afraid he will die, and as it grips him deeper, he is afraid he will not die; so great is his mental torture. He becomes panic-stricken and irresolute. A sickening sensation of weakness and helplessness overcomes him. He becomes obsessed with the thought of self-destruction.

Nerve Exhaustion means Nerve Bankruptcy. The wonderful organ we term the Nervous System consists of countless millions of cells. These cells are reservoirs which store a mysterious energy we term Nerve Force. The amount stored represents our Nerve Capital. Every organ works with all its might to keep the supply of Nerve Force in these cells at a high level, for Life itself depends more upon Nerve Force than on the food we eat or even the air we breathe.

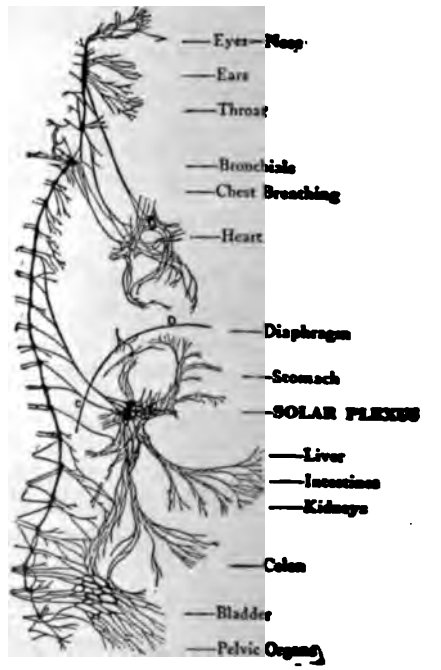
If we unduly tax the nerves through overwork, worry, excitement or grief, or if we subject the muscular system to excessive strain, we consume more Nerve Force than the organs produce, and the natural result must be Nerve Exhaustion.

Nerve Exhaustion is not a malady that comes suddenly. It may be years in developing and the decline is accompanied by unmistakable symptoms, which, unfortunately, cannot readily be recognized. The average person thinks that when his hands do not tremble and his muscles do not twitch, he cannot possibly be nervous. This is a dangerous assumption, for people with hands as solid as a rock and who appear to be in perfect health may be dangerously near Nerve Collapse.

One of the first symptoms of Nerve Exhaustion is the derangement of the Sympathetic Nervous System, the nerve branch which governs the vital organ (see diagram). In other words, the vital organs become sluggish because of insufficient supply of Nerve Energy. This is manifested by a cycle of weaknesses and disturbances in digestion, constipation, poor blood circulation and general muscular lassitude usually being the first to be noticed.

I have for more than thirty years studied the health problem from every angle. My investigations and deductions always brought me b[illegible] to the immutable truth that Nerve Derangem[illegible] and Nerve Weakness is the basic cause of nea[illegible] every bodily ailment, pain or disorder. I ag[illegible] with the noted British authority on the nerv[illegible] Alfred T. Schofield, M. D., the author of num[illegible] ous works on the subject, who says: "It is my [illegible] lief that the greatest single factor in the mai[illegible] nance of health is that the nerves be in order."

The great war has taught us how frail the n[illegible] vous system is, and how sensitive it is to str[illegible]



The Sympathetic Nervous System

Showing how Every Vital Organ is governed by the Nervous System, and how the Solar Plexus, commonly known as the Abdominal Brain, is the Great Central Station for the distribution of Nerve Force.

especially mental and emotional strain. Sh[illegible] Shock, it was proved, d[illegible] not injure the ner[illegible] fibers in themselves. T[illegible] ffect is entirely menta[illegible] Thousands lost their r[illegible] n thereby, over [illegible]

cases from New York alone being in asylums for the insane. Many more thousands became nervous wrecks. The strongest men became paralyzed so that they could not stand, eat or even speak. One-third of all the hospital cases were "nerve cases," all due to excessive strain of the Sympathetic Nervous System.

The mile-a-minute life of to-day, with its worry, hurry, grief and mental tension is exactly the same as Shell Shock, except that the shock is less forcible, but more prolonged, and in the end just as disastrous. Our crowded insane asylums bear witness to the truth of this statement. Nine people out of ten you meet have "frazzled nerves."

Perhaps you have chased from doctor to doctor seeking relief for a mysterious "something the matter with you." Each doctor tells you that there is nothing the matter with you; that every organ is perfect. But you know there is something the matter. You feel it, and you act it. You are tired, dizzy, cannot sleep, cannot digest your food and you have pains here and there. You are told you are "run down" and need a rest. Or the doctor may give you a tonic. Leave nerve tonics alone. It is like making a tired horse run by towing him behind an automobile.

Our Health, Happiness and Success in life demands that we face these facts understandingly. I have written a 64-page book on this subject which teaches how to protect the nerves from every day Shell Shock. It teaches how to soothe, calm and care for the nerves; how to nourish them through proper breathing and other means. The cost of the book is only 25 cents. Bound in cloth, 50 cents. Remit in coin or stamps. See address at the bottom of page. If the book does not meet your fullest expectations, your money will be refunded, plus your outlay of postage.

The book "Nerve Force" solves the problem for you and will enable you to diagnose your troubles understandingly. The facts presented will prove a revelation to you, and the advice given will be of incalculable value to you.

You should send for this book to-day. It is for you, whether you have had trouble with your nerves or not. Your nerves are the most precious possession you have. Through them you experience all that makes life worth living, for to be dull nerved means to be dull brained, insensible to the higher phases of life—love, moral courage, ambition and temperament. The finer your brain is, the finer and more delicate is your nervous system, and the more imperative it is that you care for your nerves. The book is especially important to those who have "high strung" nerves, and those who must tax their nerves to the limit.

The following are extracts from letters from people who have read the book and were greatly benefited by the teachings set forth therein:

"I have gained 12 pounds since reading your book, and I feel so energetic. I had about given up hope of ever finding the cause of my low weight."

"I have been treated by a number of nerve specialists, and have traveled from country to country in an endeavor to restore my nerves to normal. Your little book has done more for me than all other methods combined."

"Your book did more for me for indigestion than two courses in dieting."

"My heart is now regular again and my nerves are fine. I thought I had heart trouble, but it was simply a case of abused nerves. I have reread your book at least ten times."

A woman writes: "Your book has helped my nerves wonderfully. I am sleeping so well and in the morning I feel so rested."

"The advice given in your book on relaxation and calming of nerves has cleared my brain. Before I was half dizzy all the time."

A physician says: "Your book shows you have a scientific and profound knowledge of the nerves and nervous people. I am recommending your book to my patients."

A prominent lawyer of Ansonia, Conn., says: "Your book saved me from a nervous collapse, such as I had three years ago. I now sleep soundly and I am gaining weight. I can again do a real day's work."

The "FLU" Coming Again

A warning has been sent forth by the Board of Health of various cities that the Spanish Influenza will break out again this winter. Dr. Royal S. Copeland, the Health Commissioner of New York, is especially emphatic in this warning.

The "Flu" killed more than twice as many people during the few months that it raged than were killed in the war during the entire four years, and those who recovered from the disease were left seriously weakened in constitutional power. Over 6,000,000 died of the "Flu" in India alone.

The real cause of "Flu" is not known. We know that it is a disease involving the respiratory tracts, therefore, by making these tracts healthier through breathing deeply, a great step will be made toward immunity. The proper method of breathing is described by diagram in the book "Nerve Force."

Clothing the body scientifically is another important factor in the prevention of the "Flu." This subject and other important points are clearly and exhaustively discussed in a special 16 page booklet I have written on the Prevention of Colds. I shall agree to send a copy of this booklet free to purchasers of the book "Nerve Force," mentioned above. Address:

PAUL VON BOECKMANN,
Studio 87, 110 West 40th Street, New York

Little Signs That Reveal Character at a Glance

The Simple Knack of Knowing All About a Person at Sight

EVERY one knows that a high forehead indicates the intellectual type—that a receding denotes weakness while a pronounced chin means determination—these things and a few other signs are understood by all. But often these signs are counterbalanced by others which are just as apparent but which the average person doesn't know how to diagnose.

As a consequence we often jump to conclusions about people, which prove incorrect because we don't carry our observations far enough. It's like trying to read a sentence by looking at the first one or two words. We might guess the sense but more likely than not we'd go wrong. Yet once you have the secret, you can understand what *all* the little signs mean and get at a glance a complete picture of the characteristics of every person you meet, as easily as you read this page.



"What I've learned enables me to know as much about a man the first time I meet him as his best friend—sometimes more."

I know this to be true for I used to be about the poorest judge of character that I know. I was always making friends only to find that they were the wrong kind, or saying the wrong thing to my customers because I had failed to "size them up" correctly, or lending money to people who never intended to pay me back. I even made a costly mistake by giving up a good job to go into partnership with a man who turned out to be little short of a thief.

I was pretty much discouraged by this time and I determined that the thing for me to do was to learn to read character, if such a thing as that was possible, for I felt that unless I did know whom I could trust and whom I couldn't, I never would get very far.

It was about this time that I read an article about Dr. Katherine M. H. Blackford, who is recognized as the foremost character analyst in this country, and who was employed by a big company at a record fee to select their employees. I thought then that if hard headed business men paid such a salary as this in order to insure their getting the right kind of workers that there surely must be something in character reading for me.

One day while in Pittsburgh my eye was attracted to an announcement of a lecture on Character Analysis by Dr. Blackford and I decided to go and see if I could learn anything.

That lecture was an eye opener! Not only did Dr. Blackford show how easy it is to read at a glance the little signs that reveal a person's character, but after the lecture she gave a remarkable demonstration of character reading that amazed the audience.

She asked the audience to select two people in the hall to come up and be analyzed. Several men, all of them entirely unknown to Dr. Blackford, were suggested and finally two were chosen. As they came upon the platform Dr. Blackford looked them over keenly and, after a moment's thought began to analyze both of them at once. As she mentioned the characteristics of one she described the corresponding characteristics in the other.

Beginning with generalities, she told the audience, every one of whom seemed to know both men, that one was a good mixer, aggressive, bold and determined, while the other was more or less of a recluse, very self contained, quiet and gentle.

The first, she said, was brilliant, clever, quick-witted and resourceful; the second, a silent man, slow and deliberate when he spoke, and relied upon calm, mature judgment rather than brilliant stroke of ingenuity and wit.

The first man, according to Dr. Blackford, was active, restless, always on the go, impatient, and

able to express himself only in some active, aggressive manner. The second man was studious, plodding and constant, and expressed himself after prolonged concentration and careful thought. The first man, the doctor said, was therefore especially equipped to execute plans, to carry to success any course of action, but was not particularly qualified to make plans or to map out a course of action—he could make practical use of many different kinds of knowledge but did not have the patience or the power of concentration to search out and classify the knowledge so that it could be used. While he was a brilliant speaker, a resourceful and effective debater, he lacked the power to dig out and assemble the material for orations and debates. The second man, she continued, being shy and self-conscious, could not speak in public, but was a master of study and research and strong in his ability to classify and correlate all kinds of knowledge.

"Indeed," said Dr. Blackford, "this gentleman would be a remarkable success as a lawyer, especially in court practice. The other gentleman would be a remarkable success as a lawyer, but his particular field would be the preparation of cases and the giving of counsel to clients. Therefore," she went on, "they would be particularly fitted to work together as partners, not only because they complement each other professionally but because their dispositions are such that they would naturally admire and respect each other."

As she said this the audience broke into a storm of applause and upon inquiry I learned that the two men were indeed lawyers and partners, that they had been partners for twenty years and were well known in Pittsburgh for their intense affection for each other and for the fact that during their twenty years' partnership they had never had a disagreement. One was the brilliant trial lawyer; the other the student and counselor and as a team they were remarkably successful.

* * * * *

When the lecture was over it didn't take me long to get up to the platform and inquire as to how I could learn more about character reading, and I found that Dr. Blackford had just completed a popular COURSE that explained the whole thing and which would be sent on approval, without charge, for examination. I immediately wrote the publishers and received the COURSE by return mail.

And when it came I was never so amazed in my life—for here was the whole secret in seven fascinating lessons. No hard study—no tiresome drudgery, just interesting pictures and simple directions that I couldn't go wrong on.

Why, the very first lesson taught me pointers I could use right away and it was only a matter of a few weeks before I was able at one quick but careful survey to tell just what a man was like by what he looked like.

And what a revelation it was! For the first time I really *knew* people whom I *thought* I had known for years. It was all so simple now that it hardly seemed possible that I could have made such mistakes as I did before I heard of Dr. Blackford.

People took on a new interest. Instead of just "blanks" each one became a definite personality with qualities, tastes and traits which I was always able to "spot." Why, the very act of meeting people became the most fascinating pastime in the world. And how much more clearly my own character loomed up to me. I know as never before my limitations and my capabilities.

But it has been my contact with people in business that my new faculty has helped me most—to say that it has been worth thousands of dollars to me is to put it mildly. It has enabled me to select a new partner who has proved the best help a man ever had—it has made it possible for us to build up probably the most efficient "frictionless" organization in our line of business with every man in the right job—it has been the means of my securing thousands of dollars' worth of business from men I had never been able to sell before because I hadn't judged them correctly, for after all salesmanship is more in knowing the man you're dealing with than in any other one thing—and what I've learned from Dr. Blackford's lessons enables me to know as much about a man the first time I meet him as his best friend—sometimes more.

Is it any wonder that such concerns as the Scott Paper Company, the Baker-Vawter Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company and others have sought Dr. Blackford as counselor; or that thousands of heads of large corporations, salesmen, engineers, physicians, bankers, and educators have studied her Course and say that the benefit derived is worth thousands of dollars to them?

Send No Money

The biggest surprise about Dr. Blackford's Course you haven't read yet—and that is the price. If after examining the seven lessons in your own home you decide to keep the Course you need only send $5 in full payment. If you are not entirely satisfied with the Course, send it back and you will owe nothing.

Merely send the coupon for it now without money—or write a letter and it will be sent to you charges prepaid.

You take no risk and you have everything to gain, so mail the coupon, before this remarkable offer is withdrawn.

FREE EXAMINATION COUPON

Independent Corporation

Publishers of the Independent Weekly

Dept. B 2712 119 W. 40th St., New York

Please send me Dr. Blackford's Course of seven lessons called "Reading Character at Sight." I will either remail the Course to you within five days after its receipt or send you $5 in full payment of the course.

Name .....

Address .....

..... Rev. of Rev. 12-19

New Stomachs for Old In 48 Hours

By R. S. Thompson

THOUSANDS of people who suffered for years with all sorts of stomach trouble are walking around today with entirely re-made stomachs—stomachs which have been re-made in from forty-eight to seventy-two hours! They enjoy their meals and never have a thought of indigestion, constipation or any of the serious illnesses with which they formerly suffered and which are directly traceable to the stomach.

And these surprising results have been produced not by drugs or medicines of any kind, not by foregoing substantial foods, not by eating specially prepared or patented foods of any kind, but by eating the plainest, simplest foods correctly combined!

These facts were forcibly brought to my mind by Eugene Christian, the eminent Food Scientist, who is said to have successfully treated over 23,000 people with foods alone!

As Christian says, man is what he eats. What we take into our stomachs today, we are tomorrow. Food is the source of all power, yet not one person in a hundred knows the chemistry of foods as related to the chemistry of the body. The result is we are a nation of "stomach sufferers."

Christian has proved that to eat good, simple, nourishing food is not necessarily to eat correctly. In the first place, many of the foods which we have come to regard as good are in reality about the worst things we can eat, while others that we regard as harmful have the most food value.

But perhaps the greatest harm which comes from eating blindly is the fact that very often two perfectly good foods when eaten at the same meal form a chemical reaction in the stomach and literally explode, liberating dangerous toxic poisons which are absorbed by the blood and circulate throughout the system, forming the root of all or nearly all sickness, the first indications of which are acidity, fermentation, gas, constipation and many other sympathetic ills leading to most serious consequences.

And yet just as wrong food selections and combinations will destroy our health and efficiency, so will the right foods quickly create and maintain bodily vigor and mental energy. In my talk with Eugene Christian he told me of some of his experiences in the treatment of disease through food—just a few instances out of the more than 23,000 cases he has on record.

One case which interested me greatly was that of a young business man whose efficiency had been practically wrecked through stomach acidity, fermentation and constipation, resulting in physical sluggishness which was naturally reflected in his ability to use his mind. He was twenty pounds underweight when he first went to see Christian and was so nervous he couldn't sleep. Stomach and intestinal gases were so severe that they caused irregular heart action and often fits of great mental depression. As Christian describes it, he was not 50 per cent efficient either mentally or physically. Yet in 24 hours, by following Christian's suggestions as to food, his constipation was relieved, although he had formerly been in the habit of taking large daily doses of a strong cathartic. In five weeks every abnormal symptom had disappeared—his weight having increased 6 lbs. In addition to this, he acquired a store of physical and mental energy so great in comparison with his former self as to almost belie the fact that it was the same man.

Another instance of what proper food combinations can do almost overnight was that of a man one hundred pounds overweight whose only other discomfort was rheumatism. This man's greatest pleasure in life was eating. Though convinced of the necessity, he hesitated for months to go under treatment, believing he would be deprived of the pleasures of the table. He finally, however, decided to try it out. Not only did he begin losing weight within a few hours, regaining his normal figure in a of weeks, but all signs of ing, and he found the s to the taste and

afforded a much keener quality of enjoyment than his old method of eating, and wrote Christian a letter to that effect.

But perhaps the most interesting case that Christian told me of was that of a multi-millionaire—a man 70 years old, who had been traveling with his doctor for several years in a search for health. He was extremely emaciated, had chronic constipation, lumbago, and rheumatism. For over twenty years he had suffered with stomach and intestinal trouble which in reality was superaciduous secretions in the stomach. The first menus given him were designed to remove the causes of acidity, which was accomplished almost overnight. And after this was done he seemed to undergo a complete rejuvenation. His eyesight, hearing, taste, and all of his mental faculties became keener and more alert. He had had no organic trouble—but he was starving to death from malnutrition and decomposition—all caused by the wrong selection and combination of foods. Almost immediately after following Christian's advice this man could see results, and after six months he was as well and strong as he had ever been in his life.

These instances of the efficacy of right eating I have simply chosen at random from perhaps a dozen Eugene Christian told me of, every one of which was fully as interesting, and they applied to as many different ailments. Surely this man Christian is doing a great work.

I know of several instances where rich men and women have been so pleased with what he has done for them that they have sent him a check for $500 or $1,000 in addition to the amount of the bill when paying him.

There have been so many inquiries from all parts of the United States from people seeking the benefit of Eugene Christian's advice and whose cases he is unable to handle personally, that he has written a little course of lessons which tells you exactly what to eat for health, strength and efficiency. This course is published by The Corrective Eating Society of New York.

These lessons, there are 24 of them, contain actual menus for breakfast, luncheon, and dinner, covering every condition of health and sickness from infancy to old age and for all occupations, climates, and seasons.

Reasons are given for every recommendation based upon actual results secured in the author's many years of practice, although technical terms have been avoided. Every point is explained so clearly that there can be no possible misunderstanding.

With these lessons at hand it is just as though you were in personal contact with the great food specialist, because every possible point is so thoroughly covered that you can scarcely think of a question which isn't answered. You can start eating the very things that will produce the increased physical and mental energy you are seeking the day you receive the lessons, and you will find that you secure results with the first meal. This, of course, does not mean that complicated illnesses can be removed at one meal, but it does mean that real results can nearly always be seen in 48 hours or less.

If you would like to examine these 24 little Lessons in Corrective Eating, simply write The Corrective Eating Society, Department 812, 443 Fourth Avenue, New York City. It is not necessary to enclose any money with your request. Merely ask them to send the lessons on five days' trial, with the understanding that you will either return them within that time or remit $3.00, the small fee asked.

The reasons that the Society is willing to send the lessons on free examination without money in advance is because they want to remove every obstacle to putting this knowledge in the hands of the many interested people as soon as possible, knowing full well that a test of some of the menus in the lessons themselves is more convincing than anything that can possibly be said about them.

Please clip out and mail the following form instead of writing a letter, as this is a copy of the blank adopted by the Society, and will be honored at once

---

CORRECTIVE EATING SOCIETY,
Dept. 812, 443 Fourth Avenue, New York City

You may send me prepaid a copy of Corrective Eating in 24 Lessons. I will either remail them to you within five days or send you $3.

Name ..... Address .....

City ..... State .....



A [illegible] nory Feat [illegible] an Do

How I [illegible] cret [illegible] ev[illegible] lt has helped me every day

WHEN my old friend Faulkner invited me to a dinner party at his house, I little thought it would be the direct means of getting me a one-hundred-and-fifty per cent. increase in salary. Yet it was, and here is the way it all came about.

Toward the close of the evening things began to drag a bit, as they often do at parties. Finally some one suggested the old idea of having everyone do a "stunt." Some sang, others forced weird sounds out of the piano, recited, told stories, and so on.

Then it came to Macdonald's turn. He was a quiet sort of chap, with an air about him that reminded one of the old saying that "still waters run deep." He said he had a simple "stunt" which he hoped we would like. He selected me to assist him. First he asked to be blindfolded securely to prove there was no trickery in it. Those present were to call out twenty-five numbers of three figures each, such as 161, 240, and so on. He asked me to write down the numbers as they were called.

This was done. Macdonald then astounded everyone by repeating the entire list of twenty-five numbers backwards and forwards. Then he asked people to request numbers by positions, such as the [illegible] number called, the fourth number, and so on. [illegible]stantly he repeated back the exact number in [illegible] position called. He did this with the entire [illegible] over and over again, without making a [illegible] take.

Th[illegible] Macdonald asked that a deck of cards be shuffled and called out to him in their order. This was done. Still blindfolded, he instantly named the cards in their order backwards and forwards. And then to further amaze us he gave us the number of any card counting from the top, or the card for any number.

You may well imagine our amazement at Macdonald's remarkable feat. You naturally expect to see a t[illegible]g of this sort on the stage, and even then you look upon it as a trick. But to see it done by an everyday business man, in plain view of everyone, blindfolded and under conditions which make trickery impossible, is astonishing, to say the least.

* * * * * * *

ON the way home that night I asked Macdonald how it was done. He said there was really nothing to it—simply a memory-feat, the key to which anyone could easily learn in one evening. Then he told me that the reason most people have bad memories is because they leave memory development to chance. Anyone could do what he had done, and develop a good memory, he said, by following a few simple rules. And then he told me exactly how to do it. At the time I little thought that evening would prove to be one of the most e[illegible]n my life, but such it proved to be.

[illegible]said [illegible] took to heart. In [illegible] strides toward im[illegible] but a question of [illegible]ctly what he had [illegible]th my new-found

ability by amazing people at parties. My "memory feat," as my friends called it, surely made a hit. Everyone was talking about it, and I was showered with invitations for all sorts of affairs. If anyone were to ask me how quickly to develop social popularity, I would tell him to learn my memory "feat" —but that is apart from what I want to tell you.

The most gratifying thing about the improvement of my memory was the remarkable way it helped me in business. Much to my surprise I discovered that my memory training had literally put a razor edge on my brain. My brain had become clearer, quicker, keener. I felt that I was fast acquiring that mental grasp and alertness I had so often admired in men who were spoken of as "wonders" and "geniuses."

The next thing I noticed was a marked improvement in my conversational powers. Formerly my talk was halting and disconnected. I never could think of things to say until the conversation was over. And then, when it was too late, I would always think of apt and striking things I "might have said." But now I can think like a flash. When I am talking I never have to hesitate for the right word, the right expression or the right thing to say. It seems that all I have to do is to start to talk and instantly I find myself saying the very thing I want to say to make the greatest impression on people.

It wasn't long before my new-found ability to remember things and to say the right thing at the right time, attracted the attention of our president. He got in the habit of calling me in whenever he wanted facts about the business. As he expressed himself to me, "You can always tell me instantly what I want to know, while the other fellows annoy me by dodging out of the office and saying, 'I'll look it up.'"

* * * * * *

I FOUND that my ability to remember helped me wonderfully in dealing with other people, particularly in committee meetings. When a discussion opens up the man who can back up his statements quickly with a string of definite facts and figures usually dominates the others. Time and time again I have won people to my way of thinking simply because I could instantly recall facts and figures. While I'm proud of my triumphs in this respect, I often feel sorry for the ill-at-ease look of other men who cannot hold up their end in the argument because they cannot recall facts instantly. It seems as though I never forget anything. Every fact I now put in my mind is as clear and as easy to recall instantly as though it were written before me in plain black and white.

We all hear a lot about the importance of sound judgment. People who ought to know say that a man cannot begin to exercise sound judgment until he is forty to fifty years of age. But I have disproved all that. I have found that sound judgment is nothing more than the ability to weigh and judge facts in their relation to each other. Memory is the basis of sound judgment. I am only thirty-two, but many times I have been complimented on having the judgment of a man of forty-five. I take no personal credit for this—it is all due to the way I trained my memory.

* * * * * *



"Our president complimented me on always being able to tell him instantly facts he wanted to know."

THESE are only a few of the hundreds of ways I have profited by my trained memory. No longer do I suffer the humiliation of meeting men I know and not being able to recall their names. The moment I see a man his name flashes to my mind, together with a string of facts about him. I always liked to read, but usually forgot most of it. Now I find it easy to recall what I have read. Another surprising thing is that I can now master a subject in considerably less time than before. Price lists, market quotations, data of all kinds, I can recall in detail almost at will. I rarely make a mistake.

My vocabulary, too, has increased wonderfully. Whenever I see a striking word or expression, I memorize it and use it in my dictation or conversation. This has put a remarkable sparkle and pulling power into my conversation and business letters. And the remarkable part of it all is that I can now do my day's work quicker and with much less effort, simply because my mind works like a flash and I do not have to keep stopping to look things up.

All this is extremely satisfying to me, of course. But the best part of it all is that since my memory powers first attracted the attention of our president, my salary has steadily been increased. Today it is many times greater than it was the day Macdonald got me interested in improving my memory.

* * * * * * *

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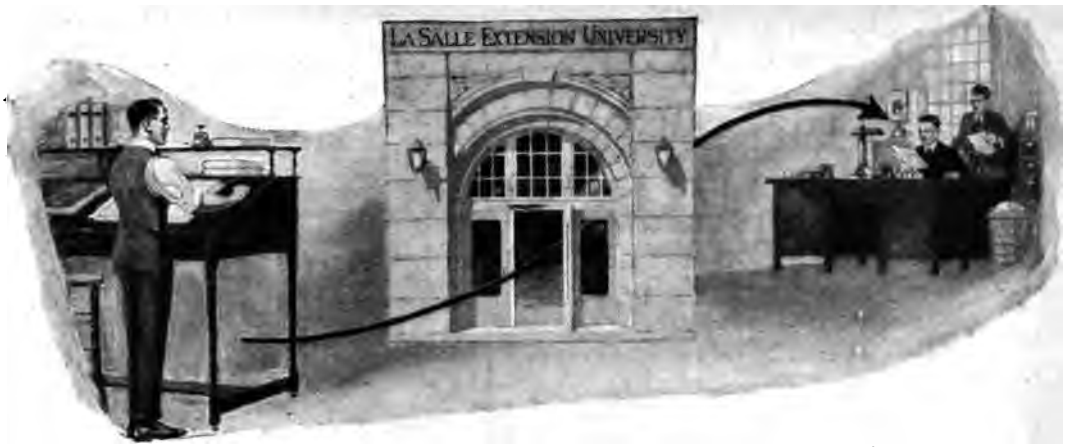
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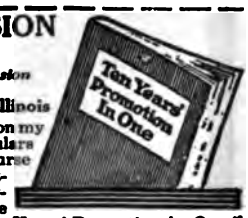
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AN INDUSTRY ON THE MARCH

A New England Organization which has Multiplied the Productiveness of Labor; Increased the Earning Power of Workers; Decreased Production Cost and, Through Service to Many Individual Manufacturers, has Sent American-made Shoes Around the World

By EDWARD MOTT WOOLLEY

AT ONE of the great Brooklyn shoe factories things went wrong one morning—a new workman broke an important part in a complicated contrivance, tying up a group of related machines. Simultaneously in another department a mechanical accident happened that shut down a whole row of shoemaking devices. Altogether a hundred men and women were idle.

A few minutes afterward the telephone jangled in the office of the United Shoe Machinery Company's Service Department on Warren Street, New York. The message came incisively. Then, hanging up the receiver, the Service Manager touched two buttons on his desk.

In a large room on the same floor a dozen mechanics—out of a staff of seventy-five—were on reserve duty when the indicator on the wall recorded the summons for Repair Men 49 and 64. Immediately these two tossed aside their office work, reached for their hats, and reported at the desk. Within ten minutes they had gone to the stock room in the basement, secured the machine parts necessary, and were on their way to Brooklyn. Before the noon whistle blew the replacements in the shoe factory had been made, and all the workers were going full speed.

A great problem of business to-day—and the biggest need of the American public—is Service. This problem has been solved by the United Shoe Machinery Company, which has its great factory at Beverly, Mass., and its service stations scattered through every shoe manufacturing district in the land. The Service of this Company stands unique among industrial stories.

Every day this little drama of the Company's "hurry call" is enacted hundreds of times. More than a thousand repair men, recruited among the most skilled mechanics everywhere, are constantly on duty in New York, Boston, Brockton, Lynn, Rochester, Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Augusta, New Orleans, San Francisco, and elsewhere; in all, twenty-seven stations in fourteen states. In a year the repair men gave shoe factories the equivalent of 218,229 eight-hour days—a *free Service*.

The system works like train dispatching. In the New York district, for instance, the whereabouts of every mechanic is shown on a pegboard; any man can be reached by telephone and hurried to other jobs. There is also a system of delivery routes by trucks, for hurrying through large repair parts. Here in this Warren Street station, occupying a large building, is a miniature of the great Stock Room at Beverly. In all the stations—and at many sub-stations—the same thing is true.

This huge Stock Room at Beverly, by the way, is symbolic of the Company itself. It is the equivalent of three city blocks in length, and its steel racks reach from floor to ceiling. Over a hundred thousand different parts are carried, and more than twenty-one million of these go annually to branch stock rooms. All these materials are card-indexed and instantly available. Boys on roller skates shoot through the long corridor bearing rush requisitions, and shoot out again carrying parts that need not wait for the electric trucks.

Then in addition the Company operates a chain of retail stores, in connection with its service stations, where shoemaking accessories are on sale.

The Shoe Machinery Company's Service, indeed, is almost melodramatic in its bigness and rapid-fire action; it lacks the gong-clanging sensationalism of the trolley line repair crew, but is scarcely less sure and swift. Almost any shoe factory can secure new parts, along with skilled mechanics to install them, within a couple of hours. All this, given in connection with the Company's leasing system, is absolutely without charge except for the cost of such parts as may have to be supplied. The leasing methods afford other phases of important Service, to be touched on later in this article.

This whole story of the United Shoe Machinery Company is a narrative of Service. Service of one sort or another is the basis on which most big American concerns have grown. Any business

enterprise that will truly serve the best interests of its customers and the nation will grow and prosper.

For the moment turn to another form of Service, which has always been one of the chief impulses in the growth of this Company. On an upper floor of this mighty Beverly plant you come unexpectedly upon a heavy wire partition that bars the way, back of which a great room, filled with machinery, reaches to the far end of the factory. As you peer through the grating of these forbidden regions you see, fading into the distance, a curious row of doors along the left-hand wall—forty or more of them. Every doorway is protected by wire mesh, yet two or three of the nearer rooms give glimpses of blue prints and machinery models.

Then your guide draws you away. This is the Invention Department—the Land of Shoe Machinery Dreams; it is the home of undeveloped fancies that are not on exhibition. "Imagination," says your guide, "is too subtle a thing to visualize; but come downstairs where you can see the realization of fancies that have been caught in these Inventors' dens and made tangible in cold steel."

A FAIRYLAND OF INVENTION

On your way to a lower floor you pass through reaches of machinery, stretching away in vistas of sunlight-flooded shops. There seems no end to these mazes of machines that work apparently with little human aid. The mechanism that makes shoe machinery is almost as wonderful as the product of the machine itself. Yet although you see whole rows of these machines working automatically by themselves, so immense is this plant, with its sixteen factory buildings, that 5,000 workers are scattered through it.

Presently, down in the Assembling Room, you see the realization of those dreams you vaguely sensed at the entrance to Inventors' Row. No man could even guess how many dreams have floated in and out of that high wire partition, for every finished machine stands for unnumbered figments of men's brains. And now in the Assembling Department there stretches before you group after group of marvelous devices that often have come out of seeming vagaries. As they stand here in the calm dignity of mechanical perfection, ready to begin their mission, your thoughts go back to that Fairyland of Invention.

To me the Invention Department and the Assembling Room are inextricably associated; no sooner is a machine perfected and built than the cycle of imagination begins to work anew—the inventors again tear to pieces the work of years.

In the primeval days of shoe manufacturi well within the memory of living men- factory workman sat with lapstone, ham awl and pincers—his mouth full of nails- plied his trade laboriously. The cost of l was the great dominating factor.

Then it was that shoemakers fell to drea daring things; but even when the United Machinery Company was organized, in the development of shoe machinery was no advanced.

The Company was founded by the conso tion of three non-competing concerns, thr the efforts of Sydney W. Winslow, Georg Brown and Edward P. Hurd. Mr. Wi died a number of years ago, but Mr. Brown Mr. Hurd are now vice-presidents.

PIONEER DAYS

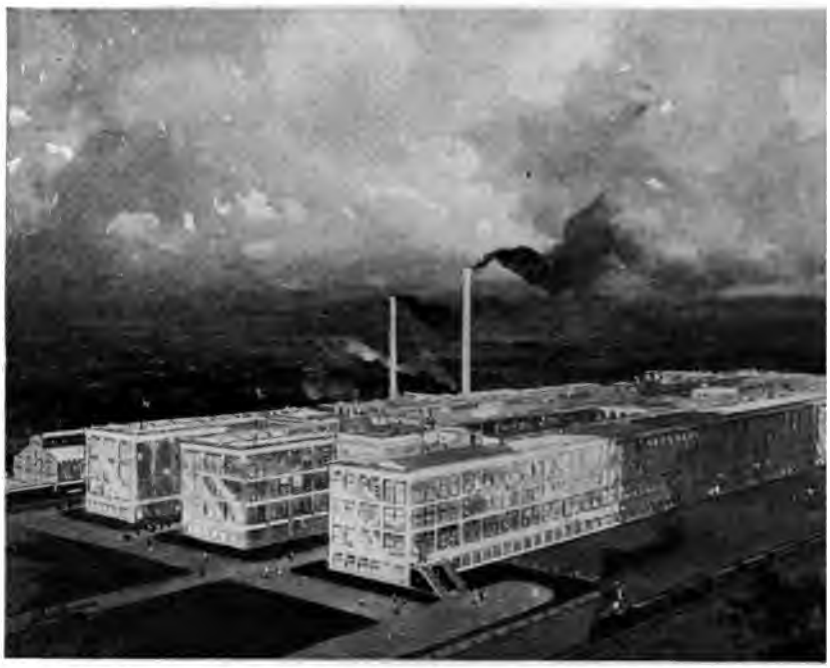
Years before, Mr. Winslow had worked i little shoe factory established at Lynn by father—who had been a seafaring man and ward a shoemaker. Along in those early a Lynn shoemaker, born in Dutch Guian dark of skin as a mulatto, invented a ma for lasting shoes, a process hitherto perfo by hand. In derision it was called the "ir head" by the old-fashioned shoemakers wh littled it. This machine was a vitally impo step in the development of the modern sho dustry. The inventor, Jan E. Matzel proved a true Service man in other ways as for at his death he left his property to the cit

This brings us to the story of Gordon McK an engineer who just before the outbreak the Civil War became interested in a mac for sewing the sole of a shoe to the upper. had $140,000 when he took it up, under the position that it was already perfected; but his money slipped away before the machine came a commercial possibility. Then came days of 1861, and the frantic calls for Army s enabled Col. McKay to render the Governm distinguished Service. Later, partly thro the McKay machines and partly in other w he acquired a fortune of many millions; but too, was a Service man and patriot, and all money went to Harvard University for techn development work.

It was by McKay that the system now valent of leasing machines to manufacturers payment of a royalty for each pair of shoes m was introduced. In no other way could he duce manufacturers to use his machine.

Mr. Winslow was perhaps the first man to the possibilities for Service through the consol tion of different com ies. There were m manufacturers of vari inds of shoe machin

and three of these were, to his mind, especially adapted for coöperation. One company made machines for sewing soles to uppers by means of a welt; and also made auxiliary devices. A second put out lasting machines, while a third manufactured machines for attaching soles and heels by metallic fasteners. The object of this amalgamation was not to diminish competition, but rather to reduce production costs and give the maximum of Service, from a single organization and without increased expense, to shoe manufacturers who used the various types of machines —much as a huge department store is equipped to serve the needs of an entire community.



AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY IS SERVED FROM THIS PLANT

George W. Brown had at one time been selling agent for a sewing machine company, which, however, did not make the heavy machines for stitching the lower parts of shoes. He had later been associated with Mr. Winslow in a company organized to manufacture lasting machines. Mr. Brown's personal acquaintance with all shoe manufacturers added much to the strength of the new organization.

From the start it was the policy to develop constantly shoemaking machinery; to endow experiment so that inventors could live in comfort and devote themselves to constructive work. The establishment of the Invention Department thus became a capitalization of b Quite different, this, from the d tors often agonized in solitud poverty. Business history is fil choly stories reflecting the hea couragements of men who strug out of which to-day have come

The whole matter of inventi was placed in the hands of a comm Millions of dollars have been perimental work. Sometimes id valuable came to nothing after sive effort. If individual men these things their lives would ha and their families desolated, but vention Department of the Unite ery Company the law of average No hearts are broken, and a va mechanical genius is saved fo reaches directly to every buyer than 150 new machines have many replacing hand work.

The occupants of Inventors' R from inside and outside source bring ideas, and where possibiliti rant they are given facilities a this way came the inventor machine—a mechanic with

The Company introduced him to one of those wire-meshed dens, where for a long time he experimented. It was a baffling problem to train the balky needle to follow accurately the buttonhole shape. Slowly the needle made concessions—and finally quit resisting and "fell in."

Another notable device produced by the Company's inventors is the skiving machine, which performs seeming miracles. It takes a piece of leather one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and splits it into seven layers, and can finish leather down to two one-thousandths of an inch. Its Service extends to bookbinders, glove makers, diving-suit manufacturers and others.

The fineness to which the Company's machines have been reduced is aptly shown by comparing their product to the human hair, which is seldom under three one-thousandths of an inch in diameter. Several of these machines work to a point eight times finer!

A DREAM COME TRUE

Some years ago the Company had a machine which put in 375 eyelets a minute, doing each side of the shoe separately. Up in the Invention Department someone dreamed that both sides might be done together, not only doubling the output but making the opposite eyelets correspond exactly in position; and after three years of contriving, such a machine appeared one day in the Assembling Room—doing both sides at once at the rate of 750 eyelets a minute. Its Service now reaches far beyond shoe factories. In corset making, for example, it has cut labor costs.

One of the principal devices of shoe factories, known as the pulling-over machine, has grown out of that old-time dark-skinned inventor's lasting apparatus. In the early days a shoemaker, sitting on his low stool with the last in his apron, could pull over some sixty uppers in a day. Recently in a modern factory I saw a machine pulling over uppers at the rate of 1,500 a day; and oddly it was operated by a colored man.

Between these two men runs a long and weary path of invention, costing $1,500,000 and involving 2,600 changes. Now the machine has amazing steel fingers that grip the leather from all sides and draw it over the last. Some hidden contrivance then drives the temporary tacks with a single blow.

There was a time when the strip of leather known as the welt—fastening together the insole and upper—was sewed in only by hand. But workmen were constituted differently; some drew taut stitches while others left them loose; and always they spaced irregularly. Tom Shoemaker, for example, would sew viciously for an

—expressing perhaps his feeling toward a rival in matters of affection. On the next stool his comrade Louie, finding that his own court ran smoothly, would sew amiably and with careless fingers. To-day the automatic welt sewer has no moods; it never falls in love, and is a stranger to all sentiment and weariness.

INCREASING A MACHINE'S CAPACITY

The original of this welter, operated by foot-power and invented long before the United Shoe Machinery Company came into being, did more than anything else to revolutionize the manufacture of shoes. But almost continuous work upon it has been done in the Invention Department. During the last eleven years alone the sewing capacity of the automatic welter has increased 66.7 per cent.

I have said that the welter has no sentiment—but I take it back. It breathes a subtle atmosphere of pathos, despite its cold exterior, because many inventors have died on this job and passed it on to others.

In erstwhile days of shoemaking the different lifts of the heel were nailed together by patient shoemakers content to follow time-worn traditions. Then out of the mysterious realms of imagination some man dared to dream of another way. Slowly his vision took on reality. I am told that for many years the evolution of this ponderous machine, as it is to-day, was part of the routine of Inventors' Row. It takes the layers of the heel and compresses them with such mighty force that the fibers interlock and the heel becomes practically solid leather.

It is not many years since long rows of girls in shoe factories could be seen lacing the uppers temporarily with twine to keep the pairs together and allow the opening in the shoe upper to spread only to the same extent as when laced on the foot. Then out of that enchanted region of inventors emanated a curious device that now does the lacing in a twinkling, and ties the knot. Those picturesque rows of girls have passed along —let us trust to other knots that can never be tied by machines.

It was once said that the cutting of uppers would always be done by hand, because leather was too treacherous and uneven a commodity for any machine to handle. Five years inventors worked; then was developed a machine that stamped out the upper with a single motion, doubling the ouput and doing a better job.

All this means big Service. The total saving to shoe manufacturers through the use of one type of machine alone has been more than $4,000,000 annually.

By lowering machinery costs, the Inventive

Department has tremendously decreased the labor cost of shoes. If all people to-day were shod with hand-made shoes the labor charge would be prohibitive. The machinery cost of making shoes is the only item that has not advanced for sixteen years; if anything it is less than it was sixteen years ago.

Suppose you buy a pair of shoes for ten dollars —how much of it goes to the manufacturer of shoe machinery? Somewhere around *five cents!* And five cents is less than the price of the carton in which the shoes are sold, and less than the cost of the laces. Other factors must be responsible for the high price of shoes—causes quite beyond the control of shoe manufacturers. For instance: A world-shortage of hides, leather and finished shoes; unprecedented buying of high grade footwear; competition of the world for raw material; lack of proper shipping facilities; heavily increased cost of distribution; the depreciated dollar.

The average royalty for the use of all machines furnished by this Company is a little over two and two-third cents for each pair of shoes—all types and grades, embracing the machines which pay the highest royalties, about five and a quarter cents a pair.

In brief, the Service of all the millions of dollars expended by this Corporation in the invention and development of shoe machinery is returned directly to the people; they receive without charge all the benefits.

Or take benefits accruing directly to labor. A shoe operative in Brockton, for instance, is earning much more on a new machine than he earned on an old one. You can go through the rank and file of shoe workers and find that the United Shoe Machinery Company has rendered a similar Service to untold thousands.

FOLLOWING THROUGH WITH SERVICE

It was because the mere development of shoe machinery did not wholly meet Service necessities that the United Shoe Machinery Company has continued the plan of leasing certain classes of its machines, instead of selling outright. This leasing policy was used by the Company's predecessors, and was already popular with shoe manufacturers. In the early days of shoe machinery it often happened that machines broke down, tying up whole shops indefinitely. It was largely to remedy this evil that the United Shoe Machinery Company was formed.

The Company believes its responsibility does not end when machines leave the factory; that a machine out of order—unprofitable to the shoe manufacturer—is a poor Service to the nation. Especially is this true now, when production is a panacea for rising costs.

Business success is the force that makes the world move. Therefore the Company's policy has always been to keep machines going as nearly as possible to capacity in the factories of its customers. If it sold all its machines outright—as indeed it does in a certain class of equipment —its extraordinary repair and replacement Service would be impossible.

Very notable is the expert shoemaking Service the Company supplies without charge. It sends the best shoe men in the world into factories to show where production may be more efficient and quality improved. In addition, the Company gives a Service in the reorganization of old plants or the building of new ones, furnishing entire sets of plans and the specifications for machinery and arrangement. Owing to the rapid growth of the shoe industry, many plants were far from efficient. With the aid of this Company numerous manufacturers have entirely reorganized their plants, and in many instances rebuilt.

Revenues are derived chiefly from royalties. These, however, are not fixed sums, but based on the output of machines. If a machine runs only six months a year, the Company suffers along with the shoe factory. For every pair of shoes that passes through a machine, a prescribed royalty accrues to the Shoe Machinery Company. There could be no stronger incentive for this machinery Service than to give every possible aid to the shoe manufacturer.

A PARTNERSHIP WITH CUSTOMERS

Hundreds of shoe manufacturers have declared their success due to help this Company has given.

The Company takes on its shoulders the heavy financial risk that commonly lies in machinery. Banks will not base their loans on machinery assets, well knowing that a machine regarded wonderful to-day may be obsolete to-morrow. The Shoe Machinery Company takes this chance, and when a machine does fall into the discard it is replaced with a modern one—without additional charge. The Company assures its customers that they will continue to get the best possible machinery; nor need they worry over the selection of machines.

The United Company is virtually a partner of shoe manufacturers. Through the operation of its leasing system it capitalizes the machinery end of the business, leaving a large part of the shoe man's capital liquid for operating purposes.

I talked with a small shoe manufacturer who told me he started in business fourteen months ago with a capital of $12,000. This, he said, would have been quite impossible except for the leasing system of the United Shoe Machinery Company. In those fourteen months his factory has grown astonishingly.

The Company's policy places all shoe manufacturers—big and little—on a level. The small man gets the same terms and pays the same royalties for each pair of shoes as the big one; he buys his replacements and supplies at the same prices.

The United Shoe Machinery Company leases many of its machines to manufacturers. Some of them it leases for use together, as a series or group. The very Service made possible by the leasing system requires that certain machines be grouped and used together—machines designed for that purpose. Shoe manufacturers themselves endorse this policy, through which the best possible Service is assured them.

A number of years ago the operation of this system was questioned as a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, but after voluminous testimony the case was passed on by the United States Supreme Court, which in a decision said: "On the face of it the combination is simply an effort after greater efficiency." Thus, with its activities approved by the highest authority in the land, the Company continues to expand its operations and Service.

Much interesting evidence was introduced during this hearing. It was shown, for instance, that out of a total of 1,110 operating shoe factories in the United States, 636 produced less than 500 pairs a day per factory. This meant that the freedom of business enterprise was furthered by the United Shoe Machinery Company. It was shown, too, that the leasing system enabled the little man to have a credit with commodity dealers that was unknown in other lines of manufacture. The evidence demonstrated that competition in the shoe-manufacturing industry was more free than in any other big line.

Service to employees at the Beverly factory is just as much a part of the United Shoe Machinery Company's creed as Service to its customers and the public; but such Service is not substituted for any part of wages.

In the first place, the forty-four-hour week is in vogue all through the works. The night force puts in eleven hours four nights a week, and then takes a vacation.

It is not the province of this article to describe in detail the hygenic features of the Beverly plant and the steps taken by the corporation, working in helpful harmony with those in its employ, to insure health-giving and agreeable surroundings. Before the buildings were begun, a year was spent by a committee of officials in investigating modern factories in many parts of the country. The plant was then constructed to embody the best features of all. Fresh air and sunlight were the first considerations, and the walls are at least seventy-five per cent. glass—sometimes as much as ninety. Purified air is forced through continually, while pneumatic devices take out dust and injurious particles from machines. Rest and reading rooms are provided, together with a dining room which is operated practically at cost.

Near by is a large clubhouse, open to all workers—men and women alike—for an annual fee of one dollar, and absolutely in the control of the employees themselves—who have organized an athletic association to manage the clubhouse and all kinds of sports. This association is officered entirely by employees.

Here is a reading room with fireplace and current magazines, a beautiful dance hall and perfectly appointed theatre, bowling alleys, billiard and pool tables, and baths. There is a special department for the use of women, though they share in the rest of the club as well. Adjacent are great gardens for employees, on land furnished by the Company.

The adjoining grounds embrace 300 acres, on which are athletic fields and shooting ranges. The golf links are available to factory employees for an annual fee of fifteen dollars; to outsiders, twenty dollars. There is also a yacht club and clubhouse.

When the noon whistle blows at the plant a brass band, comprising uniformed factory workers who have been released a few minutes earlier, begins a concert in the bandstand outside the main entrance. It plays all through the dinner intermission—just a touch of corporation sentiment; and music makes better workers.

Corporations are not necessarily inconsiderate. Here at Beverly the women workers come on duty five minutes later than the men and leave that much earlier. This courteous device eliminates a problem which has perplexed many large industries where both sexes are employed.

Only the very highlights of this United Shoe Machinery Service story have been touched, but deductions are certainly plain enough. Bolshevism says Capital is organized robbery. How greatly are thinking men deceived!



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Body Clothing
TRADE MARK REGISTERED
Means Better Underwear

AMERICAN HOSIERY COMPANY
NEW BRITAIN (Established 1868) CONNECTICUT
Makers of knitted underwear for men, women and children


I've Made the
Change and *Know!*
When headaches,
irritability,
sleeplessness
and other minor ills
disappear after
a change from
coffee to Postum
—*then one knows*
"There's a Reason" for
POSTUM



Reproduced from actual photographs taken at Edison Recording Studios, New York

The blindfolded jury hears Hempel sing "Io non sono piu l'Annetta" while she stands beside the New Edison.

No dif

THE BLINDFOLD TEST is the most severe of all musical tests; shutting off a person's sight greatly increases his acuteness of hearing. Yet even the blindfold test has been successfully met by the New Edison.

Frieda Hempel, prima donna soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York, appeared before five of Thomas A. Edison's musical experts to perform the test. She stood beside the New Edison. The blindfolds were adjusted over the eyes of the five men. As shown in the first photograph, Hempel then started to sing. The selection was "Io non sono piu l'Annetta" from the opera "Crispino e la Comare." Suddenly Hempel stopped singing, but the song continued. The New Edison had taken up the song and was singing alone. The five experts, even though their hearing faculties were at highest concentration, were completely unaware that Hempel had ceased and that they were listening only to the New Edison's RE-CREATION of her voice.

Two million people have heard similar tone-tests, publicly given by forty different artists. Five hundred representative newspapers have publicly recorded the fact that no one has been able to distinguish the artist's living art from its RE-CREATION by the New Edison. The proof of this is founded upon scientific fact; it is piled mountain-high. The New Edison brings you all the living artist can bring, excepting his physical presence.

The NEW

"The Phonograph



ference!

Thirty seconds later! Hempel has ceased. The blindfolded jury is not aware that the New Edison is singing "Io non sono piu l'Annetta" alone.

FRIEDA HEMPEL is called "Hempel of the Voice Supreme." You might think this is because of her technique—so flawless, so superb! Or because of her notes, pure as the chiming of silver bells.

But Hempel is infinitely more than a vocalist. Hear her sing some song she loves, and suddenly you understand what it is that makes her great among the greatest in opera and concert. For you fall under the spell of a mysterious, lifting power—a power which transmutes every note into gold and every bar into angel-music. It is Hempel's sublime artist-soul. Soul is that electric something, that transcendent something, that eternal something, which makes music the mind's solace and inspiration. The soul of music is what Edison has caught and perpetuated in his RE-CREATIONS. That is why he considers the New Edison the greatest of his inventions. That is why the heart of the music-lover responds to a RE-CREATION by the New Edison, even as it responds to the art of the living artist.

Go hear the New Edison. Hear it with your eyes closed, for that is the best way to listen to music. You will feel that the artist himself is standing before you—alive! Write to Thomas A. Edison, Inc., Orange, N. J., for the most interesting phonograph story of the year, "Edison and Music."

EDISON

with a Soul"



Make Your Little Girl Happy With

AN Add-a-pearl NECKLACE

TRADE MARK REG U.S. PAT. OFF.

The Family and Friends Will Keep It Growing

Ask Your Jeweler

To All Men

Whose Teeth Do Not Stay White

All Statements Approved by High Dental Authorities

The Reason is a Film

Millions of men find that teeth brushed daily still discolor and decay. Tartar forms on them—tobacco stains appear. And with thousands pyorrhea gets a start.

That is evidence that teeth are not kept clean. Your methods are inadequate. You leave a film—that slimy film. It clings to teeth, enters crevices and stays. The tooth brush does not remove it all. The ordinary tooth paste does not dissolve it. So, night and day, it may do a ceaseless damage.

It Wrecks the Teeth

The film is what discolors—not the teeth. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. Thus most tooth troubles are now traced to film.

Dental science, after years of searching, has found a film combatant. Dental authorities have proved its efficiency. Now it is embodied in a dentifrice, called Pepsodent, so everyone may use it every day. We urge you to ask for a free 10-Day Tube and see what it means to you.

A Pepsin Paste

Pepsodent is based on pepsin, the digestant of albumin. The film is albuminous matter. The object of Pepsodent is to dissolve it, then to constantly combat it.

Pepsin long seemed impossible. It must be activated, and the usual agent is an acid harmful to the teeth. But science has found a harmless activating method. Countless tests have proved this. And that method has made active pepsin possible.

You can see its effects. And, when you know the reason, can judge them for yourself.

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube.



Look in 10 Days

Let your own teeth decide the right method of cleaning.

Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the slimy film. See how the teeth whiten as the fixed film disappears.

The question is all-important. White, clean, safe teeth are impossible with film. Cut out this coupon—learn the way to end it.

271

Pepsodent PAT. OFF. REG. U. S.

The New-Day Dentifrice

After five years of tests under able authorities, it is now advised by leading dentists and sold by druggists everywhere.

Ten-Day Tube Free

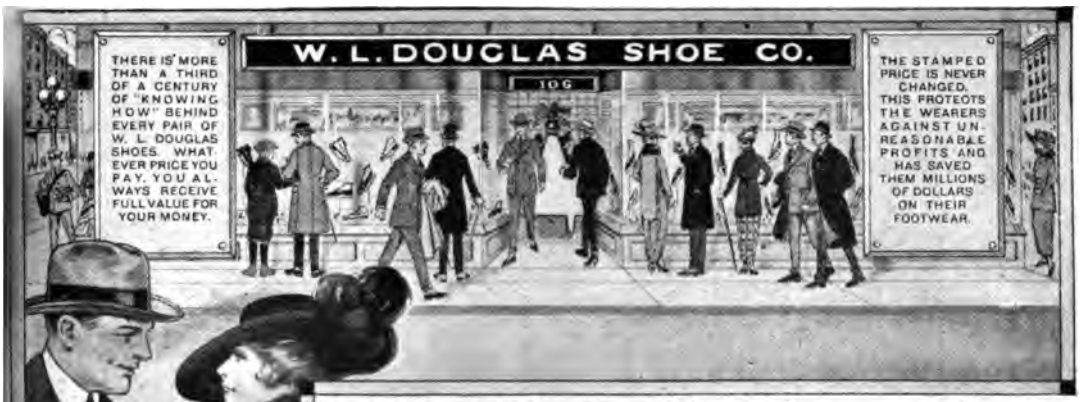
THE PEPSODENT COMPANY,
Dept. 850, 1104 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Mail 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent to

Name .....

Address .....


FOR
CHRISTMAS
There is no
substitute for
True Irish
Linen
The IRISH LINEN SOCIETY
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The stamped price is W. L. Douglas personal guarantee that the shoes are always worth the price paid for them. The prices are the same everywhere—they cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

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W. L. Douglas shoes are made by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy.

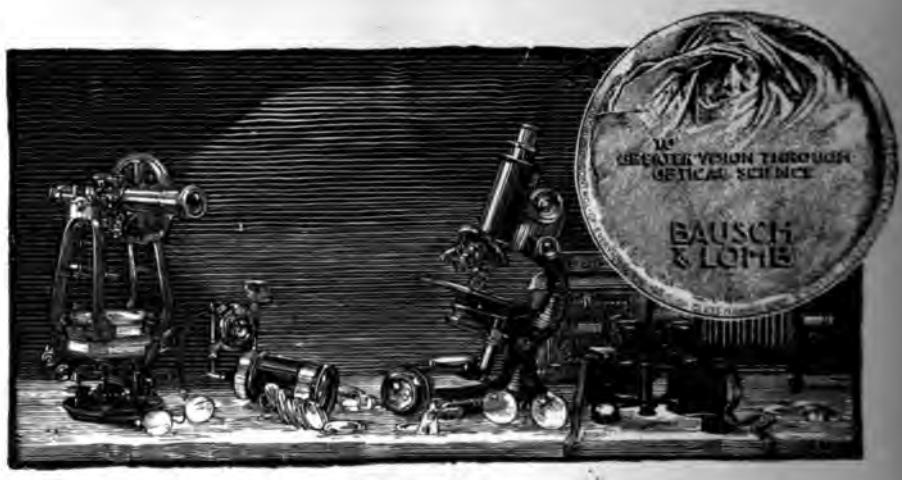
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President W. L. DOUGLAS SHOE CO.
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A piece of glass . . . just a bit of sand and of salt . . . exactly combined, carefully melted, skilfully formed and polished — a LENS!

—and windows open upon other worlds, too tiny or too far away for naked eyes to see. Marvelous instruments come to the aid of industry, or play their vital part in war, on land or sea or in the air; old eyes grow young, and weak eyes strong—all through these wonderful bits of glass called lenses, perfected by science that men may see better and farther.

¶ The microscope, revealing all around us the swarming life of organisms too small to measure—

¶ The telescope lens, through which dim, distant stars draw near, and man explores the age-old mysteries of celestial cycles—

¶ The unerring camera lens, through which our modern world writes history in pictures—

¶ The projection lens, which translates still or moving pictures from slide or film to screen—

¶ Great searchlight mirrors, range-finders, gun-sights, binoculars, periscopes—the eyes of our fleet and our army.

¶ Ophthalmic (eyeglass) lenses, which correct eyesight, and add to life's richness and comfort—

¶ Precise and delicate instruments, for exact scientific research in many fields.

These suggest, but fall far short of measuring the countless services rendered daily to humanity by the world's largest manufacturers of lenses and optical instruments.

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MARMON 34

If any motor car can be said to be endowed—not with a few, but with all wanted qualities—that car is the light-weight Marmon. Easy to handle, comfortable to ride in, economical to operate, beautiful to look at.

NORDYKE & MARMON COMPANY
Established 1851
Indianapolis



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The Envy of Many Eyes —a Hot Spot Chalmers

YOU command attention in a Hot Spot Chalmers whether you want it or not. The right kind of attention, not notoriety, but the silent praise of the man at the curb.

This tacit appreciation for a Hot Spot Chalmers has not been won in a day, but is the accomplishment of a superior laboratory, superior engineering mentality, the use of a huge sum of money—and time.

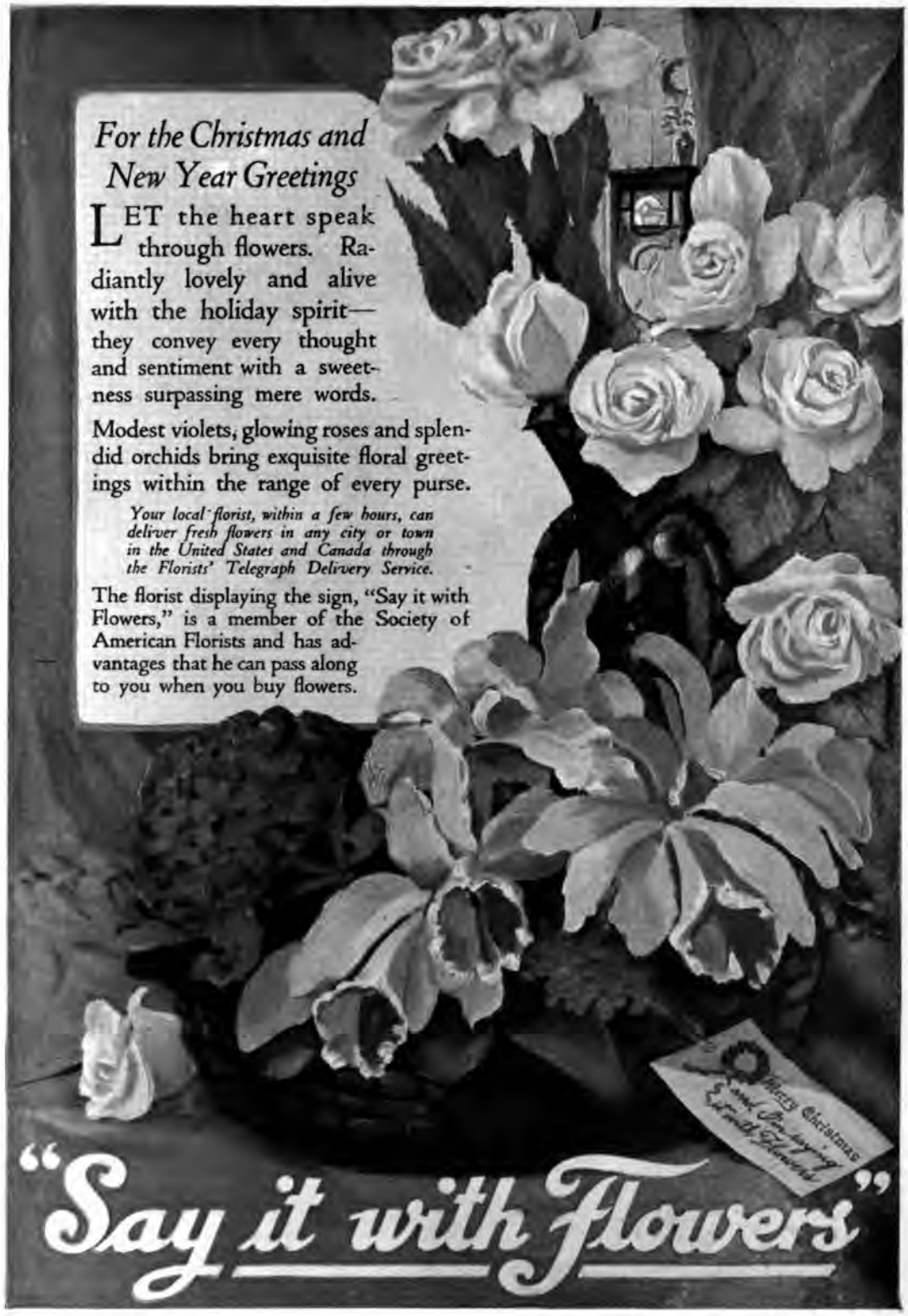
Today one need not look far in a Hot Spot Chalmers to find the underlying cause. It's Hot Spot and Ram's-horn.

How two little devices could develop a motor car to such a high peak of efficiency is well worth knowing. We shall be delighted to give you the "inside;" and after you've had one ride you too will say Chalmers is one of the few great cars of the world.

CHALMERS MOTOR CAR COMPANY DETROIT, MICH.

CHALMERS MOTOR CO. OF CANADA, LTD., WINDSOR, ONTARIO




For the Christmas and New Year Greetings
LET the heart speak through flowers. Radiantly lovely and alive with the holiday spirit—they convey every thought and sentiment with a sweetness surpassing mere words.
Modest violets, glowing roses and splendid orchids bring exquisite floral greetings within the range of every purse.
Your local florist, within a few hours, can deliver fresh flowers in any city or town in the United States and Canada through the Florists' Telegraph Delivery Service.
The florist displaying the sign, "Say it with Flowers," is a member of the Society of American Florists and has advantages that he can pass along to you when you buy flowers.
Merry Christmas
"Say it with Flowers"



Lean Back and Listen

THIS very evening, in the quiet of your own home, you may summon for your delight such artists as Beryl Rubinstein, Herma Menth, Harold Bauer, Yolande Mero, Doris Madden, Gabrilowitch and Godowsky.

Lean back and listen. They will play your favorite compositions. Science and art have struck hands to make your dreams come true. They have created

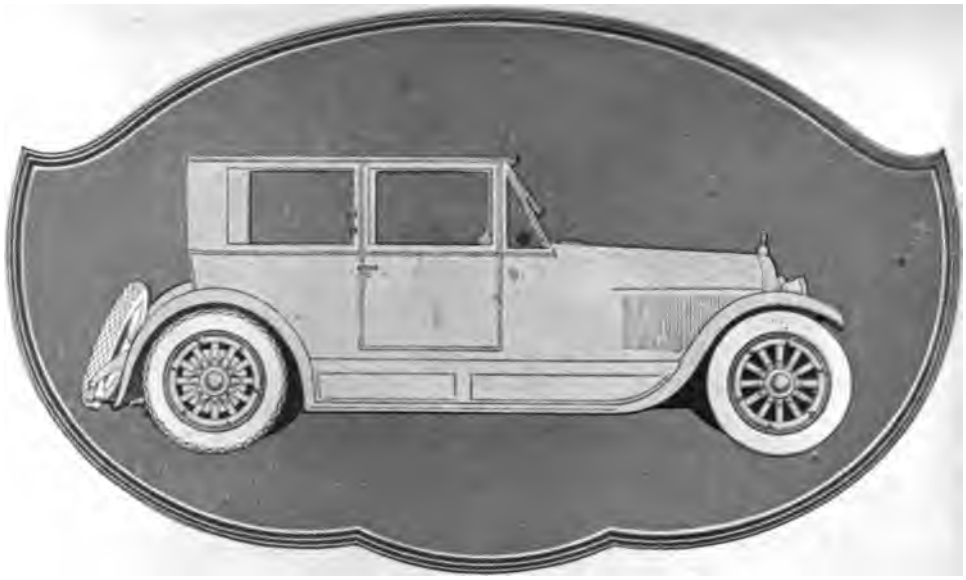
THE ARTRIO ANGELUS REPRODUCING PIANO

In itself a superb example of craftsmanship, the electrically operated Artrio brings to every home the true pleasure of hearing music as the artist himself first played it.

The Artrio is also a beautifully constructed and beautifully toned grand piano that you may play yourself. There are no projections to interfere with playing found in other reproducing grands.

We are makers of the Angelus Piano, The Angelus Player Action, The Artrio Angelus (electrically operated) and Angelus Artistyle Rolls. Send for our interesting catalog number 34.

THE WILCOX & WHITE CO.
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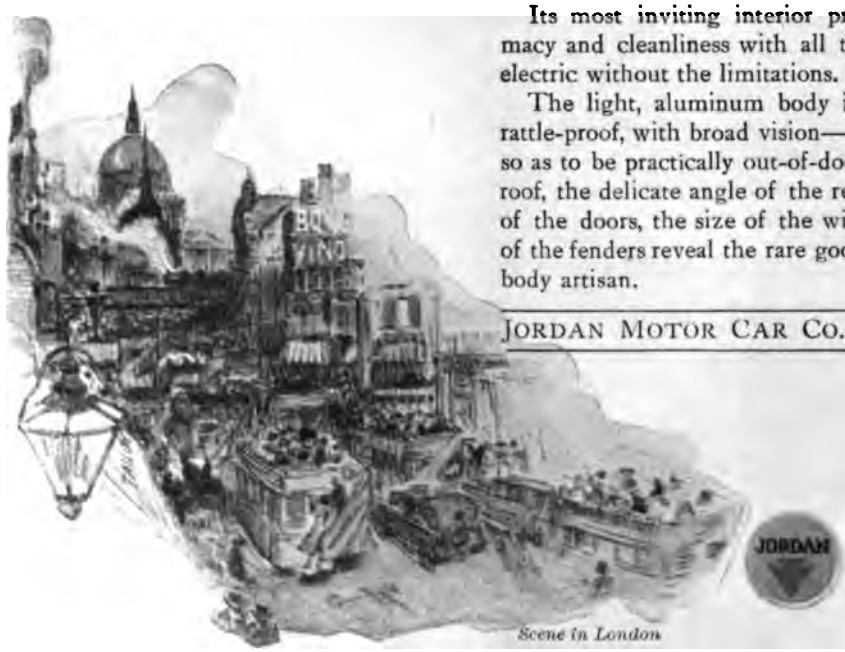
The JORDAN *Silhouette Brougham*

THE new Silhouette Brougham is a five-passenger enclosed car with more room but more snug than any coupé—most convenient for a busy man or a woman who delights in personally driving a compact car.

Its most inviting interior provides comfort, intimacy and cleanliness with all the advantages of the electric without the limitations.

The light, aluminum body is virtually dust- and rattle-proof, with broad vision—yet it may be opened so as to be practically out-of-doors. The line of the roof, the delicate angle of the rear quarter, the shape of the doors, the size of the windows and the curve of the fenders reveal the rare good taste of the custom body artisan.

JORDAN MOTOR CAR CO., INC., *CLEVELAND*



Scene in London



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WHY is it *always* so even in texture, so full of the flavor of luscious, ripe peaches—so delicious?

Because the Beech-Nut method requires great pains, as only the most careful housewife can use.

Ordinary methods of buying the fruit would vary the quality of the jam. Only the best of those luscious, big freestone peaches—the Albertas and Crawfords—are used for Beech-Nut Jam.

If you could see how carefully the peaches are prepared—*peeled and stoned by hand*—you would see that the most scrupulous home kitchen is not more perfectly clean than the Beech-Nut plant at Canajoharie.

You ought to see the fruit cooked—in silver lined kettles—cooked by *thermometer tests* which absolutely insure uniform results—every glass just alike.

There's no guess-work in making Beech-Nut jams and jellies. Even the sterilized glass jars are filled by hand, for machine-filling might tear the delicate fibres of the peach.

It is this painstaking care that makes *all* Beech-Nut products so extremely good. Try this Peach Jam today—order a jar from your grocer now.

BEECH-NUT PACKING CO., "*Foods of Finest Flavor,*" CANAJOHARIE, N.Y.

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And aside from recognized performance advantages, the downright value represented in the Peerless, especially in the Sedan, Sedan-Limousine, and Coupe, is compelling.

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This combination of exceptional performance, value and lightness is responsible for this unusual and significant fact—virtually *half* of our total production is in Closed Cars.

Touring Car or Roadster $2900 ***Coupe $3500***
Sedan $3700 ***Sedan-Limousine $3900***

F. O. B. CLEVELAND; SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE

THE PEERLESS MOTOR CAR CO. - CLEVELAND, OHIO

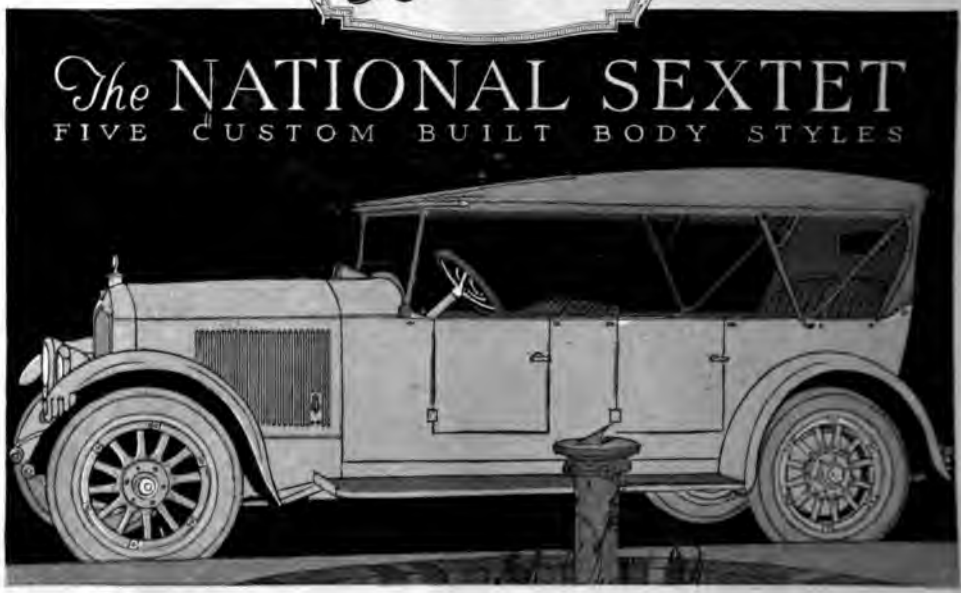
"Touring" Range — "Sporting" Range

TWO-POWER-RANGE EIGHT

National

The NATIONAL SEXTET

FIVE CUSTOM BUILT BODY STYLES



Their Availability Is Limited

Not everyone who desires to purchase a National Sextet will be able to do so this season.

Because of our lifelong policy of limited production we have often been criticized as ultra-conservative.

We take pride in that criticism, for it has always been our aim to build only as many National cars as we could build *well*. And since our standards have been rather high, our output has been moderate.

But, for this very reason, motorists of experience have come to respect highly the name National.

They buy our automobiles with a conscious feeling of safety such as they might experience when investing in a government bond or other gilt-edged security.

Our latest car, the National Sextet, is finding *its* owners largely among such clientele.

It is an unusually good car, quite the best we have ever built, and we wish we might consistently build them in greater number.

Since we can not, it must be a case of first come, first served.

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Twentieth Successful Year



just brush and blade—

—your favorite razor and a Warner self-lathering shaving brush make the outfit complete.

—cut the kit—and reduce the time and inconvenience of shaving.

—perhaps it ought to be called the Warner *saving* brush.

—the soap you like best is automatically fed from the handle into the fine *Rubberset* brush—recharges cost little.

—and you'll find it the most *sanitary* of brushes.

—a man's snappy Christmas gift—sent on receipt of price—five dollars—little more than the cost of a good old-style brush—from your dealer's or Warner-Patterson-Perry Company, 1024 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

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SHAVING BRUSH



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Good ladies, little folks, an' girls, let's you an' me enjoy
The fun of playin' Sandy Claus to some dear grown-up boy.
Let's send a brimmin'pound of love—Age-mellowed,friendly,ripe—
To every grown-up boy who likes his easy chair and pipe.

Like his, old Velvet's heart grows young with each succeedin' year,
That fills it fuller an' more full of friendliness an' cheer.
Let this good pound of Velvet prove that loved ones don't forget
The husbands that are still their beaus—and sons they still can pet.

Velvet Joe.



What gift so typifies the merry spirit of the old time Christmastide as a pound of Velvet—the choicest pipe tobacco that hospitable old Kentucky ever grew? What gift is so acceptable to the smoker as a whole pound of this hearty old tobacco—fragrant as only ***real*** tobacco can be—smooth, mellow and mild from long aging in the wood?

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Three Important Facts About

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Apollo

Galvanized Roofing and Siding Products as formed from APOLLO-KEYSTONE Copper Steel Galvanized Sheets give unequaled service. Keystone quality is also supplied in Black Sheets, Roofing Tin Plates, etc. Demand this material for Roofing, Siding, Cornices, Spouting, Gutters, Cisterns, Culverts, Tanks, Flumes, and all exposed sheet metal work. This Company manufactures Sheet and Tin Mill Products of every description and for every known purpose.

The Name is true, not fanciful, and states exactly the nature of the product—high grade *steel* alloyed with *copper*.

The Advantages are longer life and increased rust-resistance for all exposed sheet metal work.

The Cost is consistent—it represents no excessive premiums, but a very moderate and proper charge for the manufacture of higher quality products—KEYSTONE Copper Steel Black and Galvanized Sheets, Corrugated Sheets, Formed Roofing Products and Roofing Tin Plates.

American Sheet and Tin Plate Company

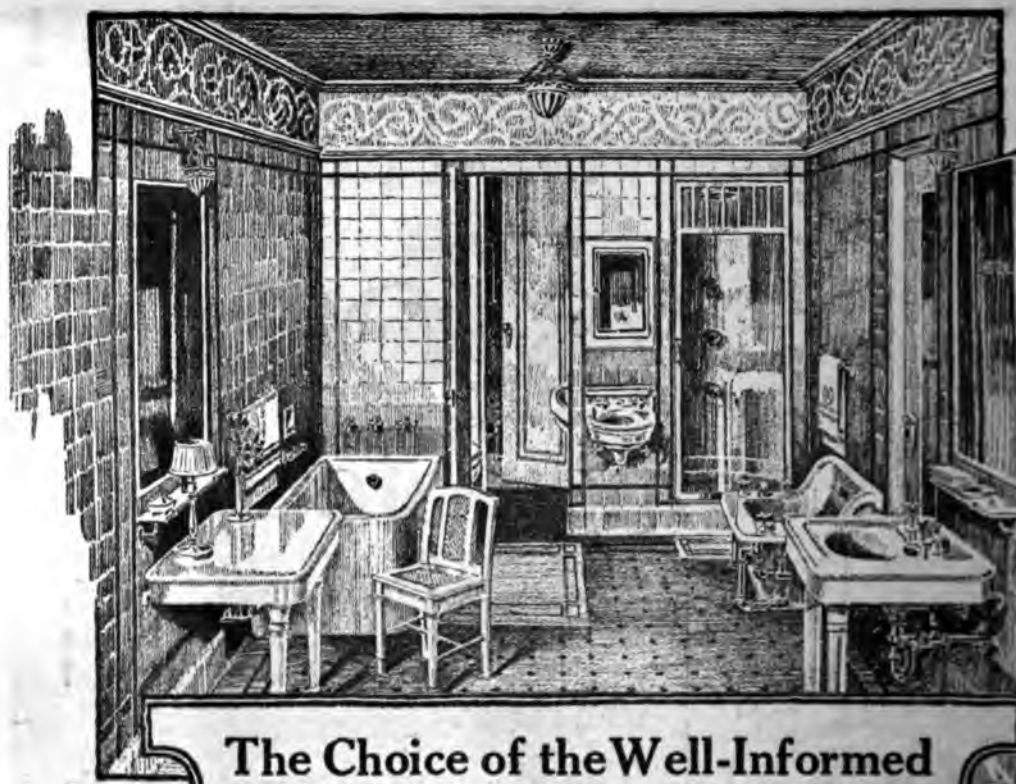
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The Choice of the Well-Informed

Nothing attests more forcefully the surpassing quality of Crane equipment for the bathroom than the consistency with which it is specified by distinguished architects.

Where the demand is for a supreme combination of utility, durability and lasting attractiveness, designers of out-of-the-ordinary homes unhesitatingly repose their confidence in products which bear the name of

CRANE

Every Crane product shows in design and execution a creative purpose, a definite determination to depart from the ordinary. It is this policy, crystallized through the efforts of an army of artisans, which has endowed the Crane name with its prestige among people who care enough for the best to demand it.

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Brooklyn	Savannah	Wichita	Grand Rapids	Watertown	Ogden
Philadelphia	Atlanta	St. Louis	Davenport	Aberdeen	Sacramento
Newark	Knoxville	Kansas City	Des Moines	Great Falls	Oakland
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CRANE CO.

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VALVES-PIPE FITTINGS-SANITARY FIXTURES

CRANE EXHIBIT ROOMS

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TO WHICH THE PUBLIC IS CORDIALLY INVITED

BRANCHES: FIFTY-FOUR LEADING CITIES • WORKS: CHICAGO, BRIDGEPORT

DEPENDABILITY

Atlas Cement

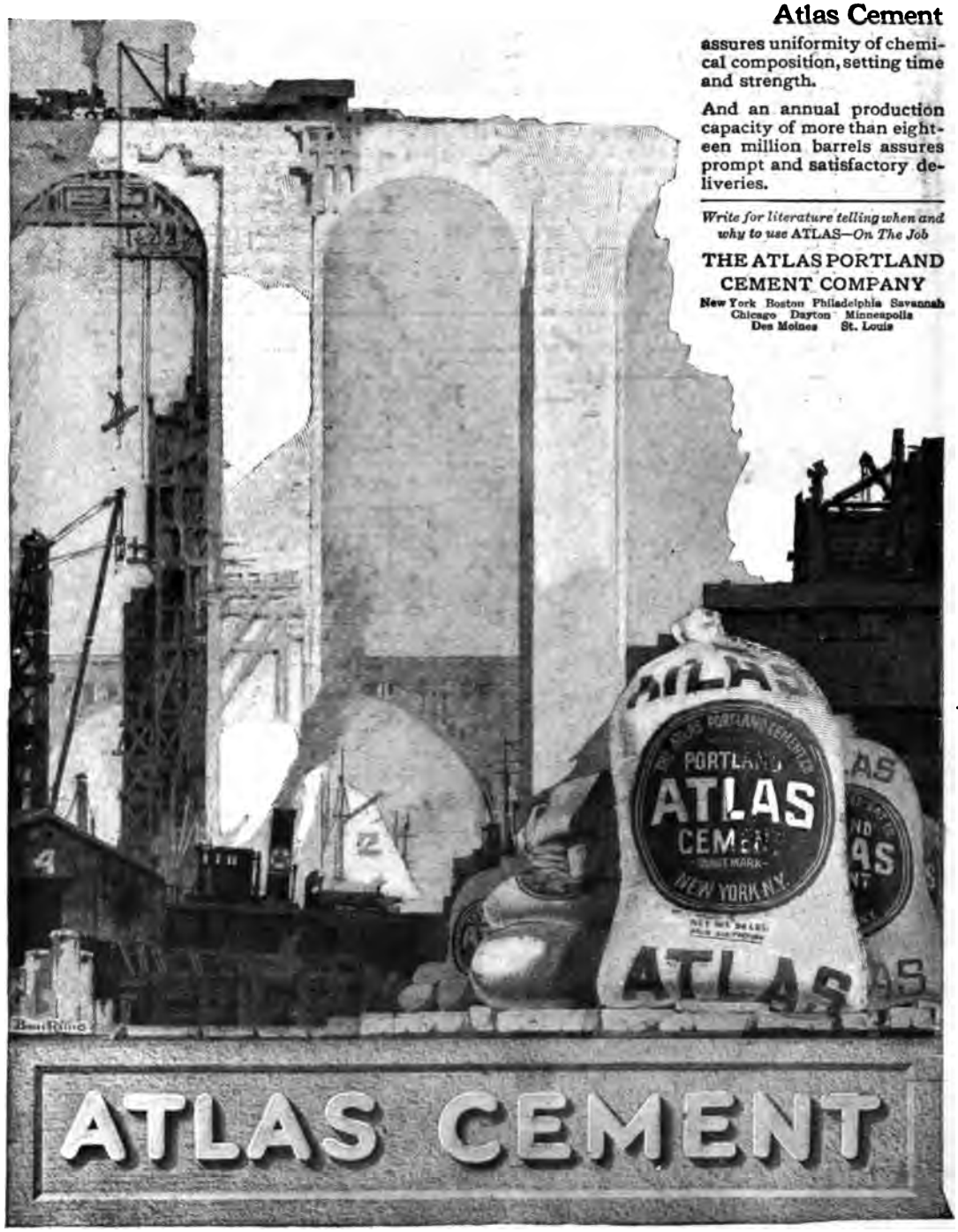
assures uniformity of chemical composition, setting time and strength.

And an annual production capacity of more than eighteen million barrels assures prompt and satisfactory deliveries.

Write for literature telling when and why to use ATLAS—*On The Job*

THE ATLAS PORTLAND CEMENT COMPANY

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Chicago Dayton Minneapolis
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Early Power Construction Job for S. D. Warren Company Brought Contract for Latest Water Power Plant

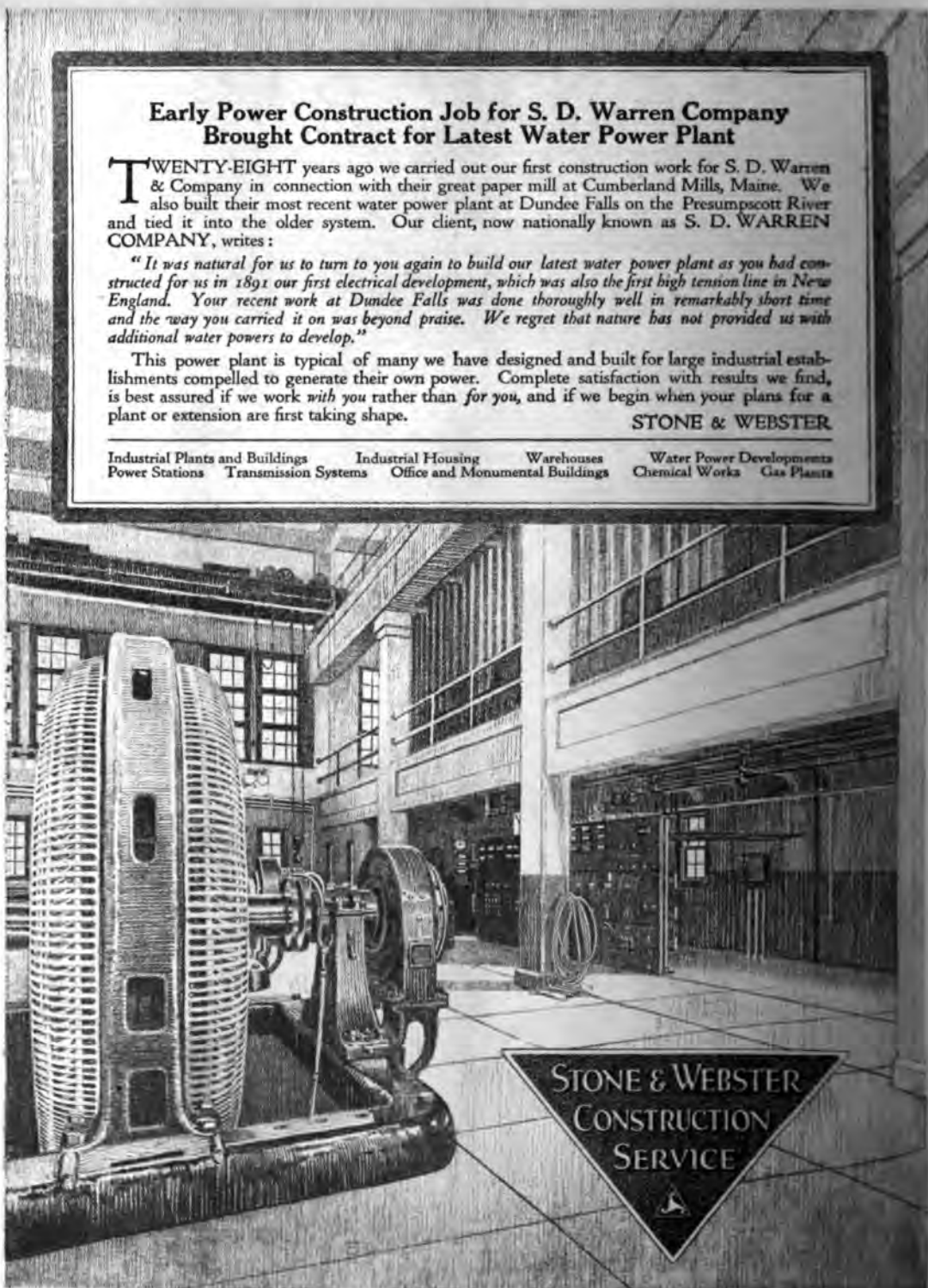
TWENTY-EIGHT years ago we carried out our first construction work for S. D. Warren & Company in connection with their great paper mill at Cumberland Mills, Maine. We also built their most recent water power plant at Dundee Falls on the Presumpscott River and tied it into the older system. Our client, now nationally known as S. D. WARREN COMPANY, writes:

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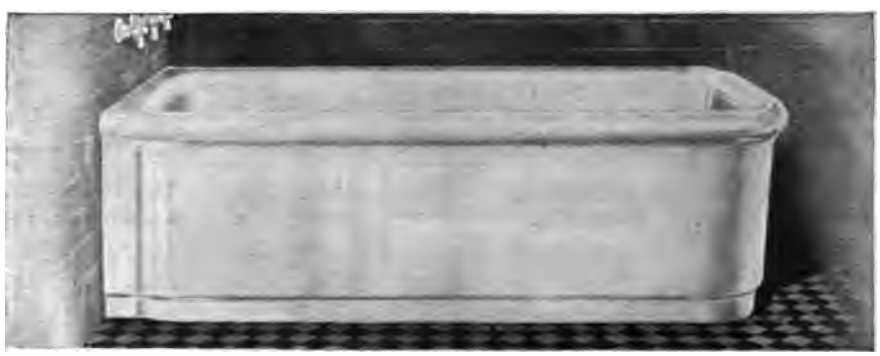
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Florida	11	Montana	9	Utah	9
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Indiana	21	New York	336	West Virginia	22
Iowa	13	North Carolina	18	Wisconsin	17
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No. XI



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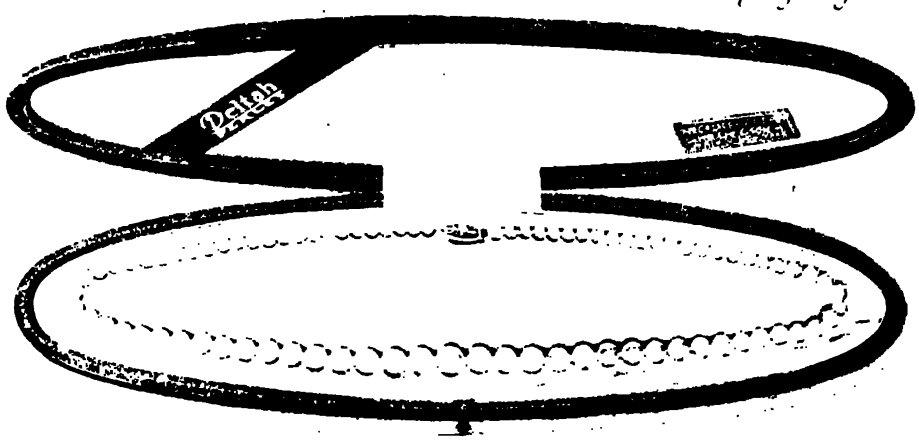
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Architects see Sweet's Architectural Edition, Pages 1294 to 1297

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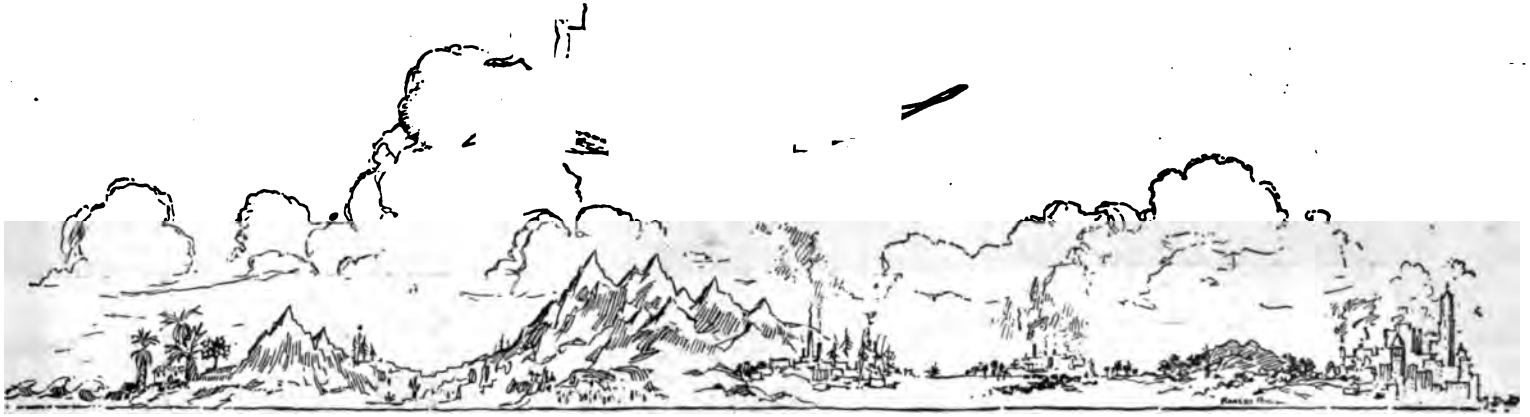
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On the Trail of Broken Kings

by William G. Shepherd

"A lot of royalty have been milling around little Switzerland this past half year, like bears in a cage," says Shepherd, *Everybody's* war correspondent, in beginning a most amusingly intimate account of kings he followed, watched and talked with. This story is a feature of the December *Everybody's*. The royal signatures he unearthed from the "Golden Book" in an obscure Swiss inn, and they have never before been published.

The Mad Virgin

by Vincente Blasco Ibáñez

This vivid little sketch of two sisters and their part in the war is one of the best short stories that has come to America from the pen of the famous author of "Mare Nostrum" and "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse."

Among other writers of fiction who make the December *Everybody's* a notable issue are:—

Ruth Comfort Mitchell — **Irving Bacheller**
Joseph Hergesheimer — **T. S. Stribling**
George F. Worts — **Frederick Irving Anderson**

DO NOT MISS THE DECEMBER

Everybody's Magazine

FOR SALE ON ALL NEWS STANDS

A KENNEY SHOWER FOR CHRISTMAS

Sure to please any man, young or old — *Just the thing for any family on your list*

COMPLETE IN HOLLY BOX—$7.50 and $15

Over quarter of a million people enjoy the use of the Kenney Shower. It's wonderfully popular.

It gives a running water bath—every drop clean. The converging streams eliminate splash and do away with the unsanitary curtain. Strictly a body shower, not an overhead—does not wet the hair, avoids shock. The quick, sanitary, exhilarating way for men, women and children to bathe.

The Kenney Shower fits any tub. It's made of finest spun brass, nickle plated. Strong, handsome and durable. *A really worth-while gift.*

Your plumber or house furnishing store will be glad to show you one. If your dealer cannot supply you —write us direct and we will see that you are supplied. Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded.

Interesting book "Fun and Health in Running Water," free upon request.

THE CURTAINLESS SHOWER CO.

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The secret of some women's personality and charm is

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TALC 75¢
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FACE POWDER $1.50 PERFUME $1.50 $2.50 $5.00

SEND 25¢ TO VIVAUDOU, TIMES BUILDING, N. Y. FOR GENEROUS SAMPLE OF LA BOHÈME PERFUME

Comfort for Christmas



Remember
those near and dear to you with a "Comfort Rail, a device for warming the feet at a radiator. They'll remember you every time they use it, thru the long winters, for years to come.

Easily clamped onto any radiator in a jiffy—no tools required. No danger of burning the shoes—no marring of the radiator—solid comfort. Only $3.75 postpaid any where in the United States. Neatly packed.

Order Now Just send your Christmas card with your order—we'll enclose it with the "Comfort Rail" and ship in time for Christmas. Order one or more for your own home. Guaranteed satisfactory or money refunded. Circulars sent on request.

Thexton Manufacturing Company
319 3rd Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minn.





REVIEW OF REVIEWS



MOTOR DEPARTMENT

DO YOU STOP, LOOK AND LISTEN?

In the November issue of "Motor Life" Mr. C. H. Claudy gives some highly interesting statistics on automobile accidents.

"What do *you* do when a railroad crosses the highway on which you are motoring?

Don't answer in terms of what you *ought* to do —confess what you really *do* do. Do you "stop, look, and listen" or give a hasty ear-and-eye glance up and down and say, "Oh, I'll chance it," and scoot for the other side? Do you come to a full stop so your "ear glance" is effective, or do you merely slow up, maybe with cut-out working overtime, and fail to give your ears a chance? And if there is a train coming, do you try to beat it across, or do you wait until it has half way passed the crossing and then start up so you can get over the hidden track just in time to be struck by the train coming in the opposite direction, or do you just naturally sit around and wait until the landscape is clear of smoke, the atmosphere devoid of sound and the tracks empty of any appearance of any train past, present or to come and then go across the tracks in second and in safety?

Why in second? Because statistics show that a large proportion of crossing accidents happen because the driver stalls on the track and cannot get going in time to avoid the oncoming train. Ask the head boy why engines always stall, if they stall at all, in the most dangerous and inconvenient places. And don't try to beg the question by saying, "But I am an experienced driver and I *never* stall my engine." Thirty experienced drivers stalled their engines for the last time, on railroad tracks, in the first six months of 1918. There is no driver so skilful and experienced that he can afford to bet his life against a few seconds of time that his engine cannot stall. And the more experienced the driver may be, the better he knows that it's far less likely that his engine will die when starting up in second than if he drives slowly in high. *Quod erat vitae.*

Let us agree most amiably that *all* grade crossings *ought* to be abolished and that *no* corporation has a *right* to send sudden death careering across the country roads at sixty miles an hour. Let us forgather in sweet concord that the flagman *is* inefficient, the gate *is* a death trap, and the warning bell but a siren calling the passerby to come and be killed. But what does it profit a man to blame someone else for existing conditions if he gets killed?

Statistics are usually as interesting as bills for last year's clothes, but let us have a few just to show us that—well just to show. Here they are: of the 233 automobiles damaged or destroyed in the first half of the past year by railroad trains, thirty stalled on the crossings and were struck by the train, 111 attempted to cross almost immediately in front of trains and were struck, fifty-nine ran into trains, one skidded into the train, nineteen ran into gates lowered to protect them from the trains and broke the gates down, three ran into and injured crossing flagmen, four ran into cattle guards or crossing signs and six ran over the end of the track and were not sufficiently clear, being struck while trying to escape the coming train.

Now a little higher mathematics to round off the statistics and demonstrate our right to the chair of accident prevention in any state university which may establish such. A passenger train of six cars is something less than six hundred feet long. It moves, let us suppose, at sixty miles an hour, which is eighty-eight feet per second. Differential calculus and the binomial theorum, assisted by a slide rule and two solutions of the three point problem show that such a train will get past a given point in 6 9/11 seconds. Perhaps the average touring speed of the average motor car is thirty miles an hour, or forty-four feet per second. In 6 9/11 seconds then, the average motor will progress three hundred feet. In other words again, according to spherical geometry, squaring the circle and the calculation which prove that the square of one is 2.7 if you keep at it long enough, if you beat the train across the track you will be three hundred feet ahead of where you would be if you waited for the train to precede you.

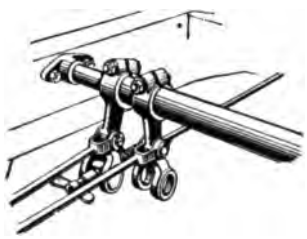
One feels that the present line of argument is somewhat unpopular. The newspaper always takes the dead driver's side and growls mighty editorial growls about "grade crossings," "soulless corporation," "money greed takes toll of lives," etc. The general motoring public regards a grade crossing as simon pure evidence that one president, two vice presidents, seven general managers and at least fifty-one percent of the stockholders in the railroad ought to be in jail. But nevertheless and notwithstanding, the fact remains that there *are* people who get across grade crossings, between trains, with reasonable dispatch and without danger of even having their mud guards bumped. These are the people who are not in such a tearing hurry to get somewhere that three hundred feet and seven seconds, more or less, makes any *material* difference.

When a certain famous Chinese diplomat visited the city of New York, he expressed a desire to go

General Motors Trucks

—on Dairy Routes





GMC Brakes are positive in action and great in strength; they hold the truck under most difficult conditions. Adjustments are made by turning large, simple, self-locking wing nuts on Brake rods, an operation which can be done without tools in a few seconds' time.

Sixteen GMC Trucks, most of them ¾ to 1 ton capacity, are delivering milk daily in Seattle and suburbs, for Kristoferson's Dairy. August Kristoferson, owner, says:

"We have used GMC trucks for the past five years, and have put them through the hardest kind of service. In the meantime we have tried two other makes of trucks, the use of which has proved that GMC's are the best trucks we can get for our business. We might add that our first GMC is still on the job, and never misses a day. We are now standardizing on GMC trucks with a fleet of sixteen operating in the city of Seattle"

GMC Model 16, ¾ to 1 ton, was the model selected as standard in its class by the War Department. GMC Trucks are backed by the General Motors Corporation, the strongest organization in the automotive industry.

GENERAL MOTORS TRUCK COMPANY
PONTIAC, MICHIGAN **(543)**





to the hotel *via* subway rather than motor car. So they took him by subway and explained that by taking an express and then a local, they would arrive two minutes quicker than if they just took a local.

"Ah, yes," appreciated the famous Nipponese gentleman, "And, ah, what are you going to do with the two minutes?"

S'posing you do beat the train across and save these near seven seconds, what are you going to do with them after you've saved them? I dunno. But I can tell you what the train and the undertaker is going to do with you if you *don't* get across in time."

AUTOMOBILE OWNERS SPEND BILLION FOR TIRES

"Twenty-eight million tires are now yearly necessary to equip the passenger automobiles and motor trucks in use in the United States. To this should be added not less than twelve million more tires, for many vehicles accumulate mileage to such an extent that a second set of shoes is necessary, to say nothing of the thousands of inner tubes.

"Forty million tires and their inner tubes ; average cost of $25 gives a total tire bill of $1 000,000—a fairly tidy annual expenditure for travel and transportation. Hence it is high time t a little more attention to the effect of the various surfaces on the motor vehicle instead of consid only the damage by the motor vehicle to the r says M. O. Eldridge, director of roads of the A can Automobile Association. "You can scr pick up a paper without seeing in its some about how and why the fast moving passenge and the loaded motor truck damage the road as you read on you note how the writer propo design a highway to withstand these effects, how speed and weights should be limited, and the cost burden should be distributed.

"Few of those who discuss transportation que give thought to the fact that our seven million cars, which require annually twenty-eight m tires, exclusive of renewals, create a probl namely, how fast will these tires wear out on type of road surface?"—*Motor World.*



New Closed Models

MOON

Modern Motor Cars

Priced within the realm of reason

It is great winter pleasure to step into the snug Moon Sedan—or Coupe—to feel the same warmth you left behind around the old familiar fireplace — and drive where pleasure or duty dictates—in all the comfort of these delightful living rooms on wheels—feeling all the pleasure of extravagant motoring with none of the regrets of reckless spending.

Like all Moon cars—these closed models are priced within the realm of reason.

Built by
MOON MOTOR CAR CO.
B *St. Louis, U. S. A.*

Coach work like a fine, old, Grandfather's clock.

Seats like splendid sofas.

Colonial design throughout.

Powered by Red Seal Moon-Continental Motors.

Exquisitely equipped with every convenience.



PEARS' SOAP



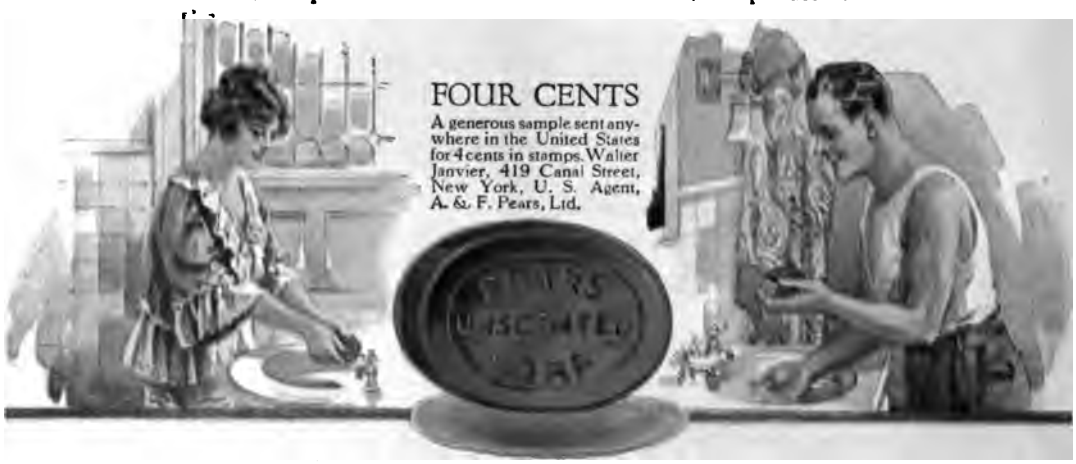
For Men and Women

She uses it and he uses it for the same reason that you will use it, if you try it once. Because it is delightful to use. Because it is matchless for the complexion. Because it is smooth and delicate. Because it cleanses thoroughly and rapidly. Because it gives a generous, free-flowing lather down to the last, smallest piece. Because it lasts the longest and is therefore the cheapest.

"Good morning, have you used Pears' Soap?"

UNSCENTED—17 cents a cake, $1.90 per dozen.

SCENTED—22 cents a cake, $2.50 per dozen.



Camel Cigarettes



Camels certainly do answer your keenest cigarette desires—

for quality, for refreshing flavor and fragrance, for smooth, delightful mellow-mildness, for "body" *and for real and true satisfaction!*

You have only to get acquainted with Camels to realize the absolute superiority of the Camel blend of choice Turkish and choice Domestic tobaccos.

And, how you will prefer the Camel blend to either kind of tobacco smoked straight! *We tell you it is a revelation!*

No matter how liberally you smoke Camels they will not tire your taste! And, it will delight you to discover personally that Camels leave no unpleasant cigaretty after-taste or unpleasant cigaretty odor!

Compare Camels with any cigarette in the world at any price! You'll forget all about coupons, premiums or gifts!

18 cents a package

Camels are sold everywhere in scientifically sealed packages of 20 cigarettes; orten packages (200 cigarettes) in glassine-paper-covered carton. We strongly recommend this carton for the home or office supply or when you travel.

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.
Winston-Salem, N. C.



The illustration above shows the first Federal ever made. Sold in 1910 and delivered personally by Mr. M. L. Pulcher, President of the Federal Motor Truck Company. This truck is still in daily service after nearly ten years of continuous usage.

* * *

Today, Federals are used in every conceivable line of business in all the principal nations and countries throughout the world.

* * *

It is one of the most interesting and gratifying facts in Federal history that 62% of Federal sales have been re-sales to Federal owners so well satisfied with their first purchase that nothing but "Another Federal" will do.

* * *

Founded on the broad principles of building the best motor truck that engineering brains and human skill can produce, Federal has grown up with the industry in a solid, substantial way which has required no re-organization or re-financing to maintain its hold on trade or public favor.

* * *

Federal has made no false moves in offering a model or type of motor truck which did not stand the acid test of hardest usage in owners' hands. From Model A down to the present one, every truck has represented an increasingly successful series of mechanical and manufacturing achievements.

Experience

The world knows no short-cut to great accomplishment—it comes only as the fruit of pains-taking effort—of experience.

The pilot who guides his ship safely past the dangerous shoals has sailed those waters before.

The manufacturers who build a successful motor truck have learned from cold, hard experience—have solved problem after problem—ironed out mechanical and merchandising tangles—and built better each succeeding year because they KNEW from experience.

Experience of this sort cannot be bought in any market of the world. It is priceless. It can never belong to beginners or transients—it is never known by stock schemers or the insincere.

Experience has built the Federal motor truck as it stands today—without a peer in the field of scientific endeavor—a practical, steel-hard freighter carrying its burdens faithfully and CONSTANTLY at low cost.

The Federal more than ever is making good—even in these exacting times—because its builders have known the experience of a decade.

Federal Motor Truck Company
Detroit, Michigan



Another
FEDERAL

The Federal today is the fruit of ten years' study and effort—the experience of a decade of truck manufacture.

FEDERAL

One to Five Ton Capacities

WOMEN of MYSTERY!

ELENA, a girl whose beauty is the talk of society, leaves her lover Andrea as suddenly as she yielded to his mad infatuation. He is plunged into gloom; then he meets Maria, who is as pure and spiritual as Elena was sensual and worldly. In a short time he has won her love. Then unexpectedly Elena returns into his life and arouses all of Andrea's old passion for her.

This struggle of the flesh over the soul is described with marvelous insight by d'Annunzio, in his novel "The Child of Pleasure," which is one of a set of three absorbing volumes that come to you *free and postpaid* when you accept the offer we make below.

The other two books that come to you free when you mail the coupon are "The Flame of Life," dealing with the fascinating La Foscarino, who wove her spell around a young and famous writer and "The Triumph of Death," another enthralling study, in a different setting, of the power woman exercises over man.

No writer has written about the great human emotions with more strength and frankness than this great writer. He loves to delve into the mysteries of woman's nature, and his revelations are absorbing. Here is your chance to join the rapidly-growing circle of d'Annunzio readers, and to secure at the same time the most vivid romances in literature.

d'ANNUNZIO'S THREE BEST BOOKS FREE!

Send No Money

The books are handsomely bound, contain about 1200 pages, and the paper and printing are of good quality. Never in the history of American Publishing have they been offered in this way.

All we ask you to do to secure these books is to fill in and mail the attached coupon. McClure's and Metropolitan will then come to you each for fourteen months. You send us $1.00 a month for six months. Remember, you pay in easy monthly installments and the books come to you even before you make your first payment. The magazines cost you no more than the newsstand price, and the books come *free*.

(Canadian and foreign postage extra. Magazines may be sent to different addresses if desired. Present subscribers may have their subscriptions extended.)

Tear Off | Mail Now!

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE, 5th Ave. and 13th St., N. Y.

Gentlemen:—

Send me, postpaid, the 3-volume set of Gabriele d'Annunzio, including "The Flame of Life," "The Triumph of Death" and "The Child of Pleasure."

At the same time enter my subscription to McClure's and Metropolitan each for 14 months. I agree to send you $1.00 a month until I have paid $6.00 in all for the magazines. If I prefer to pay cash the total will be $5.75. If I am not satisfied you agree to cancel this order without obligation to me.

Name .....

Street .....

City and State.....

If you accept our credit offer, send letterhead, business card or reference with coupon.

R. of R. 12-19

Don't Wait

DON'T wait until the freezing weather comes to think about protecting your car for the coming winter. Decide early to use Johnson's Freeze-Proof—purchase your supply from your dealer and read and follow the directions carefully. A little time spent now in cleaning the radiator and putting on new hose connections will save you unlimited time, trouble, worry and expense during the winter months.

JOHNSON'S FREEZE-PROOF

is the logical anti-freeze preparation to use. It is inexpensive—does not evaporate—is non-inflammable—easy to use—and guaranteed. One application will last all winter unless the solution is lost through the overflow pipe or leakage.

One package of Johnson's Freeze-Proof will protect a Ford to 5° below zero, and two packages to 50° below zero. For larger cars, or to protect to a lower temperature, use additional Freeze-Proof according to the scale on the package.

Cost $1.50 per package in U. S. A. East of Rockies

Get it from your local dealer

S. C. JOHNSON & SON, - - Racine, Wis., U. S. A.



WOMEN of MYSTERY!

ELENA, a girl whose beauty is the talk of society, leaves her lover Andrea as suddenly as she yielded to his mad infatuation. He is plunged into gloom; then he meets Maria, who is as pure and spiritual as Elena was sensual and worldly. In a short time he has won her love. Then unexpectedly Elena returns into his life and arouses all of Andrea's old passion for her.

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All we ask you to do to secure these books is to fill in and mail the attached coupon. McClure's and Metropolitan will then come to you each for fourteen months. You send us $1.00 a month for six months. Remember, you pay in easy monthly installments and the books come to you even before you make your first payment. The magazines cost you no more than the newsstand price, and the books come *free*.

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Name .....

Street .....

City and State.....

If you [illegible] send letterhead business [illegible] upon.

R. of R. 12-10

Don't Wait

DON'T wait until the freezing weather comes to think about protecting your car for the coming winter. Decide early to use Johnson's Freeze-Proof—purchase your supply from your dealer and read and follow the directions carefully. A little time spent now in cleaning the radiator and putting on new hose connections will save you unlimited time, trouble, worry and expense during the winter months.

JOHNSON'S FREEZE-PROOF

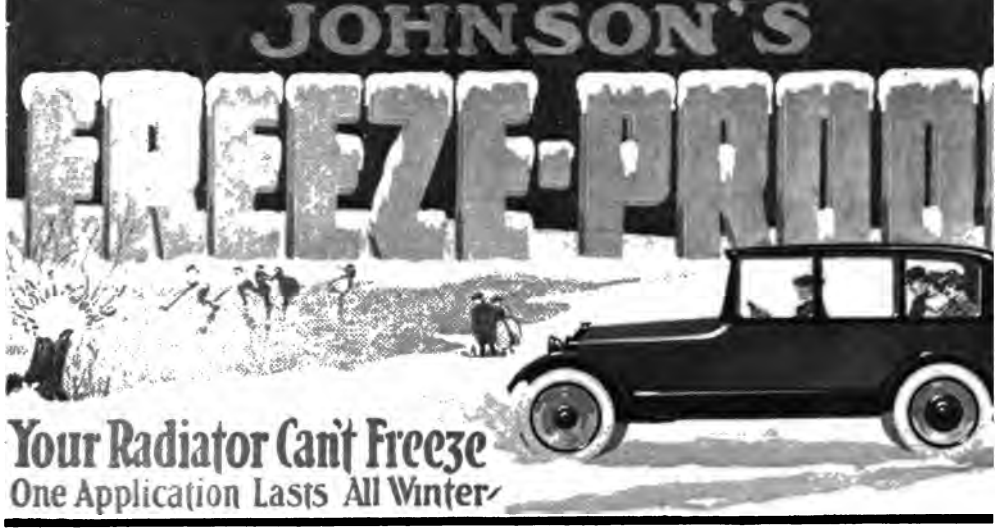
is the logical anti-freeze preparation to use. It is inexpensive—does not evaporate—is non-inflammable—easy to use—and guaranteed. One application will last all winter unless the solution is lost through the overflow pipe or leakage.

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Cost $1.50 per package in U. S. A. East of Rockies

Get it from your local dealer

S. C. JOHNSON & SON, - - Racine, Wis., U. S. A.





SEND NO MONEY

AT last! A wonderful time and labor saver—a patented invention that every busy housewife will welcome. A compact set of excellent kitchen Aluminum Ware that takes the place of eighteen useful utensils at about one-third of the cost. May be used singly or in combination for practically every cooking purpose. Will cook two or three different foods at the same time on stove space sufficient for the kettle alone. Only a few utensils to clean, and they may be snugly "nested" when not in use. Examine this set in your own home at our expense. The coupon below brings it promptly.

An Aluminum Miracle—
18 DISHES IN 1

A Xmas Gift Every Woman Will Appreciate

Every housewife will appreciate the convenience of this new "18-in-1" Aluminum Set. It is just the compact cooking equipment she has long felt the need of. It takes up so little room, and every utensil is so handily got at, that after once using it she couldn't get along without it.

And it is just as practical as it is convenient. It will cook chicken or meats in the delicious casserole style; boil or stew; make puddings and cakes; steam cereals and frosting; coddle eggs; mould jellies, etc. Combine the utensils and they will cook two or three different foods at the same time. Its uses are many and new ones will continually develop.

Saves Time and Work

Just think of the time and work it saves. Aluminum heats up more quickly than iron or enamel ware and retains the heat longer, speeding up the cooking and keeping the food piping hot. Then two or three different foods may be cooked in the set at the same time. After using, the utensils can be easily and quickly cleaned and will shine like a bright, new, silver dollar. It takes but a moment to "nest" them in the compact manner pictured above, and the work is done. Thousands of women have heartily approved of this "18-in-1" work-saving set and it is highly endorsed by Mabel Dulon Purdy, Food Editor of McClure's Magazine. Read some of its uses in detail on the following page.

Saves Time, Fuel, Labor!

If all through the war, you dreamed of equipping your kitchen with bright, silvery, everlasting Aluminum ware—

If you were disappointed by the scarcity and high price of Aluminum—

Then if you heard that a big dependable concern is making a brand-new set of solid Aluminum kitchen utensils that comprise *18 useful articles in 1*—

And if you found that you could obtain it for *free inspection in your own home,* or buy it at one-third of what you would pay for the utensils if you bought them singly in a store—

And if, on top of all, you found you could pay the low price asked for them in monthly payments of $1.00—wouldn't you at least say: "I am going to look into this matter. I am going to mail the card and secure a free examination in my own home."

This is exactly the opportunity that now comes to you.

The basis of this "18-in-1" set is the Tea Kettle, the most needed and most used utensil in any kitchen.

With this set you can fill practically every cooking need—cook chicken or meats in the delicious casserole style; stew, preserve, make puddings and cakes, steam cereals; coddle eggs in the most delightful manner, mould jellies, steam frosting, etc. Many other uses will develop. One important advantage is that you can steam oatmeal on a coal-stove overnight, and in the morning use the poacher for cooking eggs—thus cooking almost an entire breakfast in the one utensil.

The Old Way

Eighteen different aluminum utensils to wash. Warm, tiresome work to dry and put them all away. Cost of this outfit about $18.00

The New Way

All changed with this new "18-in-1" Aluminum Set. Just a minute or two to wash, dry and snugly nest them. Attractive, compact and practical. About one third the price of the 18 utensils—and does the same work BETTER.

FREE Inspection Offer

The postman will bring this "18-in-1" Aluminum set to you, so that you can see for yourself how good it is and how much time and work it will save you. We will pay all postage charges and assume all risk. Simply fill in the FREE Inspection Coupon and mail it to us now. We will immediately send a set to you, on approval. If you want it, keep it and pay for it as explained below. If you don't want the set, send it back to us within five days after receiving it, and the transaction will not have cost you a cent.

Payable Monthly

If you decide to keep the "18-in-1" set, send us $2.00 a month for three months and a final payment of $1.00 or $7.00 in all ($6.65 cash). Tear off the coupon NOW.

Some of its Uses

Tea Kettle

Handsome five-quart tea kettle, made seamless of good, solid Aluminum. Has a non-heating handle and cover knob. Spout specially designed to pour easily and to permit filling direct from any ordinary kitchen faucet.

Colander

For draining vegetables or washing lettuce, and for many other uses, the perforated pudding pan will be found very handy as a colander.

Steamer

By placing the colander inside the large kettle and inverting pan, using the inverted pudding pan as a cover, you have a steam cooker that will cook two articles at the same time, thus saving space and fuel.

Egg Poacher

The kettle with the rack and egg tins makes an unsurpassed egg poacher. Eggs cooked in this way have a very agreeable flavor, and a most inviting appearance.

Jelly Moulds

The three jelly moulds (which are also used for egg poaching) are of just the right size and shape for use as containers of jelly, gelatine and marmalade. Each mould is fitted with a convenient handle.

Double Boiler

Another combination is easily made by placing the covered two-quart pudding pan inside the large kettle. This gives you a perfect double boiler, in which you can steam rice, make oatmeal and other cereals, etc.

"No-Money" Coupon Cut Off—Send Now

BERKELEY SALES COMPANY
Berkeley Building, 18 West 45th Street, New York City

Please send me, for free examination, carrying charges paid by you, the NEW IDEA "18-IN-1" ALUMINUM SET.

If I keep the set I will send you $2.00 and a full payment of $7.00 in all. (Cash buyers pay $6.65.) If I return the utensils I will send them back in 5 days, at your expense. It is understood that I incur no obligations in mailing this coupon, and that, unless I keep the articles, I will incur no expense whatever.

Name.....

Street or R.F.D.....

City.....State.....

If you desire credit and are not known to us, send business card of self or husband, or attach names of two references.

R. of R. 12-19.

Are You thing



Herbert P. Mee, Material Accountant of the Southern cific Railroad at Los Angeles, California aimed at not and hit it—*until*—but let him tell his story him

"Like most people, I was a drifter, admiring success, weak wishing for better things to come, with no conception what those better things were or how to proceed to get the

"I aimed at nothing and hit it.

"I performed each task that presented itself, did fairly well and then lay back awaiting the next task, us the spare time to build castles in Spain.

"Paragraph One, Lesson One of your

Course in Personal Efficiency

started me to thinking. This I have never ceased to since. If the Course had done nothing else for me than th it was well worth the price paid. But it did more.

"As an immediate benefit, I have an increased capaci for work which my superiors were not slow to recogni so that for the most part I am relieved of my old duties a assigned to much more important work.

"Young people who wish to get ahead, but don't kn the why, the how or the way, can get the information ve cheaply through this Course.

"Old people, given over to pessimism, loss of interest, a with apparently weakened vitality and enthusiasm will g the jolt of their life reading the Course through but one

His Letter

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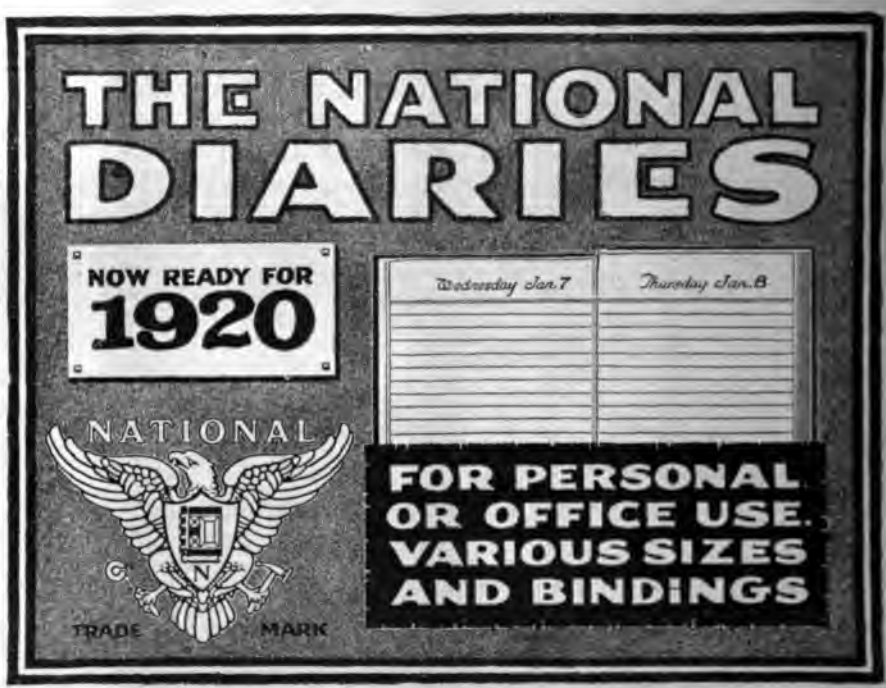
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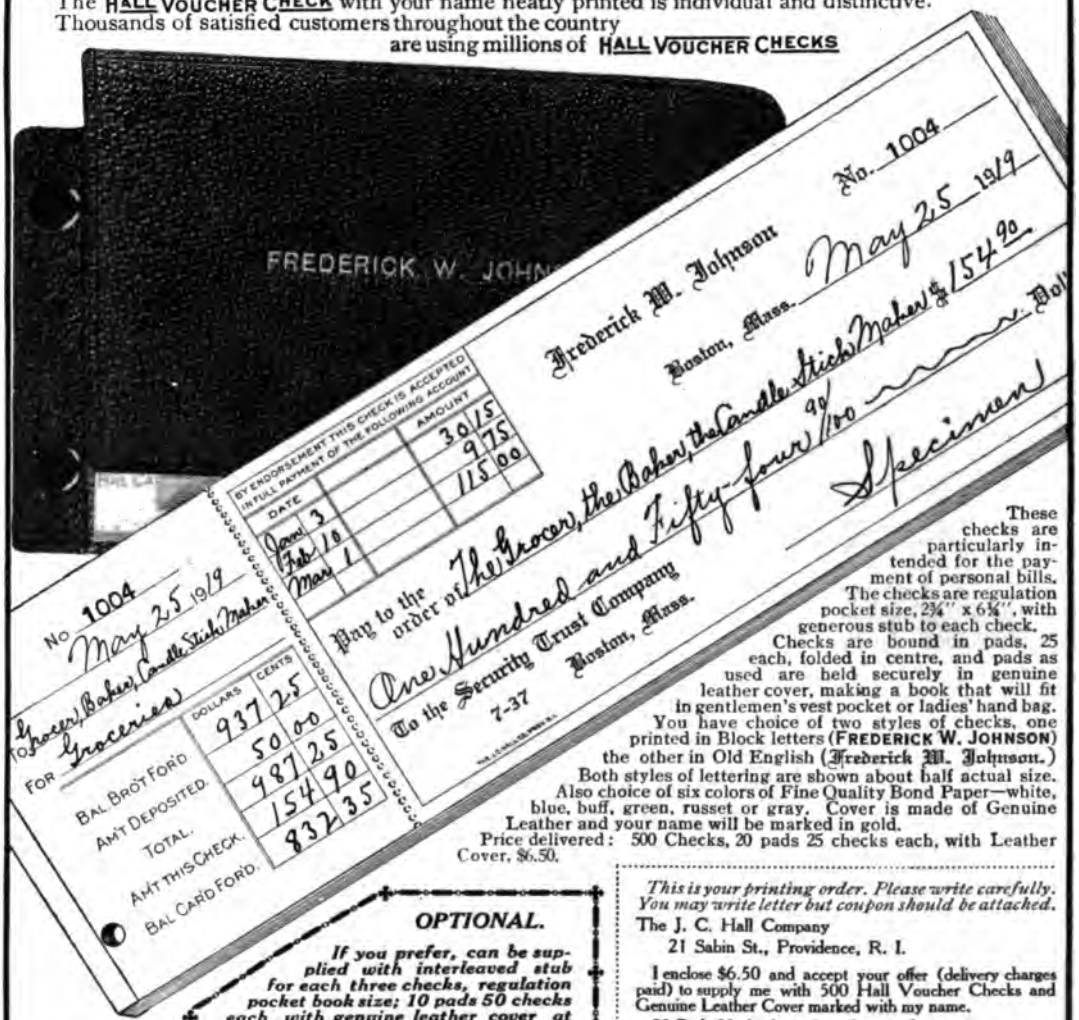
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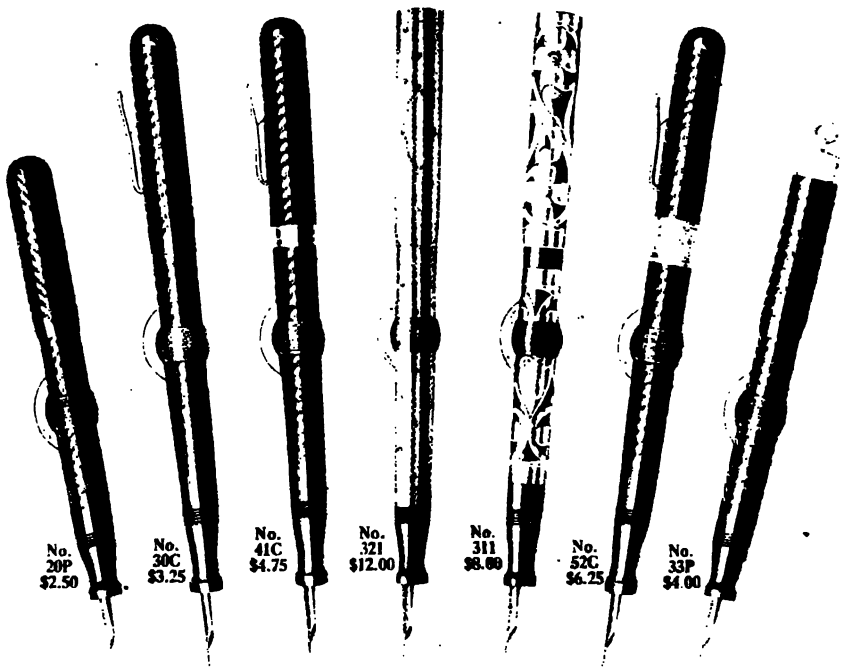
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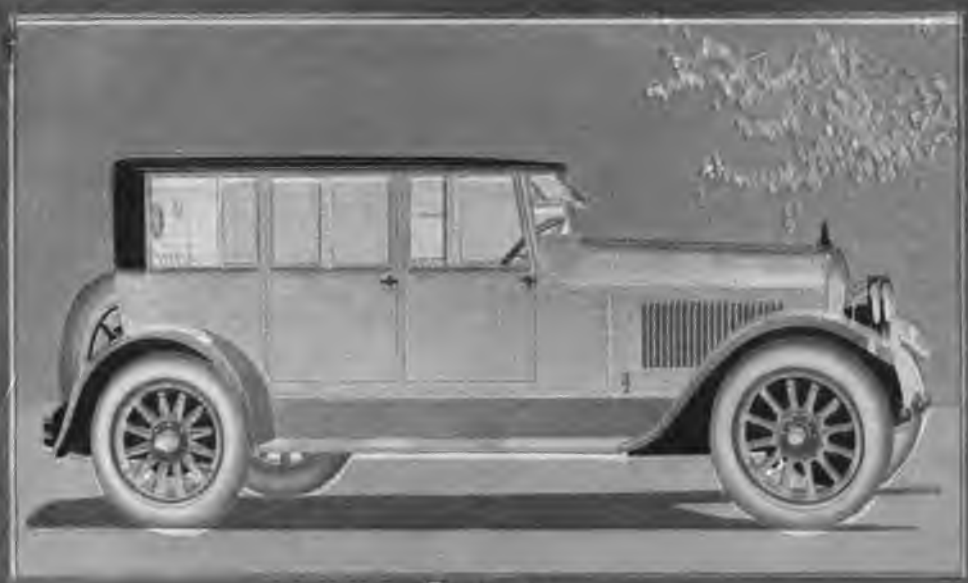
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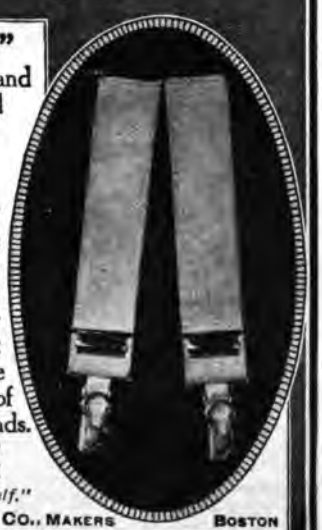
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